

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXII.



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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T. RICHARDS, 37 GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from correspondents.

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OF THE

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MARCH 1866.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT DURHAM,
AUGUST 19, 1865.

BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G., PRESIDENT.

I HAVE the honour to address you in the capacity at once of President *pro hac vice* of this Society, and of organ, however unworthy of that honour, of the gentlemen who have invited your presence on this occasion. You are, gentlemen of this Association, emphatically British archaeologists. It is your habit, I believe, to visit in rotation different counties. The gentlemen who have invited you are moved by a natural anxiety that you should not feel any disappointment at having accepted their invitation to make this district the subject this year of your antiquarian researches and disquisitions. I feel quite sure that you will find this sojourn at Durham correspond to your expectations.

The picturesque situation of this city, almost surrounded by the windings of the river Wear, the streets on the banks, and the magnificent cathedral and olden castle connected with the history of a long series of bishops palatine, offer a scene which must strike every beholder, although he may not regard it with the partial eyes of a native. The situation is, however, only an adjunct, although an agreeable one.

There are few counties—regard being had to its size—which offer more ample materials and memorials to the antiquary. The great development of industry which has followed and been stimulated by the productiveness of the mineral wealth of the county, may have tended in some slight degree to dim the recollections of the past; but if

this is a prosperous, commercial, and industrious age, still the records of the times which have preceded us have been more carefully searched of late years than at any former period, thereby proving the interest taken by the public in these investigations.

It is the province of the archæologist to consider the most remote antiquity, as well as the periods which successively link and connect it with the present. In pursuance of this object the Master of the Rolls has caused to be published memorials derived from the State Paper Office of the very highest interest.

Mr. Froude and others have furnished us with some new lights on history from these same sources.

It seems to me that the antiquarian's labours commence with recorded history. The geological history of England, or of any part of this country, does not belong to their labours. It is a sister science of recent origin derived principally from the labours of its first originator, Monsieur Cuvier, whose lectures I had the good fortune to attend in early life, and to be honoured by his friendship. Archæology, however, begins where geology ends. I should not venture to trespass upon the particular province of the different gentlemen who have undertaken to read papers explanatory of the different subjects of archæological interest in this county. The remains, as I believe at least, of British origin, previous to the Roman occupation of this country, are but scanty. In the south of England there are some of remarkable character still to be found.

There is a very interesting little book which was published a few years ago by Mr. Lewin, on the subject of the two invasions of this country by Julius Cæsar. In it Mr. Lewin demonstrates from different sources that at the time of those invasions there were two races who inhabited the southern coast of this island. One of them was rich, and in a highly civilised state, and carrying on an extensive commerce with Gaul, was informed thereby of every movement of the Romans, and thoroughly prepared on these attempted invasions to repel their attacks; thus they actually succeeded by their skill and bravery in war in preventing Cæsar and his disciplined legions from establishing any permanent lodgment in these islands, and for a hundred years afterwards no successful invasion was ever effected.

It seems ascertained that these early inhabitants reclaimed lands from the sea [in Romney Marsh] and shut them out by works from the inroads of the waves. But, although we have little to say of works of British origin in this county, yet we have remains of the Roman occupation still existing. We cannot boast of such a magnificent work as that of the great Roman wall in an adjacent county, or of such curious remains as are found, for instance, in Wroxeter, the ancient Uriconium, in Shropshire, with which I am connected, as the owner of the site—yet there are some remains of the great road which went from south to north with such perfect straightness through the kingdom entering into this county at Piersbridge. The road and its branches continue to be a durable monument of the Roman occupation, and there are some few remains of other Roman works.

There has been found recently an altar in a column of Gainford church, bearing a Roman inscription to Jupiter Dolichenus, said to have been put up by Valentinus by command of the god himself: this indicates some Roman station to have been in this neighbourhood. But the periods of our history succeeding to the Roman occupation are rich in monumental materials. There are remains of churches of a Saxon period of undoubted origin, bespeaking the piety of our ancestors of that race. We have also enduring memorials more imperishable than buildings of a Danish settlement in this country—more especially in the neighbourhood of Barnard Castle, in the names of several places, such as Thorsgill and Baldergarth, the first bearing the name of the Hercules of the North, viz., *Thor*. These betoken the presence of old of the Scandinavians.

This circumstance is especially commented upon by Sir Walter Scott, who says also in this poem of Rokeby—

“Beneath the shade the Northmen came,
Fixed on each vale a Runic name.”

Great indeed is the value of a name, for buildings decay hastily by the hand of time, the great destroyer. Some, it is true, such as the Pyramids of Egypt, seem almost to defy the buffetings of ages, yet names of places are far more imperishable; and, although they may be altered and disfigured, yet the archæologist is able to decipher them and point out their veritable origin. Of mediæval times our

monumental riches are abundant, and there are still existing numerous memorials of deep historic interest.

The name of Neville's Cross, although the cross itself be deprived of its ancient character, still remaining, indicates the characteristics of a different age, pointing out the spot where a British army in 1346 overthrew in desperate conflict David Bruce, King of Scotland, and destroyed the Scottish force—that English army led on by Lords Neville and Percy, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham.

Of Raby I will say nothing further, because a gentleman has kindly undertaken to deliver a paper upon it, than that in the great baron's hall was held the assembly of the barons of the north, where the great Catholic rebellion was resolved on in the time of Elizabeth, which ended so disastrously to those engaged in it.

Are we asked by those who take a prosaic and matter of fact view of life, what is the use of archæology? are we not superior to our ancestors? have we not made immense strides in material progress? have we not steam, gas, electric telegraphs, and mechanical powers which diminish the necessities of labour? Why then should we occupy ourselves with things of the past to which the things of the present are so superior?

All honour, I say, to this age, which under the blessing of Providence has effected much good for mankind, and in which we have the good fortune to live. Still our ancestors were sometimes wise in their generation. Accumulated knowledge is a foundation upon which these advances are worked out.

Moreover, the grown up man, still more the man advanced in life, looks with fond interest on the scenes of his childhood; so our own generation gazes with an affectionate inquisitiveness on the existing remains of the early history of this island and people. So innate is the love of archæology that the time will come when future archæologists will study with interest the remains of the present day, and take the same pleasure in noting what subsists of our railways or our bridges and other monuments as we take in studying and investigating those of former ages. It is a study, depend upon it, which has a beneficial and humanising influence.

We have the advantage of historians who have described this county and the existing subjects of interest in it. We have Hutchinson and Surtees. Unhappily, the latter did not live to complete that part of the county with which I am more especially connected ; but we have a society bearing his name which has contributed the publication of various most interesting documents connected both with this county and the neighbouring ones, whose valuable labours were long continued with so much profit to the antiquarian, under the conduct of Dr. Raine. I indulge the hope that that society will still continue to furnish like memorials of interest.

There is one subject to which I cannot forbear alluding with pain and regret—the loss which this Society has sustained by two deaths in the course of the past year : that of the Duke of Northumberland, as one taking a deep interest in archæology, and also that of Mr. Hartshorne, a most distinguished member of your Society. You were acquainted with him, and therefore can estimate the loss which you have sustained. I allude the more particularly to that loss, because it was through him that I was invited to act as President of this Society this year, and he had engaged to deliver a paper on the history of Raby Castle. I had not for many years seen Mr. Hartshorne, but met him in early life in Italy, where perhaps amidst the ruins of Rome he first imbibed that taste for archæological subjects which directed and distinguished his future career.

I am happy to say that a gentleman fully qualified has undertaken to supply his place as respects Raby Castle, Staindrop Church, and Barnard Castle. I will not particularise those various subjects of interest which you are invited to visit, because they are set forth in the programme, and you will hear regarding all these places explanations of them delivered by many gentlemen of learning, ability, and research.

I venture, in conclusion, to offer you a hearty greeting and welcome, gentlemen of this Association, on the occasion of your interesting visit to this county.

ON CHESTER-LE-STREET.

BY THE REV. HENRY BLANE, M.A.

THE quiet, unassuming village of Chester-le-Street, though presenting few attractive features to the casual observer, is yet of no inconsiderable interest in an antiquarian point of view. As the site of a Roman station, it has afforded much occupation to scientific explorers; and the discovery, from time to time, of coins, pottery, and other articles, has come to their aid in sifting its early history. But Chester-le-Street occupies also an important position in the ecclesiastical annals of this country, and is invested with a sort of mysterious interest from its association with the name of St. Cuthbert. As in all similar cases, the marvellous is intimately commingled with well authenticated and credible fact; and he who reads St. Cuthbert's history, must draw for himself the boundary line between the two. In the early days in which he lived, the memory of one enjoying so great a reputation for sanctity gained for him, in the pages of the church annalist, a higher place than that of an ordinary human being; and the marvellous tales regarding him were received with a credulity measured more by veneration for a really great and good man, than by the use of such tests as are commonly employed in severing truth from fiction. Though of royal lineage, according to some authorities, we find him in the early part of his life pursuing the avocation of a shepherd in the neighbourhood of Melrose. Here it was that, directed by a vision, he sought the retirement of a monastic life, and became an ardent and devout inmate of the monastery of Melrose, under the special care and tuition of Boisilus the prior, who saw in him a youth of great promise, and became warmly attached to him. On the death of his preceptor and friend, Cuthbert succeeded him in his office as prior of Melrose. But when Eata, the abbot of this monastery, had been transferred to the abbacy of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert, quitting Melrose in 664, joined his former superior, and held office under him as prior.

An ardent longing for a solitary life led him to resign his office at Lindisfarne after holding it for twelve years. The

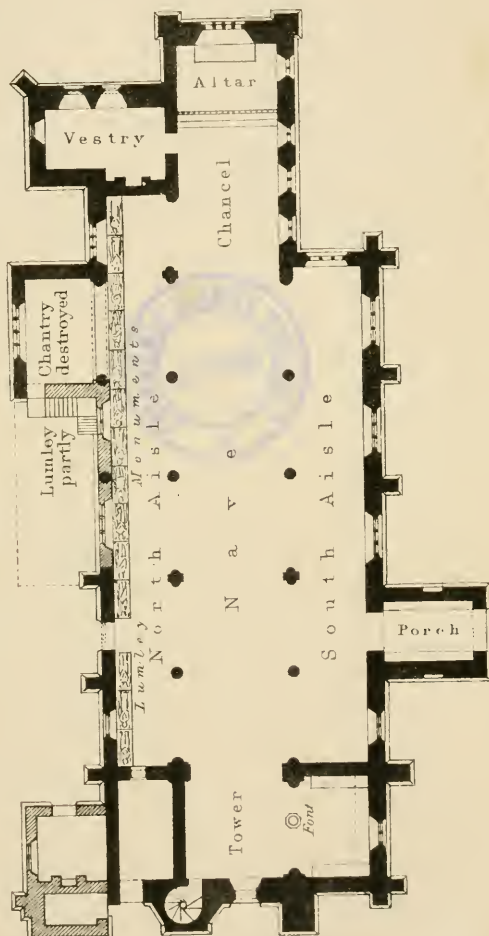
extreme seclusion he had coveted was attained by degrees. His first retreat was to some secluded spot on the mainland, at no great distance from Lindisfarne; but, not satisfied with the measure of solitude which this place afforded, he established himself on the neighbouring island of Farne, where he built a hut of the rudest description for himself, and near it a larger place for the reception of those who should visit his island for purposes of devotion. It did not, however, suit the ascetic spirit of Cuthbert to indulge in company of any kind. He did at first receive and converse with his brethren from Lindisfarne, but soon declined even this relaxation; and except when his blessing was craved, or his advice urgently sought, he would hold intercourse with no one.

Sober reverence for the character of this devout man does not require the repetition of the numerous miracles with which his historians adorn the tale of his life while on this island. I pass on, therefore, to record his elevation to the see of Hexham. Endearred to his solitary abode by a residence of nine years, it is not to be wondered at that he shunned the thought of a return to the active duties of life. Nothing short of the importunities of Egfrid, king of Northumbria, who visited his island for the purpose, could induce him to accept the proffered honour. At last, however, his resolution gave way, and he was consecrated Bishop of Hexham by Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, that great prelate under whose fostering care the Church in England rose to the dignity of an established Church from the humbler position of a missionary station. This happened in the year 685, and in the same year Cuthbert exchanged his see with Eata for that of Lindisfarne. Having been thus, by the fluctuating course of events, restored to his former abode, he betook himself to the duties of his office with his characteristic zeal; but after two years of laborious exertion, he became sensible of his approaching end, and returned to Farne in 687, where he soon afterwards died, but not before he had given that remarkable order regarding his dead body which has been so fertile in memorable events. If necessity should compel the monks to fly from their monastery, they were to take his bones with them, and sojourn where God should provide. His body was taken to Lindisfarne, and buried with becoming solemnity on the right side of the

altar. Eleven years after this the monks were desirous of raising the bones of the saint, that they might receive due veneration above ground; but the bones were found (so runs the legend) clothed with flesh, with flexible joints, and the whole body fresh as in life, and seemingly asleep.

We have next to advert to the lamentable period of the Danish invasion in 793. The church of Lindisfarne did not escape the ravages of the invaders, nor were the monks spared the most cruel treatment at their hands. Higbald, then bishop of Lindisfarne, was compelled to fly; but on the defeat and destruction of the Danish invaders, returned to his church with some of the monks who had survived the fury of their enemies; and, to their great joy, they found the body of their saint unmolested, though everything else of value had been carried off. Eighty years after this, another invasion of the Danes took place, and this time they were victorious. Ruin and desolation marked their path. They first attacked York, and then advanced northwards; and, after plundering the monastery of Tynemouth, proceeded a second time to Lindisfarne on their errand of destruction. Eardulph, the sixteenth and last bishop of Lindisfarne, had now nothing left but flight; but St. Cuthbert's solemn injunction was not forgotten by him. The body was removed from its shrine; and, bearing the wooden coffin which contained it, together with certain other relics, the monks set out, not knowing to what quarter their steps would be directed. I must not follow the body of our saint too minutely during its seven years wanderings, but will merely remark that, after having been brought to Craike in Yorkshire, where it remained about four months, it rested at Cuncacestre (Chester-le-Street) in the beginning of the year 883. A cathedral, built of wood, was soon made ready for Eardulph and his attendant clergy, and he became the first bishop of Chester-le-Street. It is recorded that, through the intervention of St. Cuthbert in a dream, the wandering monks of Lindisfarne procured the elevation of Guthred, son of a Danish chieftain, to the throne of Northumbria; and that, soon after their arrival at Chester-le-Street, Eadred, their abbot, had another nocturnal vision, in which St. Cuthbert appeared to him, and gave him this astonishing command,—“Tell the king to give me, and those who minister in my church, the whole of the land between the Wear and

PLAN OF CHURCH OF CHESTER I.E STREET.



Scale of Feet.





the Tyne for a perpetual possession. Command him also to make my church a sure place of refuge for fugitives, that every one, for whatever reason he may flee to my body, may enjoy inviolable protection for thirty-seven days." The king, it is said, paid immediate and implicit obedience to this mandate. Alfred the Great confirmed the gift, and other immunities and privileges were added.

Now commenced a brilliant period in the annals of Chester-le-Street. The vast territories of this church grew into a county palatine; its bishops became temporal princes, raised in most respects above the laws of the land, and placed nearly upon an equality with the king himself; riches flowed in a copious stream into the treasury of St. Cuthbert, and his shrine was visited by royal pilgrims who never failed to seal their devotion with valuable and important gifts. This period of prosperity lasted for a hundred and thirteen years, during which time nine bishops occupied the episcopal throne; but in the year 995, in the time of the last bishop, Aldune, the repose of the saint was disturbed, and again the bishop and clergy took flight with his remains. They feared the cruelty and violence of the Danes who now infested the coast, and who, not long before, had taken Bibbemburgh or Bamborough by storm, and ravaged it. The fugitives first took refuge at Ripon, where they stayed three or four months; and then, when the danger was over, they turned their steps towards the deserted cathedral of Chester-le-Street. We may, if we please, adopt another interpretation of Symeon's words, "the church which they had formerly inhabited," and believe that the monks really desired to carry the body to Lindisfarne. Neither of these places, however, was destined to be again the receptacle of the honoured relics. But here again the plain narrative is enlivened by a touch of the marvellous. At a place called "Wrðelan" (identified as Wardley, in the parish of Jarrow), the vehicle containing the coffin in which the body of the saint was confined, became immovable, and withstood the efforts of the whole company of men who attended it to alter its position or advance its progress. By the bishop's command, fasting and prayer were resorted to for three days; after which period the saint conveyed to Eadmer, one of the clergy, his wish to be carried to Dunelm. But here arose a fresh difficulty, as no one knew where that place was situated. They were, however,

released from their dilemma by a milkmaid, who, on being asked by another woman if she had seen her cow which had strayed, replied "Yes, down in Dunholm." The monks, on this hint, soon found the desired spot (the same beautiful locality, on the banks of the Wear, which is now occupied by the majestic cathedral of Durham), and there their wanderings ceased.

But leaving the saint safely deposited at Dunholm, I must now return to shew you what became of the discarded church which is more especially the subject of this paper. We have already seen that Chester-le-Street was constituted an episcopal see in 883, and that its last bishop, Aldune, in the year 995, fled with the venerated remains of St. Cuthbert, and did not return. Chester-le-Street then became a parochial rectory, all its state and authority gone, but still provided with ample revenues. The old building of wood having stood its time, was removed by Egelric, who was fourth bishop of Durham from A.D. 1042 to 1056, and a church of stone was erected in its place. In digging the foundation for this church, Egelric found a great treasure in money, which he sent, with much more improperly abstracted from the church, to the monastery of Peterborough, to which he had formerly belonged; and having resigned his see to his brother, Egelwin, he himself followed his treasure to Peterborough, and, it is said, employed it in building churches, making bridges, and repairing the common roads over marshy places. But he was afterwards accused of defrauding the church of so much money, and in consequence of this King William the Conqueror seized upon his wealth, and imprisoned him at Westminster, where he died on the 15th Oct. 1072. Opinions are at variance about the secretion of the above money. Some attribute it to a secretary of Sexhelm, sixth bishop of Chester-le-Street; others refer it back to an earlier period, and even to the time of the Romans. Of the Norman church of Egelric nothing is known to exist, unless it be a fragment or two of carved stone of very early date and Norman workmanship lying loose in the porch.

Having enjoyed the distinction of being one of the very earliest parochial foundations in the diocese, Chester-le-Street underwent still further transformations. We are next to view it as a collegiate establishment. It appears that a difference had arisen between Sir Walter de Clifford and

Master Allayne of Esyngwalde concerning a claim to the rectory, and the fear of further costs induced these two rival claimants to submit to the judgment of Anthony Beck, nineteenth bishop of Durham. This bishop, on inquiry, found that the endowments of this church were ample, but the ministrations inadequately performed. The two claimants were, therefore, both rejected, and a collegiate establishment substituted for the rectory, consisting of seven prebendaries, five chaplains, three deacons, and other ministers. This change was effected by the bishop in the third year of his consecration, A.D. 1286. The ordinance was confirmed by King Edward I, at Berwick, on the 12th June 1292, and sanctioned by Pope Boniface VIII, at Rome, in 1296. Some of the particulars may obtain a place here, though to recite the whole would occupy too much space. The dean was bound, out of the revenues assigned him, to maintain two assistant chaplains and other ministers, to repair the chancel, and find clergy to serve the chapels of Tanfield and Lamesley. His revenues were derived from the following sources : the altarage of the mother church and chapels, the fishery on the river Wear, the rents and services of the tenants of the church, and the whole demesne land of Harraton. To him also were given the messuages and buildings attached to the chapelries. The prebendaries had also their distinct emoluments derived from the tithes of various places belonging to the church, out of which the three first were bound to maintain three vicars in orders, and the remaining four were to provide for four vicar-deacons. In addition to this, the bishop, instructed perhaps by the laxity of former days, ordained that the tenth part of the portion of every non-resident prebendary should be given to the residents; and in case there were no residents, then to the use of the church or the poor.

Such was the condition of the church of Chester-le-Street till the dissolution of collegiate churches and chantries in the first year of Edward VI, A.D. 1547, when it became vested in the crown. Thus it continued till the sixteenth year of James I, when he gave and granted to Sir James Ouchterlony, Knight, and Richard Gurnard or Green, citizen and clothworker of London, to their heirs and assigns, the deanery, prebends, rectory, and vicarage of the collegiate and parish church of Chester. Various other devisees fol-

lowed, till in 1746 John Hedworth devised the premises to his two sons-in-law, Sir Ralph Milbank and Sir Richard Hilton, Bart., and their heirs. The church is now reduced to a perpetual curacy with a moderate endowment; and the present impropiators and patrons of the living, who exercise their patronage alternately, are Charles Jolliffe, Esq., descended from Sir Richard Hilton; and the trustees of the late Lady Byron, relict of the illustrious poet, who represent the other family, that of Sir Ralph Milbank.

The singular variety in the history of this church has kept me hitherto from describing the building itself. The most striking feature of this church, externally, is its tower, which terminates in a beautiful stone spire, the whole being 156 feet in height. The lower portion is of a square form, with light and elegant buttresses in the upper section. Then follows an octagonal stage with a battlemented parapet, and above all rises the spire. It will be observed that the apex of the spire is more recent than the other part. The cause of this was the disastrous hurricane which blew with such desolating effect on Monday the 7th of January 1839. About four feet of solid masonry was torn off from the top of the spire, and fell through the roof of the church, alighting close to the font. The large iron weather-cock surmounting the spire, to which this damage must be attributed, was driven by the wind along the roof, tearing up the slates, till it fixed itself at the east end of Lord Scarborough's aisle, over the recumbent figures. The church measures, in outside length, 162 feet, having a nave, a chancel, and two side-aisles. Its windows are of no great merit or interest in point of architecture; but some of them have, of late years, been devoted to memorial purposes, and represent Scriptural subjects admirably executed in stained glass, and dedicated to the pious memory of the Rev. George Bowness, a former curate of the parish; Thomas Fenwick, Esq., and Abraham Story, Esq. The east window (no longer the "modern sash" described in Hutchinson) contains representations of the baptism, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord by Wailes, put up in 1851. In the south wall of the chancel we come upon a really attractive feature for the architect, hidden during a long series of years by an oak panel, but discovered and exposed to view by the Rev. J. P. Depledge, senior curate, in the year 1853. These interest-

ing remnants of Early English architecture, consisting of a piscina and sedilia with clustered columns, do not, of course, belong to the period in which the church was rebuilt by Egilric; but might, perhaps, owe their origin to Anthony Beck when he changed the *status* of the church, and probably also renewed the fabric. The aisles are divided from the nave by five Pointed arches supported by pillars, of which eight are round, and the two at the western extremity are composed each of two cylindrical shafts joined together. The ancient font which in the time of Hutchinson (*viz.*, the middle of the last century) was banished to the churchyard, is now restored to its proper place, carrying on its sides four emblazonments representing the arms of Thornton Lumley and Neville, and was given to the church by George Lord Lumley probably in the time of Edward IV. Near the font, fixed upright against the wall, is a stone monument representing a priest, locally believed to be an effigy of St. Cuthbert. Leland speaks of it as resting on an altar-tomb in the body of the church.

The north aisle contains the Lumley monuments, fourteen in number,—a series of effigies arranged against the north wall. They consist of recumbent figures with descriptive tablets above them. Eleven of the effigies are carved in Caen stone or other soft limestone, two in Frosterley or Stanhope marble, and one only in sandstone. Of the inscribed tablets, eleven are in Italian marble, and their inscriptions can still be deciphered; but the other three, being in sandstone, are illegible. The texts of all the inscriptions may, however, be found fully given in the county histories both of Hutchinson and Surtees. The monuments represent various members of the family of Lumley from the time of the Conquest to the sixteenth century. The history of these monuments is well worthy of the attention of those who have the ability and the inclination to pursue the subject further than I have done. I will not reproduce here all that has been written concerning them by the learned men to whom the county of Durham is so much indebted for its records; but I feel bound to interpose a caution to the visitor in order to prevent his being misled, in a few instances, in connecting the effigies with the tablets which surmount them. The church was restored by subscription in 1862, and in re-arranging the monuments this difficulty occurred. The tablets were

of different sizes, those between the windows being larger than those which occupied the more contracted spaces under them. Their positions, therefore, could not be altered at will to suit a new arrangement. The result has been unfortunate, for now the tablet over the thirteenth figure belongs to the eleventh, that over the eleventh is intended for the twelfth, and that which surmounts the fourteenth is descriptive of the thirteenth. One more remarkable circumstance remains to be mentioned in connexion with these monuments. The third of the series is the solitary sandstone effigy mentioned above, and is of gigantic proportions, measuring, with the lion on which the feet rest, at least 8 feet 9 inches in length. It is clothed in a suit of chain-armour with a surcoat over it. The legs are crossed, the right one being uppermost, and the feet rest on a lion couchant. A parrot, the family device, lies on the breast (plate 3). In all descriptions of this monument the knight is said to hold the parrot by the tail; but (alas for the tail theory!) the right hand, which for a long period was missing, was found, on the recent restoration of the church, among the masonry at the top of the north aisle-arch, adjoining the chancel-arch. This hand, covered with chain-armour, clutches, not the parrot's tail, but a sword-handle, the boss of which is seen, and corresponds with a sword on the left side of the figure. The identity of the hand is further established by the similarity of the material, and its exactly fitting the broken part at the extremity of the right arm, and also the jagged surface on the chest. It is now placed loosely on the figure for which it was originally sculptured.

And thus I conclude my imperfect notices of this interesting church. For more minute particulars of the early history of St. Cuthbert, I refer my readers to the exhaustive account of the late Dr. Raine.¹ Good illustrations of the church will be found in Billing's *Antiquities of Durham*, which will be made more complete by the ground-plan here given (plate 1).

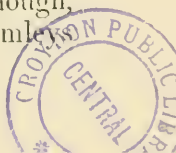
¹ Raine's *St. Cuthbert*. 4to. 1828.

ON THE PORTRAITS OF THE LUMLEY FAMILY AT LUMLEY CASTLE, AND THEIR EFFIGIES AT CHESTER-LE-STREET.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, V.P.

GUARDED, as I thought, were the few words I spoke on the above subjects on the occasion of our Society visiting Lumley Castle and Chester-le-Street during our recent Congress at Durham, I hear that they have unfortunately given offence in some quarters, either from their having been incorrectly repeated, or their import misunderstood.

The great object of our Congresses is to inspect critically, and in the company of variously informed persons, such antiquities of the locality as we could otherwise only form an idea of from a drawing or verbal description; but it too often occurs, as it did on this occasion, that one is called upon to pronounce an opinion, *ex cathedrá*, on the age, meaning, or character of some objects which we have never set eyes on before, and have not had five minutes to examine or think about. I was therefore more than usually cautious in the few observations I was requested to make to the company. Occupied, as I had been to the last moment, with the one subject on which I had undertaken to read a paper, viz., "The Origin of the Family and Arms of the Nevils of Raby," I had no time for the study of any other, and was simply aware that there were certain effigies at Chester-le-Street which had excited a good deal of controversy. Of the portraits in Lumley Castle I had heard nothing, and their effect upon me on entering the hall was singular in the extreme. They were evidently ancient pictures, and the greater number displayed the well-known and accurately represented costumes of particular periods, ranging from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Until I learned from the Rev. John Dodd, who kindly acted as our *cicerone* there, that they had all been painted by order of John Lord Lumley, in the reign of Elizabeth or James I, I was perfectly ready to believe that each portrait was contemporary with the costume in which the figure was attired; for though, of course, Liulph the Saxon and the early Norman Lumley



could never have worn the dresses they were painted in, the pictures themselves might have been executed at the various periods when such dresses were worn, according to the invariable practice of mediæval artists. Many thanks to them for thus preserving to us the fashions of their times, and thereby enabling us to date their own productions.

Had this been the case with these pictures, the hall of Lumley Castle would have presented us with the most curious and valuable series of family portraits that could, perhaps, be found in the world; but such is not the case; and for simply pointing out what *is*, and warning, as it was my duty to do, my hearers, whether residents or visitors, of the error into which they might be led by this remarkable collection of imaginary portraits, I have been accused of speaking disrespectfully of the noble lord at whose expense they were executed. Nothing can be more untrue. Since my return to London I have taken up this subject, as I promised when at Durham, and I am now about to lay the results of my investigations before the Society in the full confidence that they will be received, not only by my fellow associates, but by all who feel interested in the matter, in the spirit with which they are written,—an earnest love of, and desire to arrive at truth, without which all archæological pursuits would be but idle curiosity, utterly useless to mankind, and therefore unworthy the encouragement and support of sensible people.

Now, first, as to the pictures. The following notice of them (pretty nearly following Hutchinson's account) appears in the second volume of Surtees' *History*, under "Chester Ward" (p. 154): "The collection of paintings at Lumley is dispersed; those only remain which are strictly family portraits....In the great hall, besides a statue of Liulph armed cap-à-pie, like a gallant knight" (in plate armour, with a helmet of the sixteenth century!) "and bestriding his war-horse, are fifteen pictures of my lord's ancestors, with a pillar of his pedigree; all which are noted in the inventory of 1609, and then valued at £8. These, whether in robes or armour, are evidently fictitious, or restored, and need no further notice." I will just pause here to ask if anything I said at the Congress was stronger than this? Mr. Surtees dismisses these "fictitious portraits" as undeserving of further notice. On the contrary, I stated that they were

exceedingly curious, and that the subject deserved very critical examination. Well, Mr. Surtees proceeds to say,—“There is, however, one piece, not belonging to the general arrangement, which, if not perhaps contemporary with the persons represented, is yet probably of much higher antiquity and more genuine authority than any other piece in the series. King Richard II, in the bloom of youth, and with bright auburn hair, sits on a chair of state in his royal robes,—scarlet lined with ermine; his inner dress deep blue or purple, powdered over with golden R's, and crowned. He holds the sceptre in his left hand, and with his right gives a patent of nobility to Sir Ralph Lumley, who kneels before him in his baron's robes. Lumley is represented as stout and tall, with a bald forehead, long hair, and a most majestic beard. On a scroll at the king's feet, ‘Kinge Richarde the seconde.’ The back-ground, representing probably the presence-chamber, is diapered with golden lilies. On the frame, ‘R. R. 2, an. D.N.I., 1384, a° reg. 8.’”

Reserving the examination of this latter picture, we will take into consideration some of those which stand before it in the series.¹ They commence with Liulph the Saxon, the great founder of the family, and who was murdered by Gilbert, kinsman of Bishop Walcher, before 1080. This Saxon nobleman, who was slain in the fourteenth year of the reign of King William the Conqueror, is represented in a costume of the fifteenth century, and of a fashion prevailing about the time of Henry VII; his great-grandson, Sir William de Lumley, who lived in the reign of King John, in a hood of the time of our Henry VI, and cuisses, jambs, and gauntlets of plate of the same period; while Sir Robert de Lumley, who married the heiress of Thweng, born 1272, and died 12th Edward III (1338), is attired in the very peculiar costume which prevailed in the reign of Henry IV or Henry V (*vide* figs. 1, 2, 3, plate 2). The descendants of Liulph for fourteen generations are represented in various military or civil costumes, some exceedingly picturesque, and all bearing strong evidence to the fact that the robes and armour were painted from authorities of some description, and not from the fancy of the artists. As none of them, however, exhibit

¹ By the kind permission of the Earl of Scarborough we are enabled to present our readers with engravings from photographs of some of these curious portraits. Plate 2.

any portion of dress or military equipment which existed previously to the fifteenth century, it is quite clear that no contemporary portrait could have been copied of any Lumley from the days of Liulph until the time of Sir John Lumley, Knight, who was slain at Baugy, in Anjou, on Easter Eve, 1421. Now, as we know for a fact that all these paintings were executed by order of John Baron Lumley, who died April 11, 1609, the interesting question is, from what earlier pictures or prints were they copied, as they are evidently not the offspring of the painter's imagination? Did there really exist in the possession of Lord Lumley any series of drawings, a roll of arms, or an illuminated MS. of the fifteenth century, professing to represent the members of the family from the time of the Conquest to that period? There is, for example, the well-known Warwick Roll in the College of Arms, which would furnish a magnificent series of full-length family portraits for the adornment of Warwick Castle, if strictly correct costume in the earlier ones were not to be insisted on; and amongst the latest on that roll, the personages are represented in armour and dresses which must have been actually within the observation or recollection of the learned antiquary, John Rouse, who drew and coloured them. Now I ask again, was there any similar authority from which these paintings could have been copied? Because, unless we could find positive evidence of their origin from another source, it will not do to dismiss them in a summary manner.

The evidence I have to produce is that which I alluded to in my brief address to the Association in the hall of Lumley Castle. It is by no means conclusive, and is only to be taken as a probable theory in the absence of proof. These paintings are known to have been executed previous to 1609, when Lord Lumley died. The exact date is not known, but it was probably much about the same time that his lordship was collecting the effigies, which we find was in 1594, and we may therefore fairly say *circa* 1600. Now just about this period various histories and chronicles were printed and published in Germany, Holland, and Flanders especially, illustrated by very spirited engravings representing the sovereign princes whose reigns or biographies were included in them.

A great similarity exists in the styles of drawing and the character of the costume of all these figures, the dress and

armour of the earlier personages being invariably of the fifteenth century, and I was therefore remarkably struck by the strong general resemblance the paintings at Lumley Castle bore to the aforesaid engravings. I possess a fine copy of *La Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Hollande*, printed, in 1601, at Dordrecht, in two volumes folio, and containing full-length portraits of all the Counts of Holland and governors of the Low Countries, from the time of Theoderick, called of Aquitaine, the first Count of Holland, A.D. 863, to the Infanta of Spain, Isabella Clara Eugenie, Duchess of Brabant and Countess of Flanders, etc., in 1598: including our own Queen Elizabeth, who was Protectress of the United Provinces in 1585. Now there can be little doubt that all these figures, we may fairly say, from the accession of Maria Countess of Holland, wife of the Emperor Maximilian, at the close of the fifteenth century, are reliable representations of the persons they are stated to be, from good and contemporary paintings; and we may, perhaps, extend our belief a little further into the fifteenth century, at least as far as costume is concerned. But there we are compelled to draw the line, for we have here the aforesaid Theoderick, who lived in the ninth century, in armour and dress of the fifteenth century, with the long sleeves indicative of the reigns of our Henry IV and V; and a shield upon his shoulder, with the bouche for the lance, which was not introduced till quite the close of the fourteenth century, and having on it an heraldic lion rampant,—some three hundred years before the earliest appearance of heraldic devices. Although, as far as my recollection serves, there are none of the Lumley portraits that one could venture to say had been actually copied from one of this particular series of prints, the resemblance between the portrait of Sir Robert de Lumley (plate 2, fig. 3) and Theodrick the third of that name, Count of Holland, A.D. 993-1039, in this work, is in all the principal points of costume nearly identical. We have the same peculiar head-dress, the large pendant, scalloped sleeves, and the foliated terminations of the jupon reaching to the knees, so characteristic of the reigns above mentioned. I confidently appeal to any of our associates who had the pleasure of visiting Lumley Castle on that occasion, whether the view of these engravings does not generally recall to them the family portraits we there examined; and

I therefore repeat what I then stated, that it was extremely probable they had been designed, if not literally copied, from some such work; as I see no reason for altering that opinion, saving always the existence of a Lumley roll similar to the Warwick one. It would be a most fortunate result of our Durham Congress, should these observations give rise to a search amongst the family muniments, and lead to the discovery of so interesting a document. I fear, however, the silence of John Lord Lumley himself upon this subject is destructive of this hope. He would have been too glad, I imagine, to have recorded such an authority for his portraits.

Of the origin of one I think I may speak confidently, that to which I have already alluded, Richard II presenting Sir Ralph Lumley with a patent of nobility. Without positively asserting that it is, in all its details, a precise copy, I find I am fully justified in adhering to the opinion I expressed, that I recognized in the picture at Lumley Castle a very close imitation of the celebrated original portrait of Richard preserved in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and engraved by Carter in his *Specimens of Ancient Painting and Sculpture*. The attitude is simply altered to the act of presenting the patent to Sir Ralph, who is kneeling before him, in lieu of his bearing the mound in the right hand. The crown worn by the king is not exactly reproduced, the shoe is not so pointed as in the original, and the diaper of the back-ground is not the same. In all other respects the imitation is so close as to leave no doubt as to the original which the artist followed. But there is further proof of this painting having no claim to be considered contemporary with the personages represented in it, or even of higher antiquity than the others, as Mr. Surtees imagined, for the date on the frame, "1384, a^o reg. 8," refers nearly enough to the date of the writ of summons to Parliament of Sir Ralph as a baron, though strictly it should be 1385; but it by no means corresponds with the appearance of the personages represented. Mr. Surtees says the king "is represented in the bloom of youth," and at that period Richard would have been in the eighteenth year of his age; but I should say that in the painting he is represented in the prime of manhood, as he is in the portrait at Westminster, and more like twenty-eight than eighteen. But be that as it may, Sir Ralph is delineated truly as Mr. Surtees has

described him, "stout and tall, with a bald forehead, long hair, and a most majestic beard." I am quite sure any one looking at that portrait would say it was of a man between forty and fifty at the least. Now it happens unfortunately for the authenticity of the portrait, that Sir Ralph succeeded to his elder brother Robert, who died under age, 12 Dec. 1374, he being himself at that time only in the thirteenth year of his age, and ward of Ralph Lord Nevil; and at the time of his summons to Parliament, in 1385, only twenty-three, some five years older than his youthful sovereign. Nay, more than this, he was slain at Cirencester in arms against Henry IV, in 1400, when he had not attained the age of thirty-eight, and could scarcely even then have presented the portly and venerable appearance displayed in the picture.

Let us now proceed to the effigies. They are fourteen in number, and occupy the whole length of the north aisle in the church of Chester-le-Street (plate 1). "Of these fourteen effigies, however," says Mr. Surtees, "not above three, in all probability, are genuine,—that is, executed by artists contemporary with the individuals represented." It is well known that they are not; but remember these are not monuments displaying the character of the architecture or costume of the time of Elizabeth or James. They bear no inscription stating that they were erected by John Lord Lumley, at the close of the sixteenth century, to the memory of his ancestors, with the exception of the latest. But of John, son of Richard Lord Lumley, who died 36th of Henry VIII, "in remembrance of whom," it is stated, "this monument was erected by John Lord Lumley, his grandson"; an exception, observe, which adds to the impression that all the rest are to be considered genuine. There is nothing to warn the unwary visitant, who, if he be not informed of the fact by the person conducting him over the church, must naturally go away under the belief that these effigies are all, with that exception, contemporaneous, and represent the persons they are attributed to "in their habits as they lived," according to the invariable custom of the artists and sculptors of the middle ages. They are imitations to the best of the information at that period possessed by Lord Lumley or his artists, of ancient effigies; and many of them having suffered much by time or accident, might even now, by casual observers, be consi-

dered of the thirteenth century. Such a Congress as we had the honour to hold at Durham may render service to art and science if these things are duly commented on, and the misconception which they are calculated to create distinctly pointed out ?

To begin with. Here again we have the founder of the family, Liulph the Saxon, not certainly attired in a costume of the fifteenth century, as in his picture at the Castle ; but in a complete suit of mail of the thirteenth century, grasping the hilt of his sword with his right hand, and having a heater-shaped shield on his left arm. In short, a Saxon warrior who lived in the time of William the Conqueror in armour of the reign of Henry III, the figure being so mutilated and dilapidated that even an antiquary who knew it could not be contemporaneous with Liulph, might hesitate about dating it later than the thirteenth century. "Next to Liulph," says Mr. Surtees, "lies Uchtred in a suit of chain-armour, the right hand crossed to the left side, and grasping the hilt of the sword," with the inscription, "*Utreodus filius Liulphi vixit tempore Henrici Primi Regis Angliæ.*" I need scarcely add, as great an anachronism as his father. The third effigy, stated to be that of William son of Uchtred, who first assumed the Lumley name, is, says Mr. Surtees, "probably genuine." He has favoured us with an engraving of it, and therefore we have an advantage we do not possess with respect to the two former. (See plate 3, fig. 1.) I agree with Mr. Surtees, that this may be a genuine effigy. It is of almost gigantic dimensions and very rude workmanship; but it certainly bears internal evidence of having been sculptured during the thirteenth century, the close of the reign of Henry III, or commencement of that of Edward I. But then, if it be genuine, it is not the effigy of William the son of Uchtred, who is said to have been a baron of the bishopric during the time of Hugh Pudsey, that is before 1195, but of a much later man, his grandson, Sir William de Lumley, Knight, witness to a charter to Finchale Abbey before 1260; or perhaps his great-grandson, Sir Roger de Lumley, Knight, living 1275: most probably, however, the former, and the error may have arisen from the name William having been traditionally attached to the effigy. Unfortunately we have no indication whence it came. It may have been, therefore, an effigy originally placed in this very church, and

probably, in any case, served as a model for the sculptor employed by Lord Lumley to manufacture the others from. At all events it is not of the age of the first William, to whom it is confidently attributed. The most remarkable feature in it is the appearance of the parrot, popinjay, or whatever the bird may be, which is an heraldic bearing of the Lumleys; and is in this instance seemingly held by the tail in the right hand of the warrior, just above his waist. The discovery,¹ however, of the hand which had been broken off, shews that it grasped the pomel of the sword, as usual in such cases. The bird is, therefore, sculptured in a most extraordinary position, tail upwards; and the head being gone, we are prevented comparing it with the birds in the Lumley arms. I know of no similar example; and if the effigy be genuine, as I am inclined to believe, and has not been tampered with ("*restored*," as Mr. Surtees phrases it), it is extremely curious. I shall return to the bird anon.

The five following effigies, attributed to the second and third William de Lumley (the latter the real owner, I suspect, of the one just described), to Sir Roger before mentioned, to his son Robert, and grandson Sir Marmaduke, I shall pass without comment; but the next two are exceedingly interesting, from the recorded fact that they were brought from the cemetery of Durham Cathedral, in 1594, by John Lord Lumley, with the permission of Bishop Mathew, and are undoubtedly genuine effigies. One is confidently assigned to Sir Ralph Lumley, the first baron, killed at Cirencester in 1400; and the other as unhesitatingly to his son, Sir John Lumley, slain at Baugy, in Anjou, 9th Henry V (1421). They are both of Frosterly or Stanhope marble, nearly fac-similes of each other, and closely resembling two other effigies in the county, one at Pittington, the other at Witworth, the only variation in attitude being that the latter have their legs crossed. Now anybody at all acquainted with costume will immediately perceive that, instead of these effigies being the work of the fifteenth century, which they must have been had they represented the persons they are attributed to, they are of a much earlier date; not later, certainly, than the close of the thirteenth century, *temp.* Henry III or Edward I. The arms, moreover, upon their shields, which no doubt induced Lord Lumley to appropriate

¹ See p. 30 *ante*.



them to his own family, clearly prove that they do not represent Lumleys at all, but knights of the family of Thweng, whose armorial bearings were first assumed by the Lumleys after the match of Lucia, eldest sister and coheir of Thomas Thweng, with Sir Robert de Lumley, who died 12th of Edward III (1338).

It is quite possible that Sir Ralph Lumley may have been buried at Durham, as stated upon no given authority; but his son, Sir John, expressly directs in his will that he is to be buried in the church of St. Mary at Chester-le-Street, and desires his executors to provide a decent marble tomb for him and his late wife Felice. Now, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, why are we to presume that these directions were not complied with, supposing his body to have been brought over from France, of which we have no account? At all events the two effigies have been erroneously appropriated to him and his father, and the visitors of St. Mary's Church have an additional perplexity to bewilder them.

The remaining effigies may be shortly dismissed. Not one of them is contemporaneous, possesses any claim to our attention as a work of art, or can be depended upon as a faithful, however rude, representation of the person it is intended to commemorate. They are, therefore, entirely destitute of the peculiar interest attached to the paintings at the Castle.

Mr. Surtees' account of these effigies is closed by a paragraph of considerable importance. Another sepulchral effigy is noted by Grose in an extract from a book of pedigrees in the British Museum,—“This auntient monument or statuarie, broken and wasted, nere the ruynes of the chappel in the first ward within the castel called Barnard Castel, was, at the honourable means and motion of John Baron Lumley, sent by Sir William Bowes, Knight, into this church of Chester to be placed with his ancestors, April 1594.” A rude drawing, *in trick*, is annexed, representing a man in mail; the shield, on the left arm, covering the body; no sword; the family arms (the popinjays after the match with Thweng) on the surcoat; the legs straight, the feet resting on a snake or dragon. The pattern of this, adds S. (Segar) Garter, 1591, in Grose's extract, I have seen at Barnard Castle; but I verily believe that the figure itself is still in the chapel yard





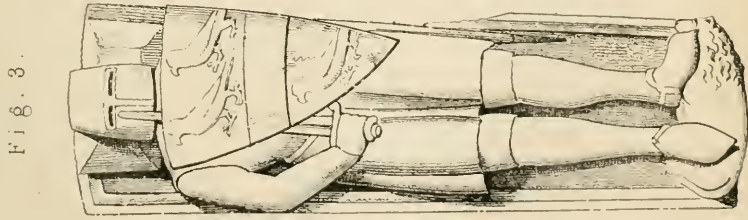
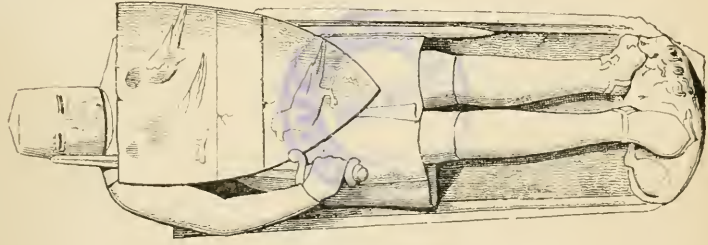


Fig. 3.



(Fig. 1. The recent discovery of the hand of this Effigy causes the drawing to be slightly altered from Surtcos' Plate.

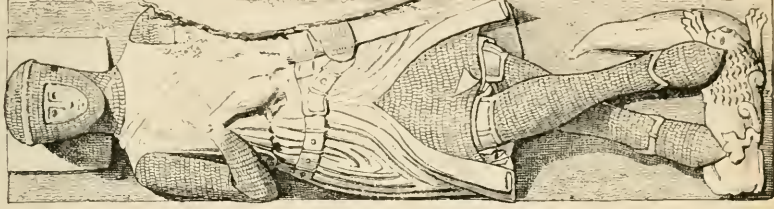


Fig. 1.



at Barnard Castle, though sore mutilated." To this there is appended the following note: "In this case the herald's note has been written when it was only *intended* to remove the effigy, which evidently represents a Lumley after the match with Thweng." (Surtees' *Durham*, vol. ii, p. 140.)

There is so much of confusion and uncertainty in this account that it would be idle, without sifting every portion of it, to venture an opinion on the subject;¹ but it is highly important, because, if the effigy were really transported from Barnard Castle to Chester-le-Street, as I think, in contradiction to the writer of the note in Surtees, we can scarcely doubt, from the precise statement of the herald, who says it *was sent* "into this church of Chester" in April 1594, and who evidently saw it *there*, and not at Barnard Castle, from which place he informs us it had been removed, then it is very possible that the effigy is still to be found in the church, and may have been unfortunately so *restored*, as Mr. Surtees expresses it, that it is too likely to be confounded with the imitations of the sixteenth century, amongst which it has been placed.

Mr. Surtees states his belief that the effigy was still, in his time, at Barnard Castle; but does not appear to have ascertained that fact, and certainly it was not there at the period of our visit. At all events, if the description of the effigy can be relied on, it would, as in the other cases, prove to be not that of a Lumley, but of a Thweng, as any effigy of a Lumley, "after the match with Thweng," would, if in military costume, be armed in complete plate, and not in mail; but the rude woodcut which is given by Hutchinson (vol. ii, 399) throws some doubt upon the verbal description, and there is no appearance, I believe, in any of the effigies at Chester-le-Street, of the remarkable dragon in the woodcut.

With a few words respecting the arms aforesaid, I shall conclude my observations for the present. The pedigrees of both families (Lumley and Thweng) are so deficient in the early portions, that the origin of the arms of either is scarcely even to be guessed at. Armorial bearings appear to have been first assumed about the close of the twelfth

¹ Garter could not *add*, in 1591, a comment on a note made in 1594. I can neither find the passage alluded to in Grose, nor ascertain from what "book of pedigrees" he made the extract.

century. Now just at that time we have living Sir William de Lumley, son of William Fitz Uchtred, and there is no mention of whom he married. There is also some uncertainty about the first wife of Robert de Thweng, from whom the chief line descended; but the fact that the old arms of Lumley were six birds, and those of Thweng a fess between three similar birds, indicates to me a common origin of the families, or an early match between them which has not been recorded. In the infancy of heraldry it was the practice to blend the paternal arms of the wife with those of the husband. For example, supposing the arms of Thweng to have been simply a fess, upon marrying a daughter of the house of Lumley, the husband or the son of that lady would be likely to place one or more of the birds borne by the Lumleys in conjunction with the charge in his own arms. I say *birds*, because there is considerable difference of opinion respecting what those birds were originally, they being indifferently called popinjays, papegais or parrots, martlets or swallows. In the earliest roll of arms of which we have a copy, viz. *temp.* Henry III, *circa* 1240-45, we find the arms of "Marmaduk de Thwenge, d'argent a trois papegayes de vert, ung fece de goules"; but unfortunately no arms of Lumley. On the seal of Matthew de Lumley, brother of the Sir William who was probably the first assumer of armorial bearings, he is represented on horseback, "as an armed knight," says Mr. Surtees, "with the paroquet on his right arm." I have not seen this seal, and may therefore venture to ask, may not this bird be intended for the hawk or falcon so commonly seen borne by knights and nobles of that period? In the curious effigy at Chester-le-Street, the bird, which is sculptured tail upwards, has lost its head (fig. 1, pl. 3), and we cannot therefore venture to say what it may be. A note of the time of Charles II, in an *Alphabet of Arms* in the Heralds' College, says those in the arms of Thweng should be "pipinjays," and not collared *gules*, but "proper" (*i.e.*, of their natural colour), "y^e necks to be red, as always is in these birds falsely here called collors." Now the necks of parrots certainly are not always red, and we may therefore question whether the bird called a "papegay" or "pipinjay" by old writers was really a parrot, as the word is rendered in glossaries; and that the birds were not always borne "*vert*" or "proper," is shewn by a roll of arms of the

reign of Edward II (*circa* 1314), in which Sir Robert de Lumley is said to have borne, *gules*, a fess and three “popingais” *argent*; and as this must have been the Robert who married the heiress of Thweng, it would appear (unless the blazon be incorrect) that the arms of that branch of the Thweng family differed from those of the other line, and which are now borne by the Lumleys, viz., *argent*, a fess *gules* between three popinjays *vert*. I am strongly inclined to believe that the birds were originally finches, and that some light might be thrown upon the subject by researches into the history of *Finchale* Priory, to which the Lumleys were great benefactors.

Here, for the present, I must terminate this inquiry. I hope I have said enough to prove my right to speak strongly as an archaeologist on the mischief and confusion made, however innocently, by mixing up the fabrications of one period with the genuine relics of another; and I trust also that while so doing I have neither on this occasion nor the former one at Chester-le-Street said anything that can be construed as disrespectful to the noble family most interested, or to the memory of their venerable and enthusiastic ancestor, who in paying this—I may almost say idolatrous—worship to his progenitors was actuated by a feeling for archaeology which must meet with sympathy from us all, however we may regret the injudicious indulgence of it. I also entertain a hope that the matter will not be allowed to rest here, and that such local antiquaries as may take an interest in it, and possess the advantage of being able to examine these monuments at their leisure on the spot, will succeed in throwing much more light upon the questions still unsettled, and which I have done little more than point out for their consideration. Two clues may be given to the explorers of this labyrinth. The portrait of John Lord Lumley, painted in 1591, is said by Pennant to have been probably the work of Richard Stevens, “an able *statuary, painter, and medalist*,” mentioned by Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i, p. 161); and he further adds: “This illustrious nobleman” (the sixth Lord Lumley) “*restored* the monuments that are in the neighbouring church, was a patron of learning and great collector of books, assisted by his brother-in-law, Humphrey Lluyd, the famous antiquary. The books were afterwards

purchased by King James I, and proved the foundation of the Royal Library. Mrs. Granger says they are a very valuable part of the British Museum." I have little doubt that Stevens, who was a Dutchman (*vide* Bryan's *Dict. of Painters and Engravers*), and who could therefore scarcely be ignorant of the prints representing the Counts of Holland, was the painter of the pictures at the Castle, and the sculptor of the effigies in the church, most likely under the direction of Humphrey Lhuyd, the famous antiquary aforesaid; and in the Royal Library (British Museum) may yet be found some further information on this subject. In the meanwhile I think it will be admitted that I have given an interest to these very curious paintings which was denied to them by Mr. Surtees, and corrected some erroneous impressions respecting the genuine effigies at Chester-le-Street.

To the Rev. J. Dodd our best thanks are due for much trouble that he has undertaken in obtaining photographs, and in examining the subjects of the Lumley Castle pictures.

The inscriptions upon the four paintings represented in plate 2 are thus read by Mr. Dodd:—Fig. 1, SVCCESIONES DOMINORVM ET BARONVM DE LVMLEY, above the portrait; and below, LIVIPHVS NOBILIS MINISTER GVLIELMI CONQUESTORIS, OBIT ANNO 1080; and his wife's name, ALDGITHA FILIA ALDREDI FILII VCTREDI COMITIS NORTHVMBRÆ. Fig. 2, beneath the portrait, GVLIELMVS DE LVMLEY MILES, FILIVS GVLIELMI PRIMI. Fig. 3, beneath the portrait, ROBERTVS DE LVMLEY MILES, FILIVS ROGERI; his wife, LVCIA SOROR ET COHÆRES DE THOMÆ DE THWENG. Fig. 4, on a label at the foot of the king, KING RICHARDE THE SECONDE.

LUMLEY CASTLE.

BY JOHN DODD, M.A., INCUMBENT OF LUMLEY.

LUMLEY CASTLE is said to have been built in the reign of Edward I, a building called "the Old Hall," still existing in the village of Lumley, having been the family residence before the above date. Sir Ralph de Lumley obtained license from Bishop Skirlaw in 1389 (confirmed by Richard II in 1392) to *batellate* and *crenellate* his mansion; and the changes then made have remained to the present time.

The east front is the most interesting, the original features of this portion having been well preserved. There still remains the ancient arched gateway and the peculiar gallery above it; this latter was so contrived that, between it and the hall, space was left through which the besieged could annoy their assailants. In the wall above the gateway are six shields of arms with their crests. In the centre are the arms of Richard II, in whose reign the building was fortified, while those at the sides show the powerful families with which the Lumleys intermarried. The castle is in the form of a square with an inner court, the four towers at the angles being guarded by *machicolated* turrets. By this means the besieged could command both the ground around the castle, and, in the event of the enemy forcing the gate, the inner courtyard as well. The entrance hall contains full length portraits of the Lumley family, commencing with Liulph, the Saxon progenitor of the family, and ending with his descendants, who lived in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. These portraits were painted by direction of John Lord Lumley, who flourished in the reigns of Edward VII, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, and on whom these sovereigns bestowed the highest honours and favours. We learn from Camden that the line of effigies in Chester-le-Street church is also owing to him. "He had so great a veneration," says Camden, "for the memory of his ancestors, that he caused monuments to be erected for them in the collegiate church of Chester-le-Street, in order as they succeeded one another, from Liulphus down to his own time, which he had either picked out of the



demolished monasteries, or made new." Considering that the artists employed by John Lord Lumley could have but very poor models, the works of rude and early masters, to guide them, the skill exhibited demands our admiration. A few other pictures, the works of later and more masterly hands, are still preserved in the castle. With the exception of a suite or two of rooms, the castle is unfurnished.

DURHAM CASTLE.

BY REV. GEORGE ORNSBY.

DURHAM, under its early appellation of *Dunhelm*, or *Dunholm*, must have been known to the Saxon herdsman long before its selection as the final resting-place of the body of St. Cuthbert¹ gained for it the distinction and the pre-eminence which have now been associated with its name for the long period of well nigh a thousand years. It is described by Symeon of Durham as one of nature's strongholds, surrounded by deep woods, and having on its rocky peninsula a patch of cultivated ground of no great width or extent. This formed the site of a few lowly huts, erected by the monks, around the little church of timber which formed the earliest shrine of the saint. But this humble sanctuary was soon replaced by an edifice of more lasting materials, popularly known as the *White Church*, a name probably given to it from the freshness and purity of appearance which a building of newly hewn stone would present in contrast with the dark foliage of the woods which formed its background. It was the precursor of a far

¹ There is a legend, familiar as a household word to all the inhabitants of the Palatinate, which tells us how the monks were enabled to find Dunholm, which had been revealed to one of their number as the place where the body of St. Cuthbert should finally meet with repose after the long protracted wanderings it had sustained. They had searched in vain for a place of that name, until at length they heard a woman calling loudly to a companion to know if she had seen her *dun cow*, and the reply was that she would find her in Dunholm. It was a sound of joy to the weary wanderers. But this legend does not occur in Symeon or in any of the early historians. Is it not possible that the place may have been also known by the name of *Dun-y-coed*, i. e., the wooded hill? And is it a supposition altogether improbable, that the tradition may have only an eponymic existence, evolved by popular fancy to account for an appellation of which the meaning was forgotten?

nobler building, which yet exists, a long enduring witness of the grand conceptions and cultivated taste of its Norman architects.

The erection of this *White Church*,¹ which was solemnly dedicated by Bishop Aldhun in the year 999, and the consequent occupation by the monks of the plot of ground which surrounded it, led, no doubt, to the gradual gathering together of a lay population, whose habitations ere long assumed the proportions of a city. We find, at all events, that less than half a century afterwards (1040), in the twentieth year of Bishop Eadmund's episcopate, Durham was a place of sufficient importance to be beleaguered by Duncan, King of the Scots. The besieged were strong enough, however, to withstand this attack, and the Scottish king and his army were repulsed with great loss.

To this period we may, with great probability, refer the first commencement of any thing like a fortress or stronghold at Durham. The *White Church* occupied, unquestionably, the site of the present cathedral, with the cloister of the monks, in all probability, on its south side, and as we find at a subsequent period that Bishop Flambard cleared away a mass of houses between the castle and the cathedral, we may fairly presume, in the absence of direct historical proof, that the earliest city of Durham occupied that locality. The position, as Symeon rightly says, was strong by nature, on an escarpment of rock, descending almost perpendicularly to the river, whose waters all but insulated it from the surrounding country. But however strong a position may be by nature, there must be some artificial protection for those who seek to hold it. A stronghold, therefore, was erected, commanding its weakest point, as a last retreat for the besieged, if driven in by an overwhelming attack, and a vantage ground from whence to discharge the missiles which should repel the assailants.

To what period we are to refer the formation of the

¹ It would appear, from Reginald's description, that this *white church* was a building as stately and magnificent as Saxon architectural skill could accomplish: "Erant siquidem in Albâ Ecclesiâ duæ turres lapideæ, sicut qui videre nobis retulere, altius per aera prominentes, altera chorum continens, alia vero in fine ecclesiæ occidentali subsistens; quæ, miræ magnitudinis, ærea pinnacula in supremo erecta gestaverant: quæ omnium tam stuporem quam admirandi quantitatem exceperant: unde putabant consimilis opus structuræ nusquam posse fieri." *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelm. Libellus*, etc., c. xvi. Published by the Surtees Society.

mound on which the keep of the Castle of Durham is founded, is a matter of some uncertainty. Some have imagined it to be a natural eminence, and there are no doubt many natural sandhills of conical form in the county of Durham; but it is geologically improbable that an eminence of this kind should have been left in the position which this mound occupies, standing as it does on the summit of an almost bare escarpment of rock. There can be little doubt of its having been the work of man's hands, though the theory of others that it was a Danish fort is not substantiated by evidence of any kind. If it is anterior to the operations of the Norman builders, it is not improbable that it may have been a British stronghold, which was subsequently used, both by Saxon and Norman, as a site for the erection of their respective fortresses.¹

One thing, however, is certain, that there must have been fortifications of some kind at Durham at the time when the Norman conqueror sent his lieutenant Robert Comyn to subdue Northumbria. The tidings of his approach so dismayed the inhabitants of Durham that they fled and left their city an easy prey to his forces. But he did not long enjoy a victory so lightly won. The dawn of the following day beheld the incensed Northumbrians at *the gates* of the city, through which they forced their way,

¹ It was not uncommon, however, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to throw up a mound as the substructure of a stronghold. An interesting passage in the *Acta Sanctorum* (27 Januarii) gives a minute and curious account of the manner in which the lords of a vill and the rich nobles went to work to form the strongholds which they erected for the protection of themselves and their vassals. It occurs in the life of S. John, bishop of Terouanne (who died in 1130), written by his archdeacon and familiar friend, John de Colomedio, who, after mentioning the Castle of Merchem, between Dixmude and Ypres, goes on to say: "Erat autem secus atrium ecclesiæ munitio quædam (quam castrum vel municipium dicere possumus) valdè excelsa, juxta morem terræ illius, à domino villæ ipsius à multis retro annis extracta. Mos namque est ditioribus quibusque regionis hujus hominibus et nobilioribus eo quod maximè inimicitii vacare soleant exercendis et cædibus, ut ab hostibus eo modo maneant tutiores et potentiâ majore vel vincant pares, vel premant inferiores, terræ aggerem quantæ prævalent celsitudinis congerere, eique fossam quam latè patentem, multamque profunditatis altitudinem habentem circumfodere, et supremam ejusdem aggeris crepidinem vallo ex lignis tabulatis firmissimè compacto, undique vice muri circummunire, turribusque secundum quod possibile fuerit, per gyrum dispositis intra vallum, domum, vel quæ omnia despiciat, arcem in medio ædificare, ita videlicet ut porta introitus ipsius villæ non nisi per pontem valeat adiri, qui ab exteriori labro fossæ primùm exoriens est in processu paulatim elevatus, columnisque binis et binis, vel etiam trinis alitrinsecus per congrua spatia suffixis innixus, eo ascendendi moderamina per transversum fossæ consurgit, ut supremam aggeris superficiem cœquando oram extremam marginis ejus, et in eâ parte limen primâ fronte contingat."

Fig. 2.

Basement Plan,
under L.K.&c.



Reference.

- a. Entrance to Norman Chapel.
- b. Norman Chapel.
- c. c. Norman Turret and
Winding Stairs.
- d. d. Supposed Crypt under
Bishop Pudsey's Hall.

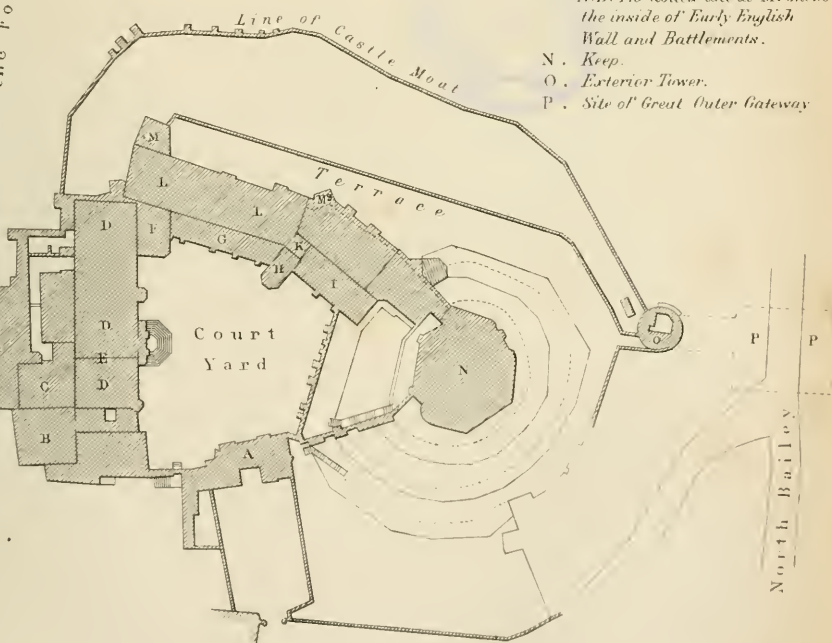


Fig. 1.

Reference.

- A. Gatehouse.
- B. Kitchen.
- C. Buttery hatch.
- D.D. Great Hall.
- E. Bishop Fox's Wall.
- F. Bishop Cosin's Staircase.
- G. Bishop Tunstall's Gallery.
- H. Bishop Tunstall's Staircase.
- I. Bishop Tunstall's Chapel.
- K. Norman Turret.
- L.L. Bishop Pudsey's Hall,
upper and lower.
- MM Early English Turrets
N.B. The dotted line at M² shows
the inside of Early English
Wall and Battlements.
- N. Keep.
- O. Exterior Tower.
- P. Site of Great Outer Gateway

Precipitous Rocks River Wear at the Foot.

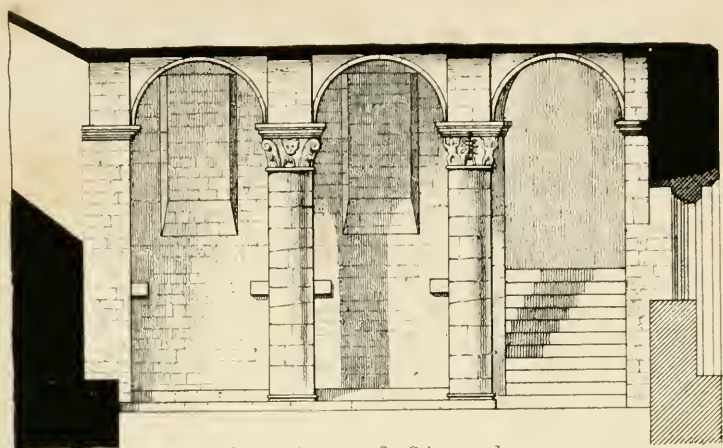


North Bailey

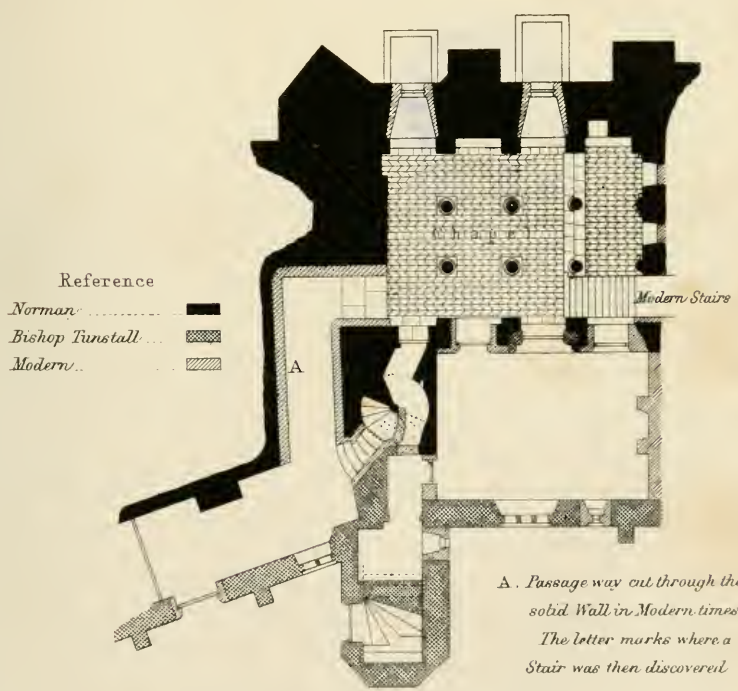
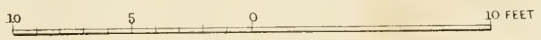
Palace Green.

PLAN OF DURHAM CASTLE.

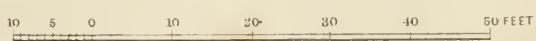




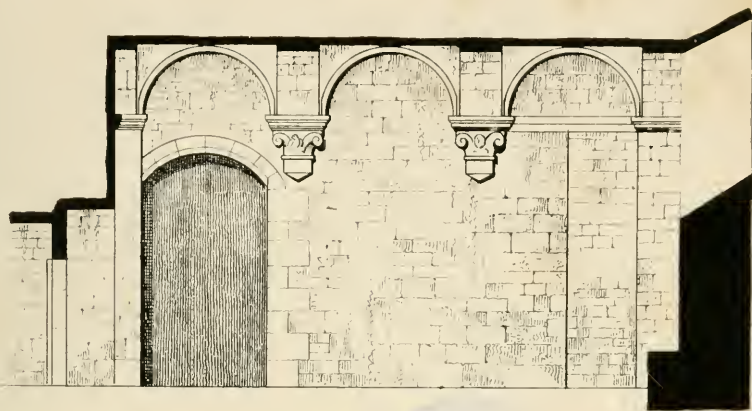
Section of Chapel,
Shewing present state of East End.



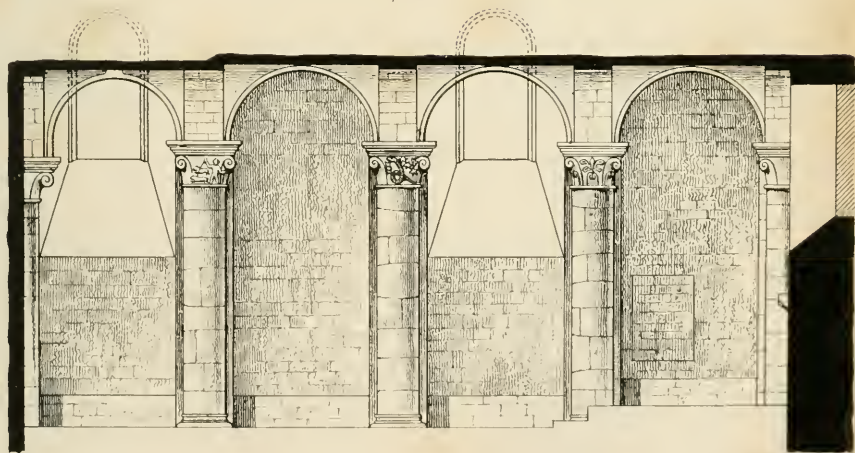
Plan of Ancient Chapel, in Durham Castle.







Section through Chapel, shewing West End.



Longitudinal Section of Chapel, looking North

10 5 0 10 FEET



and put Comyn and his followers to the sword. His death was avenged in the most ruthless manner by William himself, and it is probable that on gaining possession of the city he immediately commenced the erection of one of those strong fortresses by which he overawed the population of the country which he had conquered. For, although we can only approximately fix the date, there is historical evidence that to William the Conqueror we owe the building of the Castle of Durham properly so called.

This evidence, however, is of the scantiest description. The see of Durham possesses no early records. It is probable that they disappeared during the Usurpation, when the castle fell into lay hands, little likely to treat with respect any documents relating to episcopal property. Amongst those which were lost, through the culpable negligence, as it is alleged, of Bishop Morton's officers,¹ was a volume called the *LIBER RUBER*. An abstract of its contents is in existence, copied, by the care of Bishop Cosin, from one which had been made in Bishop James' time; and the brief *conspectus* which it contains of the records which the volume embodied, shews that it "must have been," as Dr. Raine observes, "of inestimable value, not only to the see of Durham, but to the history of the kingdom at large." (*Preface to Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores* III, p. xix. Published by the Surtees Society.) Amongst its entries occurs the following: "Willelmus Rex contruxit castellum Dunelmense. *Fol.* 41. Robertus filius Willelmi construxit. *Fol.* 41, b." (*Addenda in Appendicem Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores* III.)

This notice is brief indeed, but it serves to connect the name of the Conqueror, and possibly that of his son, with some portions of the existing building,—in all probability with the keep,—though every trace of the original masonry

¹ The zeal of Bishop Morton's officers for the preservation of the muniments under their charge was probably not fervent enough to lead them to incur any personal risk about the matter. The Dean and Chapter were more fortunate. In 1671 King Charles II sent a letter to that body in favour of Mr. Robert Collingwood, who was anxious to be appointed as Registrar to the Chapter, an office which happened to be then vacant. To this royal missive the Dean and Chapter replied with all due respect, but prayed to be excused compliance with his majesty's recommendation, alleging the higher claims which one Mr. Ralph Hedley had upon them for several reasons, amongst which is specially particularized his service to the church "during the late rebellion, in preserving their records with great peril to himself." The King's letter and the reply of the Chapter are preserved amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

of that part of the structure, whether of William's time, or of the later work of Bishop Hatfield, is hopelessly hidden by the restoration, or rather rebuilding, which took place in 1840.

The next evidence which we possess is more explicit. The continuation of Symeon of Durham's history tells us that Bishop Flambard, whose episcopate extended from 1099 to 1129, constructed a long line of exterior defence, extending from the choir end of the cathedral to the keep of the Castle: "a cancello ecclesiæ ad arcem usque castelli producita murum construxit longitudine". It is not impossible that some portions of this may be still in existence, forming the substructure of those fragments of wall which may yet be seen in the gardens of the houses of the North and South Baileys,—names which obviously descend from the time when the *ballia* of the Castle extended in the direction taken by the long street which is known under those appellations.

Flambard also strengthened the other defences of the city, and made a wide, open space between the Castle and the Cathedral, by levelling the dwellings which were thickly clustered together upon that site. This he did partly by way of precaution against the fires, which appear to have been very frequent,¹ the houses being in all likelihood chiefly of timber, and partly as a sanitary measure,—"*Locum inter ecclesiam et castellum, quem multa occupaverant habitacula, in patentis campi redegit planitiem; ne vel ex sordibus contaminatio, vel ex ignibus æcclesiam attingerent.*" His work at the Castle included also a bridge over the Wear, at the foot of the precipitous rock on which the former was founded.

The importance of the Castle of Durham as a stronghold is sufficiently shewn by the events which took place when the see was usurped in 1140 by the intruder Cumin; but into the details of this it is unnecessary to enter, as we glean nothing from the account given by the continuator of Symeon's history, of the state of the fabric, or of any additions made to it at that time. Reginald, in his account of the escape of two prisoners from the dungeon of the Castle,

¹ Reginald speaks of the repeated injury which the city had sustained by fire: "*Inter alia diversæ fortunæ sæva discrimina, contigit urbem Dunelmensem sæpius intolerabilia sustinere periculorum incendia.*" (*Reg. Mon. Dunelm. Libellus*, etc., c. xxxix.)

through the miraculous interference of St. Cuthbert, gives a slight but graphic picture of the keep, and the steep glacis of the mound at its base, sloping swiftly to the Place Green: "Ductore tali de carcere educti sunt, sed miro modo ad suprema fastigia turris altissimæ perlati sunt. Gradus quidem videbantur gradientibus subponi et tam in sublime erigi, quam ad inferiora substerni. Sic ad superiora proVecti, per medium fenestræ districtissimæ perducuntur, atque quasi gradatim per devexum prærupti montis, in quo turris illa fundata est, ad inferiora deferuntur. Vident deinde se in plateâ quæ ad ecclesiam ducit consistere; et ducem suum sequentes, ad ipsa limina ecclesiæ Beati Cuthberti pervenire." (*Reginaldi Monachi Libellus*, etc., c. 1, p. 106.)

The historical evidence which comes next in order is Galfrid de Coldingham's account of Bishop Pudsay's work (1153-1195): "In castello itaque Dunhelmie ædificia, quæ primis episcopatus sui temporibus flamma consumpserat, renovavit." (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores* III, p. 12). This account is meagre and unsatisfactory; but, as we shall hereafter see, the building itself affords many indications of much interest of the portions which may be referred to this prelate.

Some work was going on at the Castle, though probably little more than ordinary repairs, during the time that the temporalities of the see were in the hands of the Crown, after the death of Philip de Pictavia, the successor of Pudsay. The following items occur in the Pipe Rolls: "13 John 1211. Et ī reparacōne casti & domor' de Dunhelm. xij. li. & iij. s. & iij. d. ob. p id. br." "14 John 1213. Et ī Opat' Castelli domor' Castelli Dunelm. & j' porce culeicie. & j'. Garris.¹ xvij. li. & v. s. et viij. d. p id. br. & p uisū Will'i de Camera. & Gileb' fil. Geruasii." "15 John 1214. Et ī repat' castell' & domor' Dunelm. xij. li. & iij. s. & iij. d. ob." (*Pipe Rolls, or Sheriffs' Annual Accounts of the Revenues of the Crown for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham*, etc. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1847. Pp. 212, 216, 224.)

After a considerable interval we have William de Chambre's account of Bishop Hatfield's restorations (1345-1382), which appear to have been very considerable: "In Castello Dun-

¹ Probably the *Garite* or *Garitte*, which Ducange explains as "turriculæ editiores in tectis domorum vel in castrorum muris, Gall. *Guerites* vel *Garites*."

elmensi ædificia, quæ antiquitate et vetustate consumpta vel debilitata fuerant, renovavit; et aulam episcopalem et aulam constabularii, cum aliis ædificiis in eodem, de novo construxit. Urbem Dunelmensem, licet hanc natura et murus satis munierunt, turre tamen fortiori sumptibus in castello constructa esse reddit fortiolem." (*Hist. Dun. Script.* III, p. 138.)

Within half a century after Hatfield's death we have the following record of Cardinal Langley's work: "Iste totam Dunelmensem gaolam, gaolæque portas lapideas sumptuosissimas fundavit, ubi priscis temporibus porta fuit antiqua tunc temporis dilapsa." (*Ibid.*, p. 146.)

At the end of the fifteenth century Bishop Fox effected considerable alterations: "Iste aulam in castro Dunelmensi transmutavit: quod ibidem duæ fuere regalitatis sedes, una in supremâ parte, altera in infimâ parte aulæ; modo autem unam in parte superiori reliquit, et loco inferioris sedis fecit penum cum pantariâ, et super idem opus duas collocavit sedes pro buccinatoribus, aut aliis musicis, tempore servitii, cubiculumque computatorium, et amplam coquinam, omnesque domus officiales ad eam spectantes, cum cubiculis illas suppositis officiales, et novo omni illo opere ex occidentali parte aulæ et coquinæ collocato, proprio sumptu erexit. Hic erexit et construere incepit in altâ turre ejusdem castri aulam, coquinam aliaque nonnulla ædificia; sed priusquam perficiebantur, translatus est ad Winchester." (*Ib.*, p. 150.)

Bishop Tunstall's (1530-1560) is the last name recorded in the chronicle which has furnished the three preceding quotations. Of him it is said,—“Construxit à fundo porticum valdè speciosum et capellam ei annexam opere cœmentario, in castro Dunelmensi. Construxit etiam portas ferreas ejusdem castri cum opere lapideo ab utrâque parte. Aquæ etiam canalem, scilicet *a water conduit*, ad lavandum, fundavit, à sinistrâ parte introitus ejusdem castri.” (*Ib.*, p. 155.)

Such are the scanty and imperfect records which we possess concerning the fabric of Durham Castle. Scanty, however, as are the notices which we have brought together, they are sufficient to give a general clue to the architectural history of the building, and the reader will do well to bear them in mind whilst we endeavour to point out the different portions of the structure, with the dates which may be assigned to each.

Of the *enceinte* of the Castle, which embraced the Cathedral and monastic buildings, and the long street already mentioned, which bears the name of the North and South Bailey, nothing now remains except a few fragments of masonry, which we have also mentioned as still existing in the gardens of some of the houses on the east side of the street. These are portions of the exterior wall of the *ballia* of the Castle. The outer gateway built by Cardinal Langley, and added to by Bishop Neville, was removed about the year 1820. It stood at the foot of the North Bailey, and was of great strength, forming, as it did, the principal entrance into the precinct embraced by the fortifications. Its site will be found marked upon the block-plan (plate 4 P P, see also pl. 7).

From the Place Green an inner gate-house gives entrance to the Castle. This gate-house presents externally no features of antiquity, having been restored and refaced in Bishop Barrington's time (1791-1826), under the direction of Wyatt, after the fashion which that architect deemed suitable for castellated buildings. But the groining of the archway probably belongs to Pudsay's time. The strong oaken door with its little wicket,¹ particularly as regards the massive iron-work of its bolts and bars, is worthy of attention. This appears to have been the work of Bishop Tunstall. The quantity and strength of the iron-work employed about it may well entitle the leaves of the doors to be called "*portas ferreas*," the expression used by the chronicler in the quotation above given.

Through this gateway we enter the courtyard of the Castle, an irregular square, flanked on the east by the keep

¹ A story is connected with this little wicket, which Dr. Raine thought worthy of being put on record in the memoir of Dr. Grey, which he has embodied in his *North Durham*,—"He (Bishop Crew) pressed Dr. Grey (y^e great ornament of y^e church of Durham) and Dr. Morton to read King James's declaration for a Dispensing Power in their parish churches, which they declining, and arguing against it, he angrily told Dr. Grey his age made him doat; he had forgott his learning. The good old Doctor briskly replied, he had forgott more learning than his Lordship ever had. 'Well (said the Bishop) I'll forgive and reverence you, but cannot pardon that blockhead Morton, whom I raised from nothing.' They thereuppon tooke their leave of the Bishopp, who with great civility waited upon them towards the gate, and y^e porter opening y^e wickett or posterne only, y^e Bishopp said, 'Sirrah, why don't you open y^e great gates?' 'No (says y^e Reverend Dr. Grey), my Lord, wee'll leave y^e broad way to y^r Lordship, y^e strait way will serve us.'" Before Dr. Raine printed this story, it existed only in manuscript amongst the Spearman collection, which forms part of the Mickleton MSS., now in the episcopal library at Durham.

and its terraced mound, which are connected with the gate-house by a curtain-wall, on the west by the great hall of the Castle and the domestic offices, and bounded on the north by a range of buildings, within which are included the very earliest portions of the original structure, which are yet traceable. A reference to the block-plan which accompanies this paper, will best explain the relative position of the several parts of the building. (Plate 4.) We shall proceed to point out each as nearly as possible in chronological order.

A modern doorway at (a, fig. 2) leads to the ancient Chapel of the fortress. Through the Chapel access is now gained to the modern apartments in the restored keep, an alteration which involved the destruction of the eastern termination of the south aisle. There can be no doubt as to the original purpose of the building. Its division into nave and aisles, the two steps which elevate the altar platform at the east end, the brackets on either side of the east windows, the windows themselves, though now blocked up, and an almshouse in the north wall, clearly indicate the sacred uses to which it was heretofore applied. Each of the aisles has had a window at its eastern extremity. The two side-windows which give light to the northern aisle were enlarged in 1840. In their original state they were widely splayed, of plain, round-headed Norman character, and not more than six inches in width. On the south side are glazed openings into another apartment, one lowered to the ground and used as a door. They appear to have been windows inserted by Bishop Tunstall, and one may almost infer from this that it had continued to be used as the chapel of the castle until his erection of that which is now in use, and to which we shall presently refer. The original doorway of the chapel remains, opening from the south aisle into a passage, now closed up, which communicated with the upper apartments by a winding stair in a Norman turret (κ), which still exists almost unaltered.¹

The accompanying ground-plan, drawings, and sections of this chapel, from the skilful pencil of Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, explain better than the most elaborate description the character of this very curious portion of early work.

¹ This turret is marked *cc* on fig. 2 of the block-plan. Fig. 2 shews the base-ment of that part of the Castle which contains this chapel and Bishop Pudsey's hall. It indicates, as will be seen, the relative position of the ancient chapel and this Norman turret with its winding stair.

The capitals of the piers, as it will be seen, present the only ornamental details. They are very peculiar and interesting. The pavement, with the *herring-bone* arrangement of the small flag-stones which form it, is probably coeval, at all events as regards its largest portion. (See plates 5 and 6.)

There is no documentary evidence of any kind as to the date of this chapel, but it is unquestionably very early Norman work, possibly of the time of Walcher, the first Norman bishop (1072-1080), but certainly not later than the early part of Karileph's episcopate (1081-1096). It bears a strong general similarity to the crypt of the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen, which was founded by Matilda of Flanders, wife of William II, Duke of Normandy, in 1066, and the arches and vaulting resemble part of the side aisles of Jumieges, which was built in the eleventh century by Robert the Abbot, who was translated from Jumieges to London, and from thence to Canterbury. The capitals of the piers, with their square abaci and rude imitation of the Ionic volute, are very like some which occur in the church of St. George Bocherville, near Rouen, which dates from the middle of the same century. It bears a strong affinity, also, to the well-known Norman chapel in the White Tower, London, and to Remigius' work at Lincoln (1070-1092).

By a staircase (H, plate 4) access is gained, through a folding-door with open screen-work in its upper compartment, to a tapestried gallery, "*porticum valdè speciosum*,"¹ built by Bishop Tunstall (G). The wood-work of this door, and the corresponding one at the lower end, must be referred to that prelate, notwithstanding the shield of arms attached to them, by which Bishop Cosin (1660-1671) designated his share in the renovation and adornment of this part of the building. The most prominent object which this gallery presents belongs to a much more remote antiquity, being the great Norman doorway which originally

¹ The word *porticus* was not then used in its present restricted signification of an outer porch or vestibule. It was a common appellation of the aisle of a church. We find Symeon using it in this sense,—“Sepultusque est (Eadbertus Rex) Eboraci in eadem *porticu* quâ et frater ejus Ecgbertus qui tribus annis antè illum obierat.” (Symeon, *Dunelm. Hist.*, l. ii, c. 3.) Beda uses the word also in a like sense. A long gallery at the side of a building is sufficiently analogous to an aisle to be designated by the same word.

formed the entrance to Bishop Pudsay's large hall of state. Its decorations are of the richest character. It consists of three receding concentric arches with mouldings of singular beauty. The outermost has a series of octagonal panels, deeply sunk in the centre. The arch within this is billey, and the innermost one has the square panel moulding, both of them ornamented with a profusion of small beads. Rose and lozenge mouldings continued down the recesses between the shafts form the divisions between the central portion of the arch and its exterior and interior members. The zig-zag moulding round the outermost arch is modern. Its original character has been the same as the outer moulding down the sides of the doorway. Originally it was, no doubt, the outer doorway, though it must always have been at a considerable height from the ground, but this was commonly the case in Norman buildings. The hall was usually on the first floor, having vaulted apartments below,¹ which were used as cellars or magazines. The entrance to the hall was by an external staircase from the courtyard. This doorway remained long hidden by stone and mortar, which was removed by Bishop Barrington (1791-1826). From the freshness of the mouldings of the upper portion, it would seem as though it had been partially blocked up at an early period, though the bases of the side shafts must, somehow or other, have escaped concealment for some time, for they show evident signs of having suffered from exposure to the weather. It is, however, possible that there may be another reason for the freshness and sharpness of the upper part. The outer staircase, which gave access to it probably, had a sort of penthouse roof, and was open at the sides. In this case the upper portion of the doorway would be protected from the weather, whilst its lower part would be exposed especially to draughts of air, which have a more prejudicial effect upon the surface of stone-work than is often imagined.

At the western extremity of Tunstall's gallery a door opens upon the great staircase of the castle, the work of

¹ There are doubtless vaulted apartments, or a crypt of some kind, under the floor of what was once Pudsay's hall, but solid masonry forbids any access. The site of this supposed crypt is marked *dd* on the block-plan (fig. 2, plate 4). Flat Norman buttresses with a shallow projection are visible at the foot of Bishop Cosin's great staircase, and in the passage which leads from the courtyard to the Norman chapel. Arches of construction are likewise visible in the walls.



PLAN OF THE CITY OF DURHAM FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY 1849.
SHEWING THE CITY, MUNICIPAL & PAROCHIAL BOUNDARIES

Bishop Cosin (F). By ascending this, access is gained to what now bears the name of the Norman gallery, and the weather-worn stones of what was once its external wall are seen at the head of the staircase. A doorway of somewhat later date than the other architectural features of this gallery forms the entrance to it from this point. Internally it presents a range of triple arches, adorned with the ordinary chevron ornament, the centre one, containing the window, being higher in each case than the two blank ones by which it is flanked. At the eastern end is a round-headed doorway, of the same period, communicating by a staircase in the thickness of the wall with the floor of the lower hall.¹ This doorway makes it obvious that this range of windows belonged to a large upper hall, or chamber of state, over the lower one (L), to which the richly-ornamented archway already mentioned was the entrance. The architecture of this upper hall is well illustrated in Billings' *Antiquities of Durham*.

Both halls belong to the same period, that of Pudsey. The lower door, as the principal entrance, was of course the richest in point of decoration; but it may be observed that a portion of its ornamentation, namely, the lozenge-moulding, is the same as that of the one in the upper apartment; and comparatively plain as the latter archway is, careful examination will perceive great refinement about the mouldings which adorn it. A comparison of the whole of the work in this gallery, with the Galilee chapel at the west end of the cathedral, so well known to be Pudsey's building, must lead to the conclusion that no long interval existed between the erection of the two. Though this work in the castle is doubtless earlier, yet it is quite possible that the same architect designed both.

The upper hall must have had a high-pitched roof. One of the original corbels is visible above the east side of the upper doorway. A climb into the existing roof, which is modern, and not of easy access, shows that the hall must have been altered subsequently to Pudsey's period, and at two separate times. At the west end is a decorated

¹ This staircase was probably continued down to the basement. When the present passage to the Norman chapel in the basement was cut (1840) out of almost solid masonry, the workmen came upon the remains of a staircase now lost in that passage-way. The position of this staircase is marked A upon plan (plate 5).

window, which may probably be referred to Bishop Hatfield. This is visible externally from any point which commands a view of the north and north-western sides of the castle. At the opposite extremity is one of much later date, possibly inserted by Bishop Tunstall. Hatfield is said, amongst other works, to have repaired the "*aulam constabularii*"—probably this very apartment. There is a small chamber in a late Norman, or early English turret (M), at the north-west angle of the Norman gallery, with a vaulted roof of stone, having groining ribs with a plain chamfer. The arches of this groining are pointed. This apartment may possibly have been a garde-robe. Another early English turret (M, 2) at the north-eastern angle, is visible externally, and a wall of the same date, marked on the block plan by a dotted line, extends from this turret to the keep.

We must next proceed to notice the great hall (D), with which the name of Bishop Hatfield is commonly associated. The grand entrance from the courtyard received an external porch at the time when Bishop Cosin was making his additions to the castle. The doorway within this porch is clearly much earlier than Bishop Hatfield, and dates, in all likelihood, from Bishop Bec's period (1283-1310), though the windows on this side of the hall, before their recent restoration, were probably the work of the former. It is clear from William de Chambre's account, that Hatfield carried out a very considerable work in this and other parts of the castle, but it is equally clear that there must have been a great hall in existence on this side of the castle from an earlier period. A window on the north-west side of the large fireplace, though curtailed as to its lower portion, has escaped restoration, and presents to view banded shafts and caps, at the angles of its splay, which undoubtedly belong to the thirteenth century. In all probability this great hall, originally of the most stately proportions,¹ owes its first foundation to Bishop Bec, but it must have replaced some Norman buildings. The floor is supported by enormous beams of oak, laid very closely together, and resting upon a succession of arches, apparently of Norman character, which run parallel with the side walls. One or two small Norman windows, which have given light to this crypt or cellar, are visible from the courtyard.

¹ Its original length was 132 feet by 36 feet in width.

The upper part of the hall was curtailed by Bishop Cosin for the purpose of obtaining two additional rooms, but the space thus shut off was restored to it about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when the great window at the northern extremity was restored in what purported to be conformity with the one which originally occupied its place. The north-west windows were also restored, not very skilfully, after their original pattern. An interesting feature of the lower part of the old windows was copied, showing the way in which their wooden shutters were fastened. The mullion on its inner side has a projecting semicircular knob, carved in the stone, with a perforation through which a horizontal iron bar was passed. The hooks by which these shutters were suspended may still be seen on the side jamb of the window which has been already mentioned as having escaped restoration. These wooden shutters were used, in all probability, not so much as an additional protection from cold, as to close the opening when the glass was removed. We learn from the *Northumberland Household Book* that when the earl left one of his castles, to reside for a time at another, the glass windows were taken out and carefully laid up in a place of safety until his return. The screen-work with which Bishop Cosin shut off the lower part of the hall has been removed within the last few years, and its full proportions may now be seen, to such an extent, at least, as Bishop Fox (1494–1501) permitted them to remain; for the great hall occupied until his time nearly the whole length of the block of building on the west side of the courtyard. A small part of the upper portion of the internal tracery of one of the two great south windows may be seen in the wall of one of the chambers which now occupy the extremity of the building, and their outline is dimly discernible on the exterior. Bishop Fox divided this noble hall, leaving it little more than half its original length, and converted the space thus gained at its southern end into different chambers and offices. His badge—a *pelican in her piety*—is twice repeated on the wall which forms this division (E). Before Bishop Fox commenced his alterations it would appear, according to the writer who continued William de Chambre's *Chronicle*, that the hall contained two thrones of great magnificence,—“*duar regulitatis sedes*,”—probably

erected by Bishop Hatfield, for we may well believe that the Prince Bishop who erected for himself and his successors that *sedes regalitatis* which is so conspicuous an object in the cathedral, would scarcely fail to have a stately seat whereon to receive the homage of his vassals in his own hall. One of these seats, at the upper end of the hall, Fox retained, but it has long since vanished. To him are also due the stone galleries corbelled out from the wall on either side at the lower end. They were intended for the trumpeters or musicians, whose strains resounded through the hall for the delectation of those who were banqueting below.

With due regard to proper provision for the banquets which episcopal hospitality was always anxious to dispense, Bishop Fox added a large and lofty kitchen (B)—“*amplam coquinam*”—with all needful offices, on the western side of the lower end of the hall. These still remain almost precisely as he left them. The buttery-hatches (c), for the delivery of meat from the kitchen, wine and ale from the cellar, and march-panes and “sottleties” from the panteler’s department, are still to be seen, formed of oak, black with age, and carved with Fox’s badge; the motto *est deo gracia*, and the date 1499.

We have already mentioned Bishop Tunstall’s gallery. A door at the upper end of the great hall opens upon one of the landings of the great staircase, from which we may enter the lower end of the gallery, and proceed through it to the chapel (1), which he built at its eastern extremity. In point of architecture this presents no features of interest. The windows, as might be expected, are of the worst type of perpendicular, but are identified with Tunstall by carvings of his arms on their jambs. His shield also appears on the exterior. The most noteworthy object in the chapel is the stall-work, which originally belonged to Auckland. In 1547 certain seats, or stalls, were removed by Bishop Tunstall from the upper, or *minor*, chapel there to his newly-erected chapel in Durham Castle. (*Raine’s Auckland Castle*, p. 84.) There is much curious carving about the *misereres*, and the ends of the stalls are also deserving of notice. These have given rise to an oft-repeated tale of Cardinal Wolsey’s arrogance, in proof of which it was pointed out that, whilst Bishop of Durham, he had

caused his shield to be carved on these standards, having his own arms on the *dexter* side, and those of the see on the *sinister*, contrary to all heraldic rule and all ordinary modesty, which of course would give precedence to the episcopal bearings. But the truth is, that Wolsey's arms do not occur at all. The stall-work is of Bishop Ruthall's time (1509-1522), and the arms are his. Their position on the wrong side of the shield is owing to a blunder of the carver, who no doubt had before him as a pattern the matrix of a seal, and not an impression. Hence not merely are the coats misplaced, but the birds and lions, violating the laws of heraldry, look towards the left. (*Raine's Auckland Castle*, ib.)

The keep (N), although perfectly modern as far as appearance goes, both externally and internally, claims a few words. It is more than probable, as has been already stated, that it owes its erection, in the first instance, to the Norman Conqueror, and, in all likelihood, portions of his work are embedded in some part of the structure. But the main part of the building, as it stood in its dismantled state before its present restoration, was no doubt the work of Bishop Hatfield. He found the castle generally in a state of great disrepair, and expended large sums in strengthening the fortifications, and repairing and rebuilding its various parts. When Leland saw it, it had "4 highes of logginges." Its necessity, in a defensive point of view, had then ceased, and successive bishops appear to have suffered great dilapidations to take place. Indeed, there was sometimes more than mere neglect. Bishop Howson (1628-1631) appears to have been very unscrupulous in this way. Amongst the dilapidations with which his widow was charged appear certain items for "lead taken off the highest north-west tower," and for "timber sawne downe in the great tower." But at length, in Bishop Morton's time (1639-1659) the occupants of the see were excused from any payment on account of dilapidations respecting "the great tower," and it was subsequently only repaired by Lord Crewe and other bishops for the sake of preventing the total ruin of a picturesque and stately adjunct of their episcopal residence. Its rebuilding was effected under the direction of Mr. Salvin, and it is inhabited by the students of the University.

The more modern external features of the other parts of the Castle are soon enumerated. Cosin's outer porch to the grand entrance has been already briefly noticed. The refacing of the wall, which presents internally the striking features of Bishop Pudsay's range of triple-headed windows, was the work of Bishop Trevor (1752-1771), whose arms appear on the exterior. On the north side of the same block of building, the shields of the same prelate and of his predecessor, the great Bishop Butler, indicate their respective shares in altering the character of that portion of the structure. A terrace-walk extends itself along this north front, looking down upon the moat, and level with the top of an old round, flanking tower (o), which formed a portion of the exterior defences of the Castle, connecting it with the great outer gateway which within a comparatively recent period still spanned the entrance into the North Bailey. Its site is marked by dotted lines on the block-plan at p. This gateway had a draw-bridge over the moat which extended itself, in the direction marked on the plan, under the northern walls of the fortress. An item respecting this draw-bridge occurs in Bishop Fordham's General Receiver's Roll, 9 Ric. II : "Et Roberto Skepper pro x flekes de virgis, factis in bosco de Frankleyn, pro ponte tractabili ad portam bori-alem salvando, ex convencione in certo, 3s. 4d." (Appendix to Bishop Hatfield's *Survey*, pub. by Surtees Soc., p. 272).

The arrangement of those apartments which have not been hitherto mentioned, is all more or less modern. The room now used as the Common Room of the University, formerly the Bishop's dining-room, has a panelled roof, probably Bishop Tunstall's work, though some incongruous ornaments, added during the last century, might lead to the idea of its being of later date; but a portion of it, in its original state, may be seen in the passage which is entered from the great Norman doorway in Tunstall's gallery. The apartment which it covered was evidently much larger than the present Common Room.

The Senate Room presents a very interesting specimen of Jacobean work, being a mantel-piece of considerable size and of excellent design. The carving is bold and rich, and the shields which adorn it enable us to assign it to the episcopate of Bishop James. Another feature of interest in this room is the tapestry, which probably dates about the latter

end of the seventeenth century. It represents the history of Moses; and the cartoons from which it has been wrought must have been the work of no mean artist, the outline and grouping of the figures being drawn with great spirit and freedom.

The Castle passed into the hands of the University of Durham in the year 1837, the Bishop of Durham retaining a right, however, to occupy certain apartments at his pleasure. Apartments are also reserved for the use of the judges on their circuit.

The general appearance of the exterior of the Castle is singularly striking, especially when viewed from those approaches to the city which command a view of its western and north-western sides. Portions of some of the Norman and Early English buttresses and towers are visible, growing, as it were, out of the rock on which it stands. Perhaps no near view is equalled by that which meets the beholder's eye when passing over the ancient bridge by which the city is entered from the north. Few buildings are more suggestive to the thoughtful mind. It carries us back to a period when the sword of the warrior as well as the crozier of the bishop were wielded by the successive prelates who presided over the patrimony of St. Cuthbert,—a combination of temporal and spiritual power which existed, in a modified form, down to a very recent period. But all this is now matter of history. The power and sway of the Count Palatine has passed out of the hands of the Bishop of Durham, and the building which presented the most striking external emblem of his temporal authority has been ceded solely for the promotion of sound learning and religious education. It is now the seat of the University of Durham. May it fulfil the intentions of its pious founders!

ON THE PROGRESS AND PRESENT CONDITION OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
ON THE 14TH MARCH, 1866,

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

IT has been thought that the present is a moment at which we may advantageously take a retrospect of the history and progress of the science which it is our province to cultivate, and review briefly its progress, with the difficulties with which it may have had to contend, and the means which have overcome them, not only in times farther back, but more especially during the period since the British Archæological Association has come into existence. We are living in a period when archæology has taken a very great extension, and at the same time a very high position among sciences; but there are dangers to which it is exposed, and which it is well we should contemplate. In an essay like this, I can necessarily only treat the subject briefly.

Man can hardly reach any definite degree of social and intellectual development before he begins to feel a desire to know something of his ancestors and of those who have lived before him. The pride of ancestry and of race is a strong passion even in the savage, and when society has reached that point at which a priestly or learned class has sprung into existence, it becomes a principal part of the mission of that class to preserve for the benefit of the people the traditional knowledge of the past. The first worldly science, indeed, was that of the antiquary; as society advanced, it became developed into that of the historian. However they might misunderstand them, people must soon have begun to feel an interest in all objects which had been made or used by men who lived in former ages.

I should be wandering too far from my present object if I undertook to trace the prevalence and character of such a feeling during classical and mediæval times. Under the general name of antiquities, we include two different classes of relics, which are, I perhaps may say technically, spoken

of as literary and monumental. The import of the former, which comprise the true materials of history in all ages, was much more easy to be understood than that of the latter, and the literary antiquary is as ancient as literature itself. Monumental antiquities became, on the contrary, objects of legend or of mere curiosity, and it required a much more advanced state of intellectual cultivation before they obtained anything like a correct appreciation. Our earlier historians, from as far back as the first half of the twelfth century, insert in their chronicles lists of such monuments, including especially Stonehenge, and several of that class of remains which have been called "Druidical"; and similar lists, more or less comprehensive, are found scattered anonymously in medieval manuscripts under the title of *Mirabilia Anglie*, the wonderful things in England. There are similar lists of the wonders of Wales and the wonders of Ireland. They mark the existence of a spirit of inquiry into the remains of antiquity, as well as into the marvels of natural science, which, however, was as yet easily satisfied with fable and legend for their explanation.

Already, however, in the reign of Henry VIII, the study of the relics of antiquity began to assume a new interest through the sagacious zeal of worthy and learned John Leland, who first among English scholars was distinguished by the title of "antiquary". Within half a century of the time of Leland appeared the honoured name of William Camden. After Camden's time, the study of antiquities continued to be cultivated with more or less success, and individuals began to collect relics of antiquity with more care than formerly, and to form museums of them. At the close of the seventeenth century and in the earlier part of the last, appeared in the field of antiquarian research the three Gales (father and two sons) and Thomas Hearne, and the enthusiastic Stukeley, whose zeal was too often led astray by his want of judgment and his hasty credulity. Stukeley introduced into the study of antiquities a wild spirit of speculation which had an unfortunate influence on the antiquarianism of the following age, and bore its fruits in the theories of men like Colonel Vallancey and Governor Pownall. A name or two, such as those of Horsley and Douglas, the authors of the *Britannia Romana* and the *Nenia Britannica*, shine almost alone among the archæological obscurity of that period.

It was, however, during this low period of antiquarian science that the Royal Society of Antiquaries was formed, and among its most zealous promoters was Stukeley himself. It was, after all, only the incorporation of a certain number of individuals who had long been in the custom of meeting together and discussing antiquarian subjects, and the volumes of its published transactions during many years furnish abundant evidence how little the incorporated society did towards the advancement of the science for the promotion of which it was founded.

I have given this brief review of the earlier history of the study of antiquities in this country, because it will enable us to understand better certain great revolutions which it has undergone in our own time. While the science was declining in England, it had been continually rising on the Continent, where it had been encouraged not only by men of wealth and power, but by the governments themselves. At a time when in England the relics of antiquity were looked upon as little better than curiosities fit to amuse the leisure of the ingenious, the scholars of France, especially, understood their real importance, and saw the new and vast light which the proper study of them was calculated to throw upon the history, both political and intellectual, of the peoples of former ages. They began in earnest to collect, and compare, and classify, and the results proved how far they were in the right. Commissions were established under the immediate direction of the French Government, to watch over the preservation and study of the monuments of the national history. These commissions were two—the first had for its object the preservation and publication of the written records of history; the other was to occupy itself with what were entitled “Arts and Monuments”, or, in simpler words, the works of man’s hand. The continental antiquaries gave to the study of this latter class of antiquities the name of *archæology*: it is a word of comparatively modern introduction.

I am now speaking of the state of things a quarter of a century ago. In England, at that time, the long-established Society of Antiquaries was remarkable chiefly for its apathy to the interests of the science. In every part of the kingdom, interesting monuments were perishing from neglect or from actual violence, and no hand was held out to save

them. The pick and the spade, and other agents, were continually bringing to light remains of antiquity of various kinds, which were destroyed, or scattered about and lost, and no record of them preserved. Of those who did look upon such objects as possessed of some interest, few really appreciated them, or imagined that the study of antiquities had anything of science in it; but, each individual who obtained any single object of this description, seemed to think that by the mere possession of it he was qualified for giving an opinion and starting a theory upon it. So much was this the case, that in the earlier days of the Archæological Association, the communications we received from the country consisted far more in opinions and speculations upon antiquities than of detailed and accurate descriptions of them, and it was some time before we could sufficiently impress upon our correspondents that the collecting of facts must precede the deduction of science from them.

It was under circumstances of which this is no exaggerated picture, that a few lovers of archæology, some of whom were partly formed in the French school, and all influenced by an ardent desire to place the science on a better footing, resolved to associate together for that purpose. They had watched the satisfactory results of the labours of the French commissions, and, as our antiquarian society was not at that time to be moved into activity, and no government in England lent a helping hand, they saw that the only way left was to have recourse to volunteers,—a force which, happily, it is not difficult to raise in our country, when the appeal is a national one. Accordingly, they formed themselves into the volunteer body to which, borrowing from the continental antiquaries the name of Archæology, they gave the title of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. From that time the term archæology has come into general use to distinguish that branch of antiquarian study which embraces objects formed by the hands of man as distinguished from written records.

The establishment of the British Archæological Association in the earlier part of the year 1844, forms a very strongly-marked period in the history of antiquarian science in England. Its founders acted with extreme disinterestedness; they asked for no subscriptions, but proposed to form in London a voluntary committee, consisting of men

who were best acquainted with the different branches of antiquarian knowledge, who should establish a correspondence through every part of the country, watch over the interest of the science, and hold frequent meetings for this purpose. By such means they proposed, to use the words of their original programme, to promote careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, and especially of railways, which were at that time taking their great development, and bringing to light immense quantities of ancient relics which were immediately scattered and lost ; to encourage individuals, or associations, in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation ; to oppose and prevent, as far as practicable, all injuries with which ancient monuments might be threatened ; to use every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for archæology, and a just appreciation of monuments of ancient art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation ; and further, to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of ancient monuments, and thus preserve authentic memorials of all antiquities which might from time to time be brought to light.

I have said that the establishment of the Archæological Association marks a great epoch in the history of the science, for archæology began now for the first time in this country to be treated as a science, and it is only necessary to compare the past with the present state of things, to enable us to appreciate this fact. When the Association commenced its labours, there were no local museums in which objects of antiquity might be deposited—even our great national establishment, the British Museum, had no place for national antiquities ; there were a few local collectors, but their museums were not open to the general student ; and there was a still smaller number of individuals, among whom the names of Lysons and Colt Hoare stand conspicuous, who pursued systematic researches, and laboured to make their discoveries useful. But there was no unity of purpose in their labours, and each remained a solitary example of the desire to be of some use. One of the first labours of the Archæological Association was to unite these solitary examples and to give them the utility they sought. Then, a few of the larger towns possessed literary and philosophical societies, but these gave

little attention to the local antiquities, and formed no museums. Now, there is hardly a town of any importance in the kingdom which does not possess its antiquarian society, or, at least, a society which embraces archæology as one of its objects, and, which is still more desirable, a local museum. It is a matter of great importance to concentrate locally the efforts of antiquarian investigators, and to preserve the antiquities of each district within the district itself; for their local relationship forms a great part of their scientific value. Studied thus apart, as well as collectively, they alone throw their full light upon the history of past ages, and make us acquainted not only with the general characteristics of society, but with the different phases it presented, in regard to greater or less population, or riches, or importance, to its local operations, or fashions, or feelings, or even to its higher or lower degree of mental culture, in the different parts of the kingdom. Studied in one great centralised museum, where the local character of the objects is generally lost, we learn to appreciate what is Roman, or what is Saxon, or what belongs to any other particular period, but the real historical information we gain extends very little further. It is somewhat as though we took the brains (using the word intellectually and not physically) of a hundred people who lived at a given period, mixed them all together, and took the mixture as an average intelligence of that period, whereas it would probably not represent the brains of any individual who lived in it.

As I have said, when our Association was started, there were but two or three antiquarian societies in the country, and those doing very little work, and the museums of antiquities were but few and scattered, and those extremely imperfect and very little known. We have only to look round us to be convinced of the great change which has taken place since that period. At the present day, everywhere, people are watching over their ancient monuments, and an occasional act of neglect or vandalism is literally the exception to the rule. The old amateur antiquarianism was gradually suppressed, and in its place arose a more careful and judicious study of the monuments, and a more patient comparison and classification of them. More than this, not only were objects, when discovered accidentally, treasured up and preserved, instead of being scattered and lost, but

excavations began to be undertaken more extensively and more judiciously. Of this, we need only quote such instances as those at Wroxeter (*Uriconium*), at Silchester (*Calleva*), at Slack in Yorkshire (*Cambodunum*), and on the sites of many primæval cemeteries and several important villas. Thus gradually has archæology become popular, at the same time that it became correct.

I will not hide from you my conviction that no small portion of the good which has thus been done has arisen from our annual Congress, which was established in the very first year of our existence. The idea was taken from the annual meetings of the British Association of Science, and we began by adopting their form of dividing the meeting into sections, such as primeval antiquities, medieval antiquities, history, etc. ; but we soon found it convenient to lay this method aside, for reasons which you will easily understand. Our original notion was that, though we were exercising a beneficial influence by the continuous correspondence carried on between the central committee in London and all its distant ramifications, yet still it was a distant correspondence, and that the benefit would be greatly increased if we could from time to time meet our correspondents at different important points in the country, and hold a week's personal intercourse with them. We could thus see and do much which could not be seen or done so satisfactorily by means of mere descriptions and reports, while the excitement of such a week naturally tended to provoke a spirit of curiosity and an interest in the subject which extended far beyond the mere correspondents of the Association. The success of this experiment was very great, and we soon found that our meetings at the Congress for reading papers were rather an impediment to us than otherwise. The real good we did was by visiting and examining monuments, and relics of antiquity, and calling local attention to them by explaining their value or interest on the spot. Our papers might be read in London just as well as at the Congress. It was for this reason that the sectional divisions and morning meetings were abandoned, and that the mornings were devoted entirely to excursions over the surrounding country in search of its antiquities, while the evenings only were reserved for reading papers and for discussing them. These annual Congresses have, no doubt,

contributed greatly to the extension of a taste for archæology throughout the country.

By efforts like these, the science of archæology in this country has been placed on a much better footing than it held before, and certainty and accuracy have been everywhere substituted in the place of hesitation and error. This improvement has extended to every branch of the science. Our knowledge of the Roman antiquities of these islands is now far more extensive and far more intimate and correct than it was forty years ago. The identification and classification of the antiquities of our Pagan Saxon period have almost originated, and been brought to perfection, under the influence of the British Archæological Association; for we must not forget that even the careful Douglas, the author of the *Nenia Britannica*, imagined that the Saxon cemeteries on the Kentish downs were the burial-places of the Britons who were slain in the battles against Cæsar when he landed on our coasts. I need not tell you how much has been accomplished during this period in the still wider field of mediæval antiquities. There still remained a tolerably numerous class of antiquities, which were distinguished chiefly by the rudeness of their manufacture, but presented in themselves no distinguishing marks by which we might easily identify them, and which were found either in early burial mounds of unknown date, or not, as far as was then known, in such close connection with objects of known date as would enable us with certainty to assert their relationship. On the other hand, there was an indefinite period of time preceding the Roman occupation of our island, and another period between the close of the Roman power and that of the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, of the antiquities of which we really knew nothing, while there can be little doubt that, at least during a considerable portion of the Roman period, a portion of the old British population continued to exist below or beyond the reach of Roman civilisation, and also that, during the later part of the same Roman period, there was a considerable intrusion into this country of populations from North-Western Europe who must have been in a very rude state of civilisation. The archæologist had, therefore, to find in these periods of unknown antiquities the places of the unappropriated antiquities to which I have first alluded: and this could



be done by laborious and cautious investigation, and by waiting for new discoveries, and watching them carefully. Former observations had unfortunately been too often made carelessly or with prejudiced views. It was from this side that the accuracy of archæological science had to encounter more than one danger which was hardly anticipated.

I have spoken of the inconveniences likely to arise from a too great centralisation of collections of objects of antiquity, and of too great generalisation in classifying them. It seems to me evident that the only safe way of treating these antiquities of doubtful date in a museum, until they are appropriated, is to arrange them according to the localities and circumstances under which they are found; yet some one hit upon what I cannot but look upon as the unfortunate idea of classifying them according to the materials of which they are made, instead of considering them according to their forms. Materials depend upon localities, and upon a hundred different accidents, while form especially is typical of peoples and of race. In some of the great national museums—I believe, in those of Copenhagen and Dublin—these unappropriated antiquities were thus classified under the heads of objects in stone, objects in bronze, and objects in iron; as people went on contemplating them as thus arranged, they began to think that this was a true natural arrangement; and I believe that it was out of this impression that the system of periods or ages arose. According to this system, which we owe to the antiquaries of Denmark, there were three successive ages of mankind before the commencement of the historic period: first, there was a stone age, during which metals were as yet unknown, and the only material which, on account of its hardness and weight, could be used for cutting and hammering implements, was stone; then came a period when, whatever other metals may have been known, bronze, a compound metal, was the only one hard enough to be employed for cutting implements,—this was the “bronze age”; lastly, came the period when iron became known, and of course superseded bronze. I think that a just and unprejudiced consideration of the question is enough to show that this system is based upon very unsound foundations. In the first place, nobody will attempt to deny that, among all peoples, there has been a period, and probably a very long one, before the

knowledge of metals, during which the only materials for making the implements for necessary use, were such substances as stone, or bone, or wood. But the use of these materials was not limited downwards, for they continued to be employed largely for such purposes during centuries after the discovery of metals ; and, as the effect of chipping flint, for example, is always the same, it does not follow that, because any object of this kind made of stone is found, that it belongs to a "stone age". The forms of stone implements must have depended so much on local fashions and on individual caprice, and even sometimes upon accident, that any attempt to fix their dates by themselves can hardly be worthy of trust. After the use of iron was discovered, it must have superseded other materials for cutting implements among those who could procure it ; but, until society had attained to a considerable degree of cultivation, metals of all kinds must have been rare and valuable ; for they required mining and smelting and working, and can only therefore have been available to a small portion of the population. The fact of stone being superseded by metals does not make a system of periods, and for this it is necessary to accept an intermediate period, during which bronze was in common use, and before the discovery of iron. I do not believe in the existence of such a period in Western or Northern Europe.

Bronze is a mixed metal, and not one of simple or easy formation. It was no doubt invented in Greece and the East, where iron did not exist, or where, at least, it was not known until a comparatively late date, and where, therefore, people in a tolerably advanced state of civilization had to find a mixture of metals which would be hard enough to serve the purposes for which iron was afterwards used. For a long period, bronze was the only metal employed for such purposes in Greece and Italy ; no doubt it was communicated from thence to the Gauls, when the intercourse between these peoples became intimate, and through them it would in time reach the Britons. But long before the natives of Britain could have reached that knowledge of metallurgy which would have enabled them to invent bronze, *they* must have become acquainted with iron and with all its utility. At the time when Cæsar invaded our island, although the Britons worked iron, they

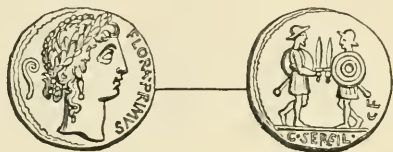
had no bronze of their own, and all they had was imported, no doubt from Gaul. The quantity of it was probably small. But the advocates of this system of periods appeal to a certain number of objects in bronze found in Britain, as well as in Gaul, Germany, and other parts of Northern Europe, consisting principally of swords, spear-heads, daggers, and chisel-formed implements, which are commonly known by the name of "celts", as being older than the invention of iron, and as belonging to this bronze period. In fact, it is upon the existence of these objects that the whole belief in such a period is founded. These objects are met with under circumstances which associate them so closely together, that they undoubtedly belong to the same period. I believe them to be all Roman. I cannot, on an occasion like this, enter into an examination of the question in its various bearings, but I will state it briefly in regard to the most important of these implements, and that on which the advocates of the system of periods insist most, the sword.¹

It is hardly necessary to remark that the sword is not a weapon which belongs to a low state of social development. The savage is essentially a coward. He tries to hurt his enemy from a distance, and, if possible, from behind a tree, or a rock, or other shelter, that he may be out of reach of hurt himself. Your wild men of the stone age, would no doubt in the earlier times fight by pelting their enemies with stones. As they advanced in civilisation (if we may apply the term to them), and gained courage to fight hand to hand, they would probably use a club, or a long staff with a stone tied to the end of it, with which they could still strike at a little distance. When metal was introduced, the first weapons were similarly the spear and the dart, and when the sword was brought into use, it was a long heavy sword, still intended for striking at a distance. In the heroic ages of Greece, the spear and the javelin were the favourite arms. It is to the Romans we must look for the more refined and disciplined use of the sword, which was the weapon of the legion. When we read in Cæsar, or Tacitus, or Livy, or Polybius, or any of the historians of the Roman wars, of their combats with barbarians, whether Germans, or Gauls, or Caledonians,

¹ I would refer, for a more extended examination of the arguments used by the supporters of this system, to my paper, "On the true Assignment of the Bronze Weapons," in the *Transactions* of the Ethnological Society of London, vol. iv, p. 176.

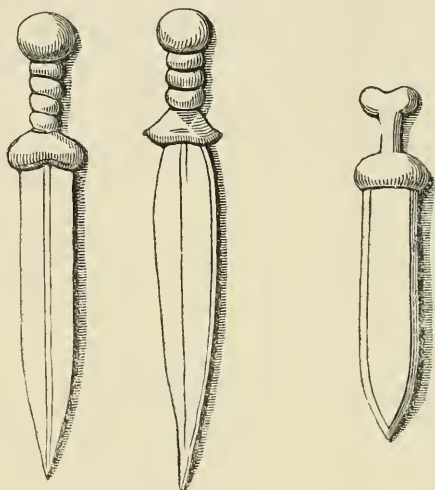
or others, we meet always the same feature,—the advantage of the Romans consisted in fighting at close quarters with short, pointed swords, intended for stabbing, against men who were armed only with long swords without points, intended for striking. The Roman manner of fighting required a very high degree both of courage and discipline; but it is evident that when he once closed in with his opponent, the long sword was useless, and the man who carried it lay at his mercy. That the Roman legionary was armed with a short sharp-pointed sword, is, therefore, a notorious fact.

Now, let us look at the Roman monuments, and inquire what information they give us on this subject: and first among these we will take the most interesting of the Roman coins, those of the consular series. In these we find numerous representations of the Roman holding his sword. I will only call



your attention to one example: it is a coin of Caius Servilius, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar, and on its reverse we see two military figures, each holding a sword. These swords are short and pointed, and their form is that which is commonly described as leaf-shaped. The same form of sword is found on others of the consular coins; while some of them represent swords, still short and pointed, but with straight edges, tapering towards the point, or parallel until they are brought suddenly to a point. When we look to other monuments, we find the same form of sword, down to a rather late date. This leaf-shaped sword is seen in the hands of the Roman soldiers in the sculptures on the Arch of Constantine at Rome. The same form of sword occurs on many sculptures of the Roman period, found in various parts of the Roman empire, several of which are engraved in Montfaucon. I give a group of swords from rather rude sculptures on Roman sepulchral monuments at Constantine in Algeria, which give us both the leaf-shaped sword and the sword with parallel edges. If we look, again, at the Roman wall-paintings at Pompeii or elsewhere, at the Etruscan pottery, at almost any pictorial monuments of antiquity which are in sufficient number, we shall find continually recurring this same short

leaf-shaped sword.¹ It appears, indeed, to have been the sword of the ancient Greeks, which had been brought by them into Italy, and had become the national weapon of the Romans, the sword of the Roman legionaries.



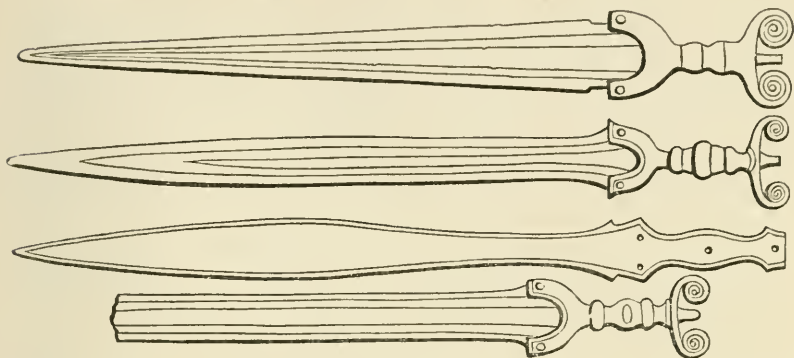
Roman Swords from Constantine in Algeria.

It becomes, then, a fair question, Are all traces of the sword of the Roman legionary lost? Among the vast quantity of Roman antiquities which have been at various periods brought to light, and which are laid up in so many museums, is there not a single example of it preserved? I answer, there is; and I have no hesitation in pointing to the four swords represented in the accompanying group as the representations of that sword. They are the swords which the advocates of the system of periods ascribe to the bronze age.

The objection which has been raised consists chiefly in the metal; and yet this appears to me to have no good foundation. We know that in earlier times, both in Greece and Italy, the sword was made of bronze, and the Roman sword under the kings was certainly of bronze. We have no authority for stating that the metal of the short sword of the legionary was changed at any subsequent

¹ In looking over the different collections of Greek and Etruscan vases, we see that the common weapons were the spear and javelin. The sword is of much rarer occurrence; but it is almost always the short leaf-shaped weapon, and it has the form of sheath usually found on Roman monuments. In D'Hancarville, vol. ii, plate 30, we have a figure of a warrior drawing the leaf-shaped sword from its scabbard. A good figure of the sword in its sheath will be found on plate 41 of the same volume.

period. For such a sword, used for stabbing and not for striking, bronze was almost as effective a metal as iron, and



Examples of Bronze Swords.

it offered several advantages. As the metal only required melting in a mould, the sword could, when wanted, be made or re-made easily, without the trouble of forges and anvils. On the other hand, whenever we find the bronze swords within the limits of the Roman provinces, it is almost invariably under circumstances which must lead us to presume that they are Roman. Such is the case certainly in Britain. In two instances in France, recorded by the antiquary Mongez, they were found with Roman imperial coins, in one case of the Emperor Caracalla, in the other of Maxentius, which would be nearly contemporary with the Roman sculptures alluded to above. I have no doubt that further discoveries will furnish abundant evidence in confirmation of the Roman character of these objects. The Emperor Napoleon III informs us, in the second volume of his *Histoire de Jules César*, that ten spear-heads, two axes (I suppose he means what are among us called "celts"), and two swords, all of bronze, were found deposited in the fosse of Cæsar's line of circumvallation round the Gaulish oppidum of Alesia. A little research among the scattered and forgotten records of discoveries in past times would no doubt bring to light many cases in which these bronze weapons and other implements have been found in former times with objects of undoubted Roman manufacture, and even with Roman coins. In the time of Borlase, bronze "celts" were found at Karn-brê in Cornwall, along with Roman coins, some of which Borlase

obtained, and has described.¹ One of these was of the Emperor Constantius, which is curious as bringing them to the date of the sculptures and bronze swords already mentioned. Borlase tells us that they had also been found along with Roman coins at Aldborough in Yorkshire, the site of the Roman city of Isurium:² although this went against his own opinions on the subject, he speaks of it as a fact too well ascertained to admit of a doubt; but he seeks to explain it by supposing that the Romans of the province had adopted the older weapons of the Britons, and that thus they had continued in use, while he urged as an objection to their being Roman, what he believed to be the fact, that they had not been found in Italy. In this, however, he was mistaken. They did exist in Italian collections; and I have recently received a series of privately printed engravings of a small collection of interesting antiquities in the possession of H. M. Westropp, Esq., of Rookhurst, near Cork, among which there are no less than five bronze "celts", found in different parts of Southern Italy, and apparently of Roman manufacture.³

All the objections which have been raised to the Roman origin of these bronze weapons and implements appear to me either very trivial or founded merely in error. They rest chiefly on weak negative evidence. No direct evidence has yet been shewn that they are not Roman, much less that they belonged to any other people. One of these objections, for instance, was founded on the small size of the handles, which, it was alleged, could only be held by very small men; whereas, the objectors represented, if we judge of the ancient by the modern Romans, they were large men; and this was considered as a proof that the people who had used these

¹ "In the year 1744, in the side of Karn-brê Hill, were dug up several hollow instruments of brass, of different sizes, called 'celts,' whose shape is most easily apprehended from the drawings of two of them" [he has given a plate of them], "with others from different parts of the kingdom, placed together for the better illustration of one another. With these instruments were found several Roman coins, six of which came into my hands. One of ANTONINVS AVG.; No. 2 uncertain; No. 3, DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO; reverse, MEMORIA FELIX; No. 4 defaced; No. 5, SEVERVS ALEXANDER; No. 6 defaced."—Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 281; second edition, 1769.

² "They are found here at Karn-brê, and have been found at Aldborough (the ancient Isurium) in Yorkshire, in company with many Roman coins."—Borlase, p. 283.

³ "*Collectanea Antiqua*, in the possession of Hodder M. Westropp, Esq., Rookhurst, Cork." Large 4to.

swords was an oriental race. Of course, such a statement could only have arisen from a want of knowledge; for, on the contrary, the ancient writers are sufficiently explicit in stating that the Romans were a race of small men, and we have only to appeal to the evidence of Cæsar himself. In describing the siege of the *oppidum* of the Aduatuei (*Namur*), he tells us that, generally, the Romans were objects of contempt to the Gauls on account of their small stature;¹ and as, in his account of Britain, he tells us that the Britons were bigger men than the Gauls, and we know that the Britons were not giants, we can have no doubt of the smallness of the Romans. Besides, a sword used only for stabbing does not require the same strength or weight of handle as one for striking with the edge. A much greater apparent difficulty arises from the circumstance of the bronze swords and celts being found in great numbers in the countries into which the Romans never penetrated, such as Scandinavia; but this, too, now admits of an easy explanation. It is true that these bronze swords are found in nearly all the countries outside the Roman provinces to the north and north-west, in Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany, and even in Hungary; but they all bear so close a resemblance to each other that we cannot reasonably doubt that they must have been all carried from one common centre. The accounts of all the ancient writers shew most satisfactorily that when the Romans first came in contact with any of these peoples they did not find them using weapons of this description; but we can easily understand that, when the barbarians did become acquainted with the Romans, they would on one hand be glad to obtain articles of Roman manufacture, while on the other, Roman dealers would be equally glad to make a profit out of them by selling. These bronze swords, by their form and ornament, were just the things to attract the attention of the barbarians; and it is not improbable that they rather wore them as ornamental weapons (*des armes de luxe*) than used them in war, for they seem never to have displaced the old long sword of the Celts

¹ Cæsar's words are,—“Ubi, vincis actis, aggere exstructo, turrin procul constitui viderunt, primum inridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis præ magnitudine corporum suorum brevis nostræ contentui est) tanti oneris turrin in muros sese conlocare confiderent?”—Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. ii, c. 30.



and Germans. In a paper on this subject, read before another Society,¹ I have called attention to the numerous traces of dealers of this description which are found in the Roman provinces, and which leave no doubt that there was a very extensive traffic carried on in these bronze implements by men who wandered over distant lands, like the mediæval pedlars, taking with them their implements for casting. Thus these bronze swords and spear-heads and daggers and "celts" were of Roman origin, but were carried into distant countries by travelling merchants or manufacturers; and perhaps natives of those countries would in course of time learn to make them for themselves. Of the four swords represented in our group, the first was found in the valley of the Somme in France (it is one of those described by Mongez), the second was found in the Lake of Neufchatel in Switzerland, the third in Sweden, and the last also in some part of Scandinavia. The further objection, that no Roman coins, or other objects known to be Roman, accompany these swords when found in Scandinavia or other countries beyond the limits of the Roman power, is hardly worth discussing, because it is exactly what might be expected to be the case. A man's buying a foreign sword does not imply the necessity of his buying some other foreign objects to store up with it, especially if those objects had no relationship to the weapon, and were of no use to him; for what use could Roman coins be in countries where there was no monetary circulation? And why should the barbarians, when they bought bronze weapons from the Romans, be obliged to buy some Roman coins to bury with them, in order that people who happened, after many centuries, to dig them up, should know whence they obtained them?

We have thus, in sufficient abundance, all the evidence necessary in such a case. We have swords answering exactly in form and size to those of the Roman legionaries, and they are found deposited with other undoubted Roman remains.

For a long time after it was invented, this system of periods met with no great favour among our English archæologists, until it came upon us in combination with another invasion of our archæological propriety, made this time by

¹ See my paper, "On the true Assignation of the Bronze Weapons," quoted in a former note, and "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 73, 2nd edit.

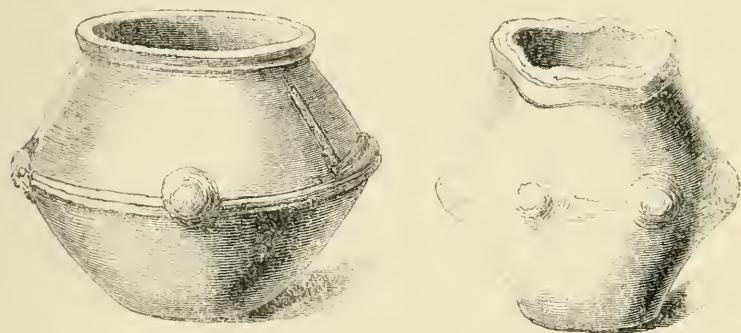
the geologists and physiologists. In the earlier days of our Association, geology was a new, and at the same time a great and advancing science, and it naturally came from time to time into relationship with archæology. Nobody was more earnest than myself in the wish that, in all questions which might have an interest for both sciences, the antiquary should walk hand in hand with the geologist. Possibly the juxtaposition of objects of which archæology enables us to fix the date, might have assisted the geologist in ascertaining the periods of some of the more recent phenomena which come under the consideration of his science. Perhaps the experience of the geologist might assist in throwing light upon the date of monuments of which the archæologist is doubtful. But such tests require to be applied with great caution, considering over what a comparatively small period backward archæological science extends, and how distant are even the most modern periods which we usually include under the domain of geology. Above all, we never supposed that geology could turn what is Saxon or Roman into British (or make it older even than British), any more than archæology could turn an elephant into an ichthyosaurus; or, to glance at the physiologist, any more than the form of a skull can affect the character of the articles of human workmanship which are buried with it. To judge these is absolutely the province of archæology; yet circumstances have brought a strange invasion of this province. Within a few years discoveries have been made which come strictly within the province of the geologist, and which appear to carry back the existence of man, in some form or other, upon this earth, to a period immensely more remote than any date which had been previously imagined. This discovery, which may perhaps still be considered as involved in some mystery, has given rise to a new school of investigators, who have gone to work, I think far too hastily, to fill up the great vacuum thus left in man's history, not only with all the monuments the character of which is undecided, but also with multitudes of those of which the science of archæology would easily teach them the correct appropriation. This new field of inquiry has been called præhistoric archæology, and its advocates have seized upon the theory of periods of the northern antiquaries, and carried it almost to absurdity.

The foundation of this new archæology was laid upon the

assumption that the date and character of manufactured articles are to be decided by the circumstances under which they are found, and the geological or physical objects with which they are associated,—I mean with fossils or skulls. The first class of these circumstances was that of caves, at present closed up, and in situations which would lead to the belief that they had been inaccessible from a very remote period; yet inside were found human remains, either bones or manufactured articles, mixed with the remains, fossil or not, of animals which had become extinct long before any historic period; and it is considered, therefore, that the human remains belong to the same period as the fossils. This, of course, can only be the case on the assumption that the human remains could not possibly have been deposited there at a later period. Now the archæological study of these latter objects shews us at once that such was not the case, and at the same time furnishes us with a clue to the period at which chiefly these caves were inhabited. In the caves at Settle in Yorkshire, besides objects of other kinds (most of them undoubtedly Roman), a quantity of coins were found,—some Roman,—chiefly of the emperors of the Constantine family, but the greater part belonging to the rude imitations of the imperial coinage which were in circulation immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman power,¹ which thus brings the date down to the latter part of the fifth century. Similarly, the objects found, some years ago in the cave at Heathery Burn, near Stanhope in Durham, when laid before the Ethnological Society of London, were at once recognised as Roman. Bronze objects found in Kent's Hole, near Torquay, which I had the opportunity of examining, were also Roman; and, I should judge, of rather a late date. Lastly, the various manufactured objects found much more recently in the Kirkhead cave, near Ulverstone in Lancashire, are similarly Roman; most decided in their character, except that they included one or two of the so-called "celts," which our friends of the bronze age claim, and a fragment of rude pottery which might be considered doubtful. Thus, so far, all the remains which can be identified in these caves point to the same period as that when they were inhabited by man, to which we may perhaps give roughly the limit as from the fourth to the sixth century

¹ Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 69.

after Christ. It is curious that, as far as I have seen the objects found in the lacustrine villages in Switzerland and elsewhere, they all seem to me to point to about the same period. I will only give an example to shew the want of archæological knowledge which prevails in the researches of the new præhistoric antiquaries. The two figures represented in the accompanying cut were taken from one of these *pfahlbauten*, or lacustrine habitations, in the Lago del Garda, on the borders of the Tyrol and Italy. They are



taken from a communication by Ferdinand Keller to the *Transactions* of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich,¹ and appear to be considered by him as belonging to the bronze period. The small, rudely formed vessel with knobs is especially characteristic. The archæologist at once recognizes these vessels, and most of the pottery given on Dr. Keller's plates, as belonging to that peculiar class of earthenware which is called in England Anglo-Saxon, and, when found in France, Frankish; and which I suppose, in the case under consideration, would be called Alemannic. Its similarity, in these different branches of one race, is another illustration of the permanence of typic forms. Another of the most distinguished investigators of these lacustrine habitations, M. Troyon, has given us other examples of this same pottery, one of which he gives as a vessel of the "stone age," and another he ascribes to the "bronze age,"² although both are most unmistakably Alemannic or Frankish. In the second cut I give, by way of comparison, a group of Anglo-

¹ *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, band xiv, heft 6.

² Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, plate vii, fig. 35, and plate xiii.

Saxon pottery, from a large quantity found in an extensive cemetery near Derby.¹ No one can hesitate for a moment in recognising its identity with that represented in the previous cut. As far as I have seen engravings of it, the characteristic pottery which has hitherto been found in these *pfahlbauten* over the whole extent of Switzerland to the farthest



borders of Italy and Germany, is all of this same class, and belongs to a period embracing probably the greater part of the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. This example, however, ought to make us very cautious in accepting the conclusions of the new school of præhistoric archæology. In fact, they work upon the erroneous principle that the dates of the manufactured objects they meet with are to be fixed by periods they *assume* for certain circumstances, instead of employing the facts furnished by archæological science to assist in fixing the date of the circumstances.

Such are the principal dangers to which the science of archæology has been exposed in our days. Time will not allow me to go further into the discussion of them on the present occasion. They are dangers which disturb for a while the current of improvement into which the science had apparently settled; but they are dangers which no doubt will, in course of time, set themselves right. The *truth* of science must eventually prevail.

¹ Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, pl. liii.

Proceedings of the Congress.

1865.

IN response to the invitation given to the Association by the Cathedral, University, and civil authorities of Durham, and by the Durham Archæological Association, a large number of the members of the British Archæological Association assembled for the week, and were met by numerous friends, the nobility and gentry of the county, and several distinguished antiquaries of the north.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21.

At 3 P.M. the formal reception of the Association took place in Bishop Cosin's Hall on the Palace Green. The President, the Duke of Cleveland, was introduced by Lord Houghton, past President, and was received by the Venble. Archdeacon Bland, the Mayor of Durham, and the Rev. Professor Chevallier, with addresses of welcome on behalf of the public bodies represented by them. The venerable Bishop of Exeter evinced his interest in the objects of the meeting by his presence for a short time; and his friend, Mr. T. J. Pettigrew (*Treasurer*), was also present for an hour, this being the last occasion on which his declining health permitted him to take a public part in the proceedings of the Association.

The Duke of Cleveland replied to the addresses of welcome, and tendered the thanks of the Association for the exertions made to secure to them a successful meeting. His Grace then proceeded to deliver his inaugural address, which is printed at p. 17 *ante*, and in conclusion called upon the Rev. George Ornsby to commence the examination and description of Durham Castle, to which the whole party at once adjourned. The points to which their attention was chiefly directed were, Bishop Hatfield's Hall, the old and the later chapel, and Bishop Pudsey's work in the upper part of the Castle. These and other matters of interest are treated of in the paper given at p. 46 *ante* by Mr. Ornsby. In the ancient chapel some discussion took place, in which



the Rev. T. Chevallier, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and Mr. Roberts took part; the first gentleman finding some difficulty to admit that the apartment had the characteristics of a chapel, owing chiefly to its present almost subterranean position. Mr. Hills followed the opinion of Mr. Ornsby, and pointed out the arrangements for the altar, and other features, which seemed to give a distinct character to the building. He compared the work with that of Bishop Gundulf in the White Tower in the Tower of London. The subterranean position of the chapel in the Castle at Newcastle-on-Tyne might have been cited in further support of these observations, in which Mr. Roberts for the most part concurred. The examination was brought to a conclusion at six o'clock.

In the evening about two hundred of the associates and friends dined together at the Castle, in Bishop Hatfield's Hall, when the Duke of Cleveland presided, supported by the Bishop of Durham and Lord Houghton, with G. Robson, Esq., the Mayor of Durham, in the vice chair.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22.

The excursion today included LUMLEY CASTLE, CHESTER-LE-STREET, and LANCHESTER with its Roman station and church. Passing through the long village of Chester-le-Street, the party was conducted to LUMLEY CASTLE, where, by the permission of Lord Scarborough, they were received by the Rev. J. Dodd, and conducted through the building. This gentleman has furnished the description of the Castle printed at p. 45 *ante*. In the hall of the Castle the remarkable series of portraits of the Lumley family attracted great interest, from the peculiar circumstances under which the pictures were produced by John Lord Lumley, his object having been evidently not to produce portraits of his ancestors, but in a striking and noble form to record his veneration for a long line of eminent progenitors. The reasons why the pictures could not be received as portraits were dwelt upon by J. R. Planché, Esq., and will be found embodied in his paper on the subject at p. 31 *ante*.

Without examining an ancient bridge which lies between the two places, the party proceeded, mostly on foot, by the pleasant, sloping fields which descend from the Castle to the river Wear, and were ferried over to CHESTER-LE-STREET. Here the church was the point of attraction, and the Rev. Henry Blane was in readiness to describe it. It is a collegiate church, chiefly a work of the thirteenth century, consisting of a nave with aisles, a large chancel (see plate 1), and a western tower and spire. A chantry of very late work is attached at the side of the north aisle, in its eastern part; but the most impressive feature

is the line of fourteen recumbent effigies of the Lamley family ranged along the north side of the north aisle. Mr. Blane's account of the interest which attaches to this village, from its connexion with St. Cuthbert, and his description of the church, are given at p. 22 *ante*. The monuments received the attention which their stately effect ensures, and the singular nature of them, which imparts to them interest of a peculiar kind, and necessitates the cautious use of antiquarian judgment, since, as with the pictures at the Castle, the personages represented are for the most part of one date, and the effigies of a wholly different one. Mr. Planché, who now for the first time had his attention directed to this singular series of monuments, offered some remarks upon them, and promised that the subject should receive further investigation at his hands. The result of his consideration is given in his paper at p. 31 *ante*. Some fragments of a cross, which may be of the eleventh century, and a few carved stones, which may be, if not parts of the more ancient church erected here by Bishop Egelric, ornaments added to it soon after, are preserved in the south porch.

Chester-le-Street has been considered to be the Roman station of *Condureum*. A Roman altar stands in a meadow a little south of the church, and close to the street. Very extensive Roman buildings have been brought to light at Chester-le-Street, of which a plan was engraved at the time of the discovery in 1783. A copy of it is in the King's Library in the British Museum.

In the afternoon the Association was met at LANCHESTER by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, and placing themselves under his guidance, undeterred by the evident approach of a heavy thunderstorm, they ascended the hill to the Roman station, full three quarters of a mile to the east of the village. On the way up a fragment of a Roman milestone was noticed. The fortification consisted of a massive wall of rubble-masonry faced outside with squared stones, and enclosing about six acres. The slope of the ground south, west, and north, made a single moat a sufficient defence on those sides; but on the east, where is a considerable table-land, is still apparent a double fosse. On this side also is the entrance. The enclosure is of oblong form, the corners rounded. The only part where any facing-stones remain is at the north-west angle, where a few are visible close to the ground. In all other parts they have been torn away, and applied throughout the neighbouring country to modern and mediæval buildings. At the same angle of the fort is visible a culvert coming from the interior. In the southern part of the area is the base of a Roman building terminating to the east in two semicircles or apses.

At Lanchester Church, which the party reached just before the storm burst with terrific violence, Mr. E. Roberts had prepared himself, in

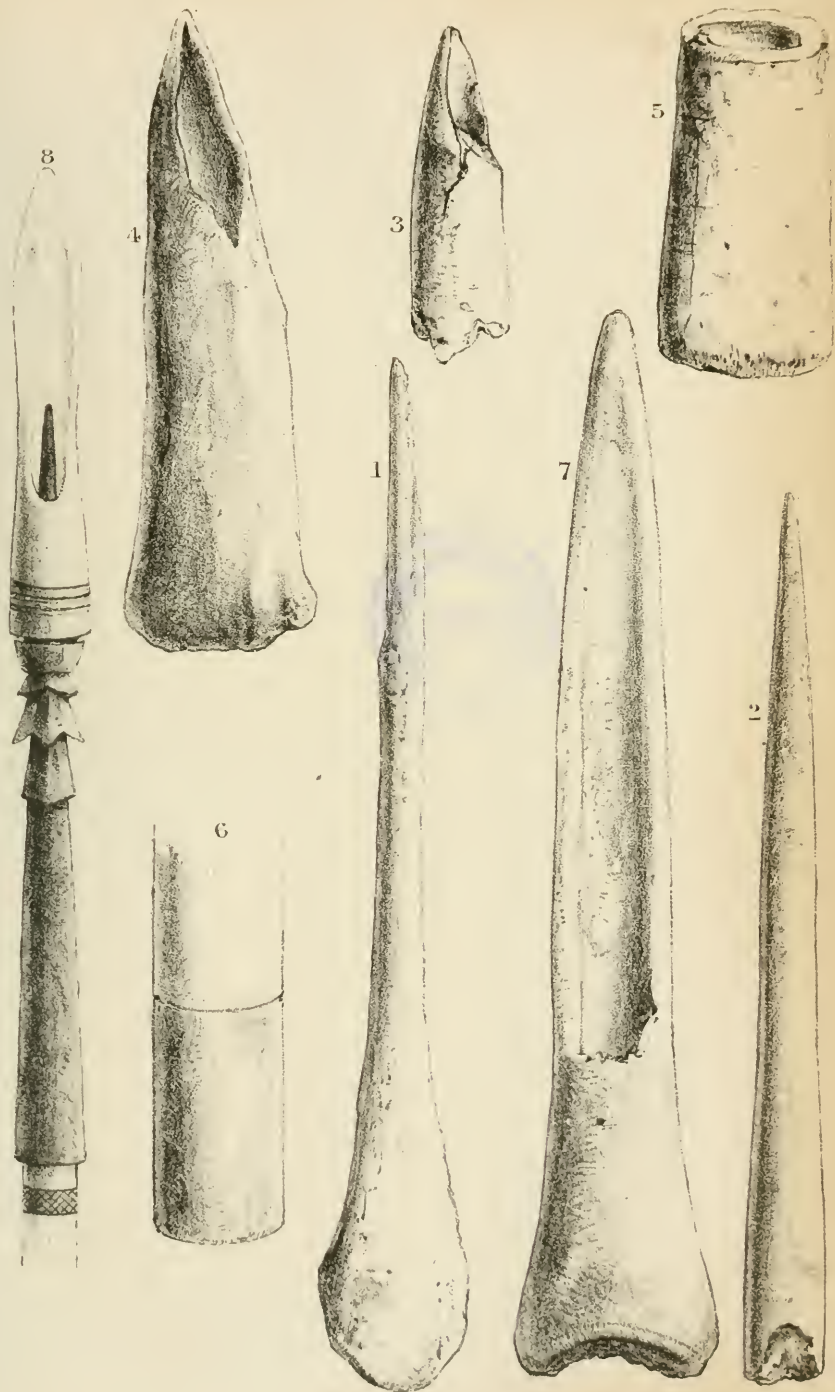
their absence at the camp, to make some remarks. The church is of the same form as that at Chester-le-Street, but smaller, and chiefly about forty years earlier. Its work is more massive in design, and yet more elegant, finished, and pleasing in effect. The chancel-arch is a rich Norman work. The ingenious mode in which, when it became a collegiate church, the rather narrow chancel was widened out by recesses in its western part to receive stalls, was noticed. Out of the chancel the windows are of late work, and of no special interest. The tower is also late. The building is disfigured with a gallery, and the nave-columns have been made smart with paint, which ought to be removed. The chancel has a large sacristy to the north. Dr. Collingwood Bruce and the Rev. W. Greenwell drew attention to the abundant evidences upon the exterior of the church of its having been largely constructed with stone taken from the Roman fort.

The silver cover of a cup, reported to have been found in the Roman fort in the seventeenth century, was exhibited. Its claim to Roman antiquity was, however, shewn to be more than doubtful by the existence upon it of a more modern goldsmith's mark.

The day was concluded by a visit to Ushaw College, the successor of the Roman Catholic College of Douay in France, destroyed at the beginning of the present century. A great number of persons had proceeded hither direct from Durham, and availed themselves of the kindness of the President of the College, the Most Rev. Dr. Tate, to inspect its parts. The library and the chapels, built on a large scale, and finished with almost the richest ornaments of which they are susceptible, excited the utmost interest and admiration.

On the arrival of the travelling party from Lanchester, advantage was taken of the refreshment most handsomely provided in the refectory, where for the first time in the history of the College ladies sat down to a meal.

(To be continued.)





Proceedings of the Association.

ON ANCIENT SPEAR-HEADS OF BONE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE discoveries which have been going on for the last few years of objects of human art in the drift, have invested the relics of primeval man with a deeper interest and higher value than they had previously possessed, and the geologist and archaeologist are now brought into closer union than ever, and though their opinions in general clash and jar, we cannot doubt that great and important results will be developed by their joint labours.

The arms and implements of rude tribes at the present day consist principally of wood and stone, bone and horn, and such materials were unquestionably employed for like purposes by the ancient savages of Europe. The utensils of wood have, in a great measure, perished; the enduring stone remains in abundance, not only in the death-mound, but in lacustrine and fluvial deposits, and there are not wanting examples of man's early handiwork in bone and antlers. That many of such relics are of vast antiquity cannot be denied, but as yet we have little to guide us as to their exact age, though Worsaae in his *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark* (p. 135), states that it is "no exaggeration if we attribute to the *stone period* an antiquity of, at least, three thousand years." It is to this so-called stone period that the osseous relics belong which are now to engage attention, and which will be found to present examples of no common interest to both geologist and antiquary. For convenience they may be divided into two groups, the first comprising blades which were fixed in the cleft end of the wooden shaft, or secured to a shoulder by means of animal sinew or vegetable fibre. The second, the socketed blades, which permitted the shaft to pass up their centre. If rude simplicity be accepted as an indication of age, the first specimen I produce might be referred to the very infancy of the stone period, and its extreme antiquity may be inferred from the fact that it was exhumed, along with other bone

spikes, from a gravel bed at a great depth beneath Castle-street, Aldersgate-street, in May, 1846. It measures eight inches in length, and has been pronounced a lance or javelin-head, formed of the splint-shaped fibula of some large quadruped. The lower part of the bone is slivered off to produce a point, the proximal end preserved for insertion into the divided head of the wooden shaft (see plate 8, fig. 1).

Judging from the careful manipulation of my next spear-head, it must be considered of rather less antiquity than the foregoing. It is wrought out of a slice of the metacarpal bone of the deer; one extremity nicely pointed, the blade gradually widening to the base, which is broken off, its present length being a trifle under seven inches (see plate 8, fig. 2). This effective weapon is beautifully patinated, and was found in Moor-lane, Fore-street, Jan. 7th, 1847. In form and character it may be compared with the *Beenpül*, four inches and five-eighths long, given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger* (pl. 14, fig. 56).

Our thanks are due to the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson for the production of a stout spear or lance head found a short time since at Queenhithe. It is full eight inches in length, and like the one from Moor-lane is formed of the edge of the metacarpal bone of the deer (?), a portion of the proximal end forming a base to rest on a shoulder cut in the top of the staff. This fine and perfect weapon is of a rich brown colour, and brings to mind some of the bone spikes met with by the late Sir R. C. Hoare in a barrow at Upton Level, given in his *Ancient Wiltshire* (pl. vii).

The foregoing are instructive examples of the first-named group of blades, and equally satisfactory are the following, which represent the second, or socketed group. The first weapon-head which I have that falls under this division of our subject is one of much interest, both in a geological and archæological point of view, inasmuch as it was exhumed in 1816 from a gravel-pit at Croydon, Surrey (plate 8, fig. 3). It is the upper portion of a dart or javelin-blade formed of the tibia of some quadruped, a portion of the side being cut off obliquely to produce a point, the remaining part constituting a long socket to fix on to the end of the staff. In its present fractured state it measures but two inches and five-eighths in length, but a very similar example is given in the *Afbildninger* (pl. 14, fig. 58), which measures four inches and five-eighths in length, and shows the perforation at the side of the base through which a peg had passed to secure the head to the shaft.

Closely allied in character, but far stouter and stronger than the Croydon blade, are two examples from Moorfields exhibited by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, and measuring respectively five inches and six inches in length. The shorter is formed of the upper half of the metatarsus of the ox, is of a rich brown tint, and was found imbedded in a baulk of timber, the remains possibly of a stockade against the

defenders of which the spear was hurled. The socket is made through the proximal end of the bone, and measures one inch across (plate 8, fig. 4).

The larger specimen is fashioned out of the lower part of the tibia of an ox, and is of somewhat ruder fabric than its companion and certainly the work of a less skilful craftsman. I wish now to draw special attention to the small size of the socket of this specimen, which measures about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and the peculiar light hue and mottled aspect of the bone, for I next produce a ferrule of a spear staff, three inches in length, formed of the upper part of a metatarsus, which if it belong not to Mr. Simpson's weapon must have appertained to one precisely similar (see plate 8, fig. 5). The blade and ferrule agree in all the elements which present themselves for comparison, namely colour of material, dimension of perforations, and general manipulation, and moreover they were both found about the same time in April last, in the same locality. But some may inquire what reason is there for thinking that the savages who dwelt in the ancient forest in the lands of modern Middlesex ever shod their spear-shaft with bone? We have neither written document nor oral tradition to support such an idea, but we have the tangible evidence of analogy to give countenance to it. In the collection of the late Thomas Dawson, of Grasmere, Cumberland, was a long war-spear from Espiritu Santo, one of the New Hebrides, the shaft of which is shod with a human humerus, the proximal end constituting the base-knot; but what is far more pertinent from its resemblance to the Moorfields relic is the bone ferrule of the Esquimaux spear which I exhibit, and which is neatly fitted on to the pine-wood shaft to prevent the wood from splitting and bruising, and for a like purpose, no doubt, the ancient ferrule now under consideration was applied (plate 8, fig. 6).¹

Returning to weapon-heads, the next example to describe is a fine and highly curious spear-blade dredged from the bed of the Thames near London-bridge, and now the property of Mr. Gunston (plate 8, fig. 7). A somewhat finer example, obtained from the same locality, may be seen among the British antiquities in the British Museum; and in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy is a spear-head, nine inches and three-quarters long, of the same fashion, found four feet below the bottom of the river at Ballyloughlan, Kilcoursey, King's County. Very similar weapons have been recovered from the lakes of Switzerland, and one full ten inches long is engraved in the *Afbildninger* (pl. 14, fig. 55). The present specimen is eight inches

¹ Since writing the above, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson has obtained a similar ferrule, nearly two inches and one-eighth long; and the upper part of a stout spear-blade, of the socketed type, six inches and a half long. They are both well finished, and were found in Moorfields.

and a quarter in length, and wrought from the metacarpal bone of the ox, a portion of the back cut off obliquely, so as to produce a strong point, the distal epiphysis removed, and the end of the bone pierced with a round hole half-an-inch in diameter, through which the taper end of the wooden staff passed. We have a valuable proof that such was the mode of mounting this and such-like weapons, in an arrow obtained many years since in one of the South Sea Islands, and which consists of three parts, viz., the reed stele thirty inches long, into which is fitted the head of carved reddish-brown wood, six inches long, and upon the spike of which is fixed the bone-blade, three inches and three-quarters long (see plate 8, fig. 8). This socketed blade is essentially the same in principle with the examples we have before us, and is wrought of one of the round bones of a bird, having a very good sharp point, and ornamented at the base with a double channel. This rare and interesting weapon reminds us of a passage in Tacitus' *Description of Germany* (vi), wherein he states that the Fins, for want of iron, headed their arrows with bone.

In reviewing these archaic blades we cannot fail of observing the great inferiority of their workmanship to analogous productions of modern barbarians, the bone weapons of the ruder savages of America far surpassing them in everything which can be designated art; in verification of which I lay before you various harpoon and spear-heads of bone from Nootka Sound and Terra del Fuego, all of which are wrought with the greatest neatness and precision, manifesting thought and design of no despicable order. We are therefore justified in the inference that during the earlier portion of the stone period, not only in the Britannic islands, but also in Switzerland and Scandinavia, the savages occupied a lower grade in the scale of civilisation than the natives of either the Arctic or Antarctic regions, and that they did not attain to the same degree of technic skill until towards the close of the stone period, and when they were about to fall beneath the domination of a powerful race well acquainted with metallurgy, and rich in brazen implements and arms.

JANUARY 10, 1866.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected Associates :

Lord George Gordon Lennox, M.P., Portland-place.

Henry M. Hozier, Esq., 2nd Life Guards.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a part of an ancient war club, of which a description and engraving will be given hereafter. Mr. Mayhew also forwarded a small trivet of fire-clay exhumed in Lombard-street, 1865; and Mr. H. Syer Cuming placed by its side a nearly

similar example found in 1837 on the site of a potter's kiln during excavations for Humphrey's warehouses near St. Saviour's church, Southwark. These trivets were employed for keeping the clay vessels separate in the seggars whilst baking, and traces of the use of such articles are apparent on the bottoms of the old Chelsea China plates, etc. From the form and character of the pots and porringers brought to light at Southwark, the kiln must have been in full activity at the close of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a small oval seal of silver set with a slightly convex piece of black marble graved with the Holy Lamb, nimbed and supporting a cross; on the verge are the words SIGILLVM AMORIS. At one end of the seal is a little loop handle. Date, fourteenth century.

Mr. C. Hopper exhibited a rubbing of the monumental brass of John Barley and his wife Maryon, in Preschute Church, Wilts. The husband is in the civil costume of the commencement of the sixteenth century—a furred gown with large sleeves, and stands with clasped hands. The wife has also clasped hands, and wears the angular-pediment-headress, with long side lappets, so fashionable with elderly ladies of the period. She has wide-topped cuffs and broad waist-belt secured with a large buckle, and the descending strap terminating in an ornament like the *chape* of a sword-sheath. Beneath the figure is inscribed: "*Pray for the Soules of John Barley and Maryon his wyf, which John decessed the ix day of May, the yere of our Lord God M. V.^c, on whose Soules Jhu have mercy.*" Below the legend are two groups of children, seven sons and three daughters, all standing with clasped hands. As the date of the wife's death is not given, we may conclude that the monument was engraved during her life-time.

Mr. J. Saunders, of Luton, Bedfordshire, submitted a number of Roman coins from a hoard which was found December 2, 1862, in Luton Hoo Park, belonging to J. S. Leigh, Esq., during some alterations on the estate in ground hitherto undisturbed by the ploughshare. The coins were only a little beneath the surface, and enclosed in a brown earthenware vase, which was broken into fragments by the workman's tool. One piece only he saw of the vessel, which, when entire, may have been about four inches in diameter, and was of coarse brown ware, made of clay mixed with comminuted shells. The number of coins must have been eight hundred or a thousand, as, although Mr. Leigh obtained the largest portion, yet one workman, from whose share I selected my specimens, had over three hundred. The discovery has already been noticed in several publications. The whole of the coins are silver, billon, or brass.

The following is a list of names of the persons whose coins were found, including several not mentioned in Mr. Evans' list in the *Numismatic Chronicle*:



Caracalla, A.D. 196-217; Macrinus, 217; Elagabalus; Julia Soæma; Julia Mæsa; Julia Mammæa; Severus Alexander, A.D. 221-235; Gordianus III, 238-244; Philippus, sen., 244-249; Otacilia; Philippus, jun.; Trajanus Decius; Etruscilla; Herennius; Trebonianus Gallus, about 252; Milianus; Valerianus, 254-260; Gallienus, 253-268; Salomina, wife of Gallienus; Saloninus; Postumus, 260-267; Victorinus, 265-267; Marius, 267; Claudius II, 268-270.

J. B. Bergne, Esq., F.S.A., observed: the hoard of Roman coins found at Luton Hoo in December, 1862, of which those before the meeting are a sample, have been fully described by our associate Mr. Evans, in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle, New Series*, vol. i, p. 112. It is therefore unnecessary again to enter into any detailed description of them. I will merely say that Mr. Saunders' list mentions one empress (Julia Mammæa) of whom no coins were enumerated by Mr. Evans, and that, on the other hand, he enumerates Valerian, jun., who is not mentioned by Mr. Saunders, though probably the latter may have included the coins attributed to the younger Valerian among those of Valerian the father.

The following *reverses*, not mentioned by Mr. Evans, occur among the coins sent by Mr. Saunders:

MACRINUS, Felicitas Temporum; ELAGABALUS, Fides militum; JULIA MÆSA, Felicitas Sæculi; SEVERUS ALEXANDER, Annona Aug.; JULIA MAMMÆA, Vesta; PHILIPPUS, JUN., Principi juvent.; ETRUSCILLA, Pudicitia Aug.; TREBONIANUS GALLUS, Annona Augg.; VALERIANUS, Felicitas Aug.; GALLIENUS, Virt. Gallieni Aug.; CLAUDIUS II, Apollini Cons.

None of these coins are rare, and they are in ordinary preservation.

ON SOME BONE IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN LONDON.

Some remarkable collections of specimens of a peculiar bone implement were then brought under consideration, the subject being introduced by G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., by the exhibition of the one example which he had already produced at the last meeting, and which gave rise to the present investigation. Mr. Wright's specimen was found at Barnes in earth brought thither from the spot now occupied by St. Katherine's Docks. Mr. H. Syer Cuming, who divided the specimens into four classes, considered this one to belong to the first, but the presence of a sort of shoulder at the base of the reduced portion of the shaft he thought in some degree to connect it with the second group. From the side of the medullar-cavity projects a thin sharp ridge of bone, the perfect preservation of which negatives the idea of the relic having been used as the haft of a tool or weapon.

H. Syer Cuming, Esq., Hon. Sec., read the following observations:—

“Within these few years the collectors of London antiquities have been much puzzled by a number of bone objects discovered in the Thames and on its shores, and for a short distance inland on either side of the river. Hitherto these discoveries have been unaccompanied by circumstances which would indicate either their era or purpose. They are somewhat rudely fashioned, apparently with a hatchet, saw, and rasp; and if mode of manipulation and aspect of material be accepted as indicative of age, they must be referred to a very early epoch.

“They may be divided into four groups, and we will begin with that which seems to be most numerous. The majority of the examples I have examined are formed of the metatarsus of the ox, more rarely of that of the deer; the proximal end cut off, the shaft squared for a short distance down, and the faces marked alternately with two and three perpendicular notches. The distal end of the bone has also been subjected to tooling, a portion of the sides of the shaft and outer halves of the epiphysis being roughly chopped away as if to permit the objects to lie close together, or pass through a smaller aperture than they could if the epiphysis was left intact. This type of implement varies from five to eight inches in length. As a fair example of the first group, I place before you an implement seven inches and a-quarter in length, which was dug up near Dowgate Dock in October 1864. A specimen from the same locality is described in our *Journal* (xx, 66) as a “rude handle of an implement,” the idea being suggested by the fact that a like bone had within its medullar cavity a deep green stain as if it had held a bronze tang.

“The second group is composed of implements of smaller size, and rather less frequent occurrence than those constituting the first division. The distal half of the metatarsus of the ox is still generally employed, but treated in a very different way from that we have just seen. The example I exhibit was found at a very great depth in Moorfields, April 22nd, 1865. It measures three inches and a-quarter in length, and has the superior part of the shaft cut into a hexagonal shape, tapering from the top downwards to a sort of shoulder formed by the lower or broader portion of the bone, which is also roughly fashioned into six sides. At the top of each face of the superior hexagon is a somewhat diagonal notch, and another important feature to observe is, that the medullar cavity is not only enlarged, but extended through the length of the implement, the base of the bone being sawed off so as to expose the cancellated structure. This perpendicular perforation and notched edge, forcibly remind us of the little tubular moulds wherewith ladies manufacture silk neck chains.

“The third group far exceeds the two former in rarity, and the implements falling within it are wrought of the proximal instead of the

distal half of the metatarsus. The specimen I produce was recovered from the Thames in August 1848, and I scarcely know where to point to a similar example. The lower part of the bone is sawed off, the surface rubbed smooth, and the end surrounded by nine somewhat diagonal notches of unequal length, which may be compared with those at the end of the implement from Moorfields. This rare type has been pronounced an ancient spool or thread winder.

“When a little child I picked out from some bog-earth which had been brought to manure our garden the distal portion of the metatarsus of the ox, which I feel confident was cut from the rest of the bone in the formation of such an object as the preceding. The severed surface of the shaft, and prominent ridges of the condyles, are rendered very smooth, as if the bone was to be used for some special purpose. Its condition proclaims its high antiquity, and I well recollect the late Mr. W. Clift exclaimed when he examined it, ‘Faith, this looks like a fossil,’ and you will perceive it is in an almost fossilised state.

“The fourth and concluding group of these nondescript implements, is represented by the example I lay before you, which was exhumed from Moorfields in November 1865. It is rather above four inches and three-quarters in length, and appears to have been sawed off from the side of a metatarsus, the divided surface of the bone being rubbed down on a stone. The crown of the proximal end is cut away, the whole of the distal portion removed, leaving a blunt extremity half-an-inch wide, from which the edges of the implement are slivered off, as we have seen the ends of the first group were treated. Half-an-inch below the blunt-pointed extremity is a round hole, one-tenth of an inch in diameter, and on the flat surface of the object, on either side the medullar cavity, are two diagonal transverse notches. This curious article must surely be a species of shuttle, the filaments used with it, whatever they may have been, having been secured through the perforation in the shaft, just as the threads are affixed in the eyes of the weaving and tatting shuttles and netting needles. And I cannot divest myself of the notion that all four kinds of implements were employed with thread or twine, either in spinsty, weaving, or network. I give expression to this idea with much diffidence and hesitation, for my chief aim is to place the existence of these relics prominently before you, to point out how they are divisible into four well-defined groups, and call attention to their distinguishing characteristics. But, though this may be my main design, I will venture to remind you that bones have been employed in the fabrication of at least one delicate material far within the historic period—namely lace.

“No one has yet, with any certitude, fixed the era of the invention of pillow-lace, which was in all probability known long before the middle of the sixteenth century, when Barbara Uttman induced the

wives and daughters of the Saxon miners to busy themselves in its manufacture. The *frame* has so well-nigh superseded the *pillow*, that few are now familiar with the primitive *bobbins* which, from being originally of bone, caused the fabric to be denominated *bone-lace*. Both the fabric and bone-spindles find mention in the pages of our early writers. Thus in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (ii, 4) the Duke speaks of

‘The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free-maids that weave their thread with *bones*.’

And in Jasper Mayne's comedy of *The City Match* (1612), one says,

‘You taught her to make shirts and *bone-lace*.’

And long after the *wood* had supplanted the *bone* bobbin, the title of bone-lace was retained for that which was wrought on the pillow. As a late instance of this fact, we may cite the following from the *Spectator*, where it is said,—‘We destroy the symmetry of the human figure, and foolishly contrive to call off the eye from great and real beauties, to childish gewgaw ribbands and *bone-lace*’; and in the *Tatler* we read, ‘The things you follow, and make songs on now, should be sent to knit, or sit down to bobbins or *bone-lace*.’

“These several passages attest the employment of bones in one manufacture, and may perchance in some way open up a clue to the use of the mysterious implements we have under consideration. These implements are all wrought of the *metatarsus* of the ox and deer; and it is certainly a curious circumstance that it was the *metatarsus* of the sheep that was chosen for the primitive lace-bobbin, in proof of which I place before you an ancient example, four inches and a half in length, recovered from the Thames in May 1848. A portion of the upper part of the shaft is reduced in size, leaving a button at top and shoulder below to retain the thread, exactly in the manner it is retained in the wooden bobbins whose use yet lingers in Oxford, Buckingham, and Devon. I will only add that, so far as my experience extends, the present is the sole example of a bone-bobbin which has yet been noticed as a London find.”

The Rev. W. S. Simpson exhibited twenty-five specimens found in Moorfields, the Steelyard, the Dover-road, Blackfriars Bridge, in Southwark, and in Tokenhouse-yard, and analysed the specimens as follows: The largest of the bones is seven inches and a half; the shortest, one inch and eight-tenths. The majority are the lower end of the metacarpal bone of a small variety of ox; two of the short bones are, however, the metatarsal bones; and one short one is the upper end of the metacarpal. Two are bones of the horse; one of them metatarsal, the other metacarpal. Two bear stains of bronze. The bones are chiefly cut to form four flat sides at one end. Three of them expand towards the top. One has five sides, one seven, one eight. The sides are vari-

ously marked by lines or notches engraved upon them, sometimes parallel with the length of the bone, sometimes inclining diagonally. Every bone has some of these notches; but every side is not always marked, and the marks vary from one to seven upon the side. The bones are not often squared or the sides carried the whole length, and yet scarcely one but what bears the mark of a cutting tool on its surface to the very top. Some may have received a tang in the hole up the centre of the bone, which is artificially bored in some cases quite through the length. In some the tang must have been very small. They have been found at various depths, and along with both Roman and early English pottery.

Josiah Cato, Esq., exhibited twenty-one specimens from various parts of London, all bones of the ox; eighteen being metacarpal, and three metatarsal; all except three from the lower end of the bone. The facets vary in form and number, some of the bones being reduced to a dove-tail shape. The markings or grooves on the facets vary, as pointed out by Mr. Simpson; and the size of the specimens ranges from two inches and seven-tenths to seven inches and seven-eighths long. The diaphragm of the bone is sometimes entirely removed, sometimes only partly, and sometimes not at all. Mr. Cato made the following observations:

“The few words I have to say respecting these singular objects are simply of a negative, and therefore very unsatisfactory nature; but that the subject itself is not so trivial as some may deem it, they will, I am sure, admit when they remember that the single specimen exhibited at our meeting on 6th Dec. 1865, had been unexplained for something like seventeen years; and when, moreover, they learn that no figure of such a wrought bone is known to exist in any work devoted to antiquities. I believe no examples are preserved in the collections of our national Museum,¹ nor do I remember to have seen anything like them in the great Naples Museum. Mr. Roach Smith has not, I believe, mentioned them in his very numerous writings; nor were there more than three or four specimens in the Gunston Collection (now preserved in the Guildhall Library) at the time of my visit on 22 November last.

“The twenty-one specimens which I am able to add to this evening’s exhibition, have all been collected during the last eighteen months, and are all from excavations within or close around London. Six are from the Steelyard, Cannon-street; four are from the works for same railway, but on Southwark side of Thames; nine are from Moorfields; one is from the foundations for a house in Blackman-street, Borough; one is marked ‘London’ only, but probably came from Tokenhouse-yard, Lothbury. They are formed from the metacarpal and metatarsal

¹ There were none 29 Dec. 1865.

bones of the ox (the very strongest bones of the entire skeleton), but of a breed with smaller, heavier, and denser bones than those of our modern short-horns. In length the examples vary from very little short of eight inches to a trifle under two inches and a half. In the greater number the epiphysis of the bone is roughly chopped or sawn away. In one only is it allowed to remain entire in the longer, and in three of the shorter specimens. The opposite extremities of the bones have been found equally applicable to the purpose for which they were shaped by the workman.

“That they were not *handles* in the ordinary sense of the word, is, I think, evident,—1. Because the dividing ridge or diaphragm within the bone remains in all or nearly all the specimens. The insertion of any tang or plug must have destroyed it. 2. Because none of the longer specimens (Nos. 1 to 16 inclusive) are pierced either longitudinally or transversely so as to allow of riveting or otherwise securing the blade. Such security would be necessary if they were to serve for sword-hilts or knife-hafts, or the unsecured blade would fly out on the first stroke. 3rd. Because no vestiges of sword or dagger-blades, or even of awls, have been found in company with these objects.

“When I obtained my earliest specimen, and remembered a well-arranged garden some few miles south from Calais, in which the climbing roses and the vines were all tied to the shank-bones of the sheep (inserted firmly into the walls), in order to prevent injury to those plants by oxide of iron or other metal, it occurred to me that these bones might have been so used, as pegs, perhaps, for sustaining fishing-nets or garments while drying. At that time, however, I had not seen Nos. 2, 5, 13, 14, and 15, which are all perfect in their length (for they have been *sawn*, not broken across), but whose tapering form would prevent their remaining in the wall for a single instant if required to sustain the slightest weight.

“In Dr. Worsaae’s figure, which I now exhibit, of a mediæval loom from Faroe, you will see that *stones* are used to give tension to the thread of the warp; and *weights* so employed on a loom from Iceland, are shewn in the figure to article “*Pondus*” in Rich’s *Companion to Roman and Grecian Antiquities*. My kind friend, Mr. Syer Cuming, has suggested that these bones may have served a similar purpose. I must say I doubt whether they would be heavy enough for this. Neither do I think they could have been used as ‘bobbins’ for weaving or net-making without their edges being more or less worn by mutual friction; for even the so much lighter hard wood bobbins of modern pillow lace-work become so worn. Yet in no one instance am I able to detect such effect of rubbing on the edges of these bones. Neither, I think, could they have been for use in any game; because the number of facets of the worked end is not always the same, nor are they similar

in the numbers or arrangement of the inscribed lines. Moreover, no two of these bones are precisely alike in length, form, or weight,—all very important elements in any game, whether of chance or skill.

“And now, lastly, as to their probable age. As I have said, they are all bones of a very much smaller breed of oxen than those now reared. Several, as Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (?), and 10, of this series are stained as by *bronze*; others, as Nos. 3, 8, and 17, have marks of oxide of *iron*; but such evidence of antiquity, if *taken alone*, seems to me of no more value than the mere depth from the surface, in a London excavation, at which any object may be discovered; and you will see how worthless that evidence may be by the card which I now exhibit, of objects which I believe to have been found so nearly together as we may expect to obtain anything from works executed by London contractors; and on which card you will notice a coin of Nero side by side with bronze and bone-work probably of the time of Elizabeth; a coffin ornament of the eighteenth century, and a sawn bone of the horse of unknown age. The last is deeply stained by the bronze bit-ornament which was found lying upon it. All these were found in company with some finely preserved Samian pottery.

“That the bone implements we are considering are, however, very ancient, seems to me evident from the very irregular marks of the saw on each of the facets of the worked end, both as to the depth and direction of the cut. The sawing out, however roughly done, seems, moreover, to have been a slow and toilsome process. They were evidently not cut by such a large-toothed iron saw as that found on the site of the Royal Exchange, and now in Guildhall Library. Is it possible that they were cut by a saw of bronze, or even by one of flint?

“As to their use, Mr. Simpson has consulted a cutler, who cannot explain them. I confess that I am utterly unable to suggest any to which the majority, or even one of the specimens, could be really well applied; and with the hope that my ignorance may be removed by this evening’s discussion, I beg to submit my specimens to the meeting.”

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., thought that some of the specimens might have been mere handles or terminals to the end of a line to draw by, such as might be attached to the string of a rude door latch.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills suggested that the objects were not implements at all, but mere refuse of cutlery works. Enough of the bone appeared to be left for the hand of the workman to grasp it, and apply it to his lathe or other cutting machine; the facets indicated the form of some object that had been cut off, and the notches, or lines were just such as might run off at random from some spiral or other cuttings made on the finished work before it was detached from these pieces. In this case the pith of the bone would be bored out more or less, or not at all, or completely, without any design, as the work-

man only designed to bore it so as to be sure that he had perforated the article he intended to cut off.

Some bone instruments, not wholly bearing on this subject, but highly interesting were exhibited, viz.:

By the Rev. S. M. Mayhew: a series of bone objects found during the last and present year in London; among them two implements from Smithfield, about four inches and three-eighths in length, conjectured to have been employed in cutting and impressing the devices on archaic poetry before firing. The one is a splinter from a round bone, pointed at either end, and may be compared with the stone tool from Ireland described in this *Journal*, xiv, 335. The second specimen is like a little narrow trough with curved extremities, and is wrought of the *os penis* of a good-sized animal. Another object, from the Steelyard, is a tube, four inches and a quarter long, formed by cutting off both extremities of a metatarsus, and slightly squaring the sides of the shaft. The two most important articles in connection with the subject under discussion are, 1st, a section of a metatarsus with the medullar cavity cleared out, and the sides of the shaft cut so as to form a pyramidal figure five-sixteenths of an inch high, the faces severally marked with two, six, three, and four notches. It may possibly be only the upper part of an implement; found in Lombard-street, 1866. 2nd, The superior half of a metatarsus, about three inches and three-quarters long, with the medullar cavity extended through the crown of the bone, and full two inches of the shaft squared, and the upper part worked alternately with two and three notches; this specimen was found in Moorfields, and is a modification of Mr. Cuming's second type of bone implements.

Mr. Cecil Brent also exhibited a large collection of bone objects exhumed at the Steelyard, Upper Thames-street, and ranging in date from a pre-Roman epoch down to the sixteenth century. Archaic pins perforate and imperforate, needles of various sizes, writing stili, hair bodkins, and game pieces of different descriptions, form the bulk of this rich assemblage, but the items needing special notice are two of the mysterious articles falling within Mr. Cuming's second group of bone implements.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited six bone implements, one-half belonging to Mr. Cuming's first, the other half to his second group. They are very fine examples of their kind, and obtained from Thames-street and Moorfields.

Mr. Gunston produced nine bone implements all belonging to Mr. Cuming's first group.

It will be seen that of the nineteen examples exhibited by Messrs. Wright, Mayhew, Brent, Baily, and Gunston, thirteen fall into Mr. Cuming's first group, and the great majority of the implements produced by Mr. Simpson and Mr. Cato also belong to the same division.

JANUARY 24TH, 1866.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

The Rev. Edward Walford, M.A., Bouverie-street ;
Octavius Lilburn Hills, Esq., Douro-place, Kensington.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Duke of Northumberland for the Survey of the Eastern Part of the Roman Wall. 8vo. 1865. With Maps, 1 vol. fol.

To the Publisher for the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1866. 8vo. New series. First vol.

To the Society for the Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 78. 8vo.
,, The Kilkenny Archæological Journal. April, 1865. 8vo.

Josiah Cato, Esq., exhibited a ponderous stone ring from the West Indies, of which he gave the following account :

OVAL STONE RING FROM PORTO RICO.

Through the kindness of my friend Mr. E. B. Webb (of Great George-street) I have this evening the pleasure of showing you a specimen of barbaric stone work which, though not exactly *unique*, is yet of very great rarity in this country. And it seems that, up to the middle of December last, when this example came to England, the two others, which I will mention presently, had remained as much unnoticed as their use is unknown.

The example now before you was exhumed from a considerable depth on the southern side, but nearly at the top of the *sierra*, or range of hills, which runs east and west almost throughout the Spanish island of Porto Rico in the West Indies. It is supposed to be the only specimen which has been found to the south of the dividing ridge, but Mr. Webb has seen several which have been derived from excavations on the northern, and (anciently) the more populous side of the island. They included about five entire rings, and fragments of about as many others. They are all in the possession of one person (who is not inclined to part with them), and, together with this, are all which are known to have been found in the island.

The example we have here is formed from a boulder of light-coloured volcanic stone—(a sort of porphyritic basalt)—is seventeen inches and a-half in its greater, and fourteen inches and a-quarter in its lesser diameter. The elliptical perforation has a major axis of twelve inches and one-eighth, and a minor axis of eight inches and a-quarter. The weight is thirty-five pounds and a-half avoidupois. Whether it pre-

sumes to represent anything in the animate world appears to me very doubtful.

You will observe that, externally, it has two very distinct ornaments; one, and perhaps the more important, is chevronée, with nine incised chevronels, and is at the end of the ellipse and at the thickest part of the ring. The other, which is on the side of the ellipse, may, perhaps, be intended to represent the ends of a hoop which have been brought together and bound by a ligature. The workmanship of this part reminds one very much of many of the heavy stone hatchets from North America, with their rough unpolished sides and smooth necks. So far as Mr. Webb can remember, this second ornament was on all the Porto Rico specimens; but the chevronée ornament was replaced by other designs. Mr. Webb does not remember to have seen any representation of the human figure on the rings, although carved stone idols have been found in the island.

Internally, the surface of this ring is still wholly unpolished, but externally, on its sides and edges, there are many parts which exhibit a considerable amount of "rubbing-down" and semi-polish.

Of the other known specimens I may say that on Friday, December 1st, 1865, a similar ring was sold by auction by Mr. Stevens, and, together with some other stone implements, was then reported to have been brought from Siam by the late Sir Robert Schomburgh. The specimens (of which the majority have passed to Mr. Blackmore, of Salisbury) were, however, all clearly of Caribbean or Mexican origin. Sir Robert's (now Mr. Blackmore's) specimen is, I believe, of much lighter proportions than the one before you.

I am informed that there is a third ring of this kind in the collection formed by the late Mr. Henry Christy; and I believe that by his bequest the entire collection has become the property of the nation. It is also of lighter proportions than this, and has not the ornaments which distinguish our example.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming has referred me to the two stone rings found near the parallel roads of Glen Roy, and engraved in vol. i, p. 222, of Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*; and I am glad that he has so forcibly expressed a doubt which I have always felt whether they could have been designed to imitate horse collars. This specimen strengthens my doubt; for, I believe, that both they and it were wrought for similar uses, and we must all agree that no sane man would be likely to hang such an encumbrance as this around his horse's neck.

Dr. Wilson's proposition that the Glen Roy rings were intended for trophies, seems to me scarcely less absurd than the notion of their actual use as collars. Whether, on the other hand, they were intended for human punishment or torture, or for use in some ordeal, we have at present, no proof, nor could any information as to the tradition



use of such a ring be obtained by Mr. Webb during his several visits to the island.

At present I have not had time or opportunity to consult any of the early Spanish books of travel which relate the discoveries of the new world, and in some of which (notwithstanding the hasty process of extermination adopted by the conquerors) there may be notes of the customs of the nations which would throw some light on the uses of these stone implements.

I have ascertained that there is no similar specimen at present in the British Museum, neither have I been able to find any account of such a relic in the volumes of the *Archæologia*,¹ or of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* (1848-1861). I may conclude by saying that if any one will lead us to information as to the purpose for which these rings were wrought he will greatly oblige both Mr. Webb and myself.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited three epiphyseal plates of the sockets of bovine scapulae, believed to have been employed as scoops or spoons by the early races of Britain. They were lately found with some fragments of black pottery at Clerkenwell.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that some years since there was discovered in the Thames bank a very ancient scoop, fashioned out of the *trochanter major* of a human *os femur*, a short splinter of the shaft of the bone serving as a handle. Similar scoops have been met with in the South Sea Islands.

Mr. C. Brent produced a leaden crucifix seven inches and three quarters high, the transverse beam measuring less than one inch and three quarters, the disproportion of the two members of the rood giving it the aspect of a sword. On either face is displayed a small effigy of the Saviour. The form and style of workmanship suggest an early period as the date of this relic, perhaps as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century. Found in Smithfield, 1865. The employment of lead for crosses and crucifixes, though somewhat rare, is of long continuance. As extreme instances, mention may be made of the inscribed cross said to have been found in King Arthur's grave at Glastonbury in 1189, and of the crucifix worn by the Youghal Total Abstinence Society established in 1830.

G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a curious lamp found in *débris* in the ruins of Reculver Church, and conjectured to have been broken from a monument or front of a niche in which a saintly image had been placed. It consists of a cluster of six sockets communicating at their

¹ In *Archæologia*, vol. xv, pp. 407-8, there is an account and figure of an ancient stone instrument from the island of Dominica, discovered in 1800. The workmanship is similar to that of the Porto Rico ring, but the *instrument* is a kind of massive hook of volcanic stone.

bases, so that oil poured into one would rise through the whole series, and thus supply the wicks, which were in all probability drawn through a metal plate which rested on the top of the lamp.

E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., expressed his belief that this rare object is referrible to the end of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century.

Thomas Blashill, Esq., expressed his doubt whether the object exhibited was of stone at all. It appeared to him, in the absence of a daylight examination, to be of plaster. He should rather conjecture it to have been inverted, and a mere pendent ornament of late date.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., said that European and American lamps of *potstone* sometimes occur; and Beger, in his *Thesauri Brandenburgii* (iii, 440) has engraved a Roman lamp in alabaster. There can be no doubt that lamps of stone are of the utmost rarity, and that this one from Reculver must be regarded as an example of high interest. Mr. Cuming continued, "Mineral substances are more frequently wrought into candle or taper-stands than used for lamps. The elegant candelabra of marble must be familiar to every one, and which in all likelihood graced the temples of the gods and palaces of nobles. For humbler purposes humbler materials were employed; and such is the ancient candle or taper-stand of chalk which I produce, exhumed several years since from a great depth in Winchester-street, Broad-street, along with Roman remains. It is a truncated cone, two inches and three quarters high, perforated from top to bottom; the mouth of the socket measuring five-eighths of an inch in diameter.

"The late Mr. Walter Hawkins had a most singular object, of which I exhibit a privately printed lithograph, and which he considered as a stand for twelve large candles, emblematic of the twelve apostles, and employed to illuminate the church on Candlemas Day. It is a rather uneven stone, measuring sixteen inches and a half one way by fourteen and a half the other, and six inches in thickness; and on its surface are sunk the twelve round sockets arranged in three parallel rows. All that is known of the history of this ancient chandelier is that it was found in the Priory of St. Dionysius at Portswood near Southampton.

"The age of this ecclesiastical relic is by no means apparent; but the next specimen I exhibit may be safely assigned to the reign of Edward I. It is a candle-stand wrought of a cube of Ryegate fire-stone; each of the sides sculptured with a heater-shaped shield, the charges in them being evidently intended for the same as those impressed on the leathern knife-sheath engraved in this *Journal* (xvii, 113). That which must be taken as the equivalent of the first coat on the sheath is palpably carelessly cut, and much injured by the perforation made through it for the purpose of raising the candle. We may trace, however, the barry and chevron of Sir Bartholomew de Rug.

On the opposite side of the cube are the arms which stand lowest on the knife-sheath, viz. a chevron, and which in all probability appertains to the family of De Aubernon. The second coat on the knife-sheath are the three chevrons of Clare or De la Leye, and we have them cut on the candle-stand, and opposite to them a shield quarterly; but the bend, which is so distinct on the third coat of the sheath, is here omitted. The absence of colour renders it uncertain whether this be the arms of Robert Fitz-Roger Earl of Lincoln, John de Beauchamp de Bedford, Stephen de Waleise, or Robert de Hoo. All the coats here mentioned occur in a roll of the time of Edward I in the College of Arms; and in this same roll are two others, which must now be referred to, viz. those of Edmond de Blessington, gyrony *or* and *az.*; and Bartholomew de Jottringdone, gyrony *or* and *sable*. Now on the base of this singular candle-stand are incised four cross-lines forming eight wedge-shaped divisions, which we can scarcely doubt were intended by the unskilful engraver to represent gyrony, and either the arms of De Blessington or those of De Jottringdone; thus giving us no less than five coats from the same heraldic roll. But it may be objected that these cross-lines are not incised within a heater-shaped shield, like those on the sides of the stand, and cannot therefore be heraldic; but let us not forget the fact that during the reigns of Edward I and II the knightly bearings were frequently displayed on square objects, without regular shields, as encaustic tiles, the pennon of the lance, and ailettes of the armour. This most curious piece of domestic furniture was recovered from the Thames in March 1865, and when found traces of the candle were still adhering to the socket.

“Stone candle and taper-stands were occasionally used throughout the middle ages. In the *Gent. Mag.* for January 1784, p. 15, is engraved a stone candle-stand, on the semicircular front of which are the words GOD . SEND . VS . THE . LIGHT . IN . HEAVEN. It was dug up in Colchester Castle, and closely resembles the high arched-backed candle-stands of glazed earthenware of the sixteenth century.

“In the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh are three stone candle-stands from the Tailors’ Hall in that city, on the sides of one of which are sculptured, in relief, a pair of scissors, the goose, and the date 1634.

“Both in Italy and Saxony deep green serpentine has long been wrought into candle and taper-stands, and to the present day such articles are made of fluor-spar and alabaster at Matlock in Derbyshire.”

Gordon M. Hills, Esq., was much inclined to agree with Mr. Blashill as to the nature, date, and purpose of the article from Reculver. It had, however, given rise to the interesting exhibition which Mr. Cuming had made; and in addition to the instances of stone lamps which Mr. Cuming had furnished, he would mention that stone lamps called

“cressets” were in use in our mediæval monasteries. In Davies’ *Rites and Ceremonies of Durham*, written soon after the suppression of that monastery, by one who knew it in its complete state, we are told of the large, fair, square stone at either end of the monks’ dormitory, in each of which was wrought twelve hollows or cressets for tallow for lighting the dormitory. The potstone, a kind of serpentine, referred to by Mr. Cuming, is spoken of by Pliny, and was extensively used in his time for domestic utensils, it being unalterable by heat. It was then procured from the Greek Archipelago. A similar stone is still extensively quarried in Piedmont, and from it teapots and basins are manufactured.

Cecil Brent, Esq., exhibited a British urn, to which we shall return on a future occasion.

The Rev. E. Jackson exhibited a drawing of a remarkable hourglass stand from Easthope Church, near Wenlock, Salop. The date, 1662, curiously arranged to form a crest ornament, but the rarest circumstance of the case is the existence of the original hourglass itself.

Thomas Blashill, Esq., exhibited a rubbing of the brass of Robert Masters, from Burghill Church, Herefordshire. He was lord of that manor, and travelled with Thomas Candlish to Virginia, and afterwards round the world, when to do so was an achievement of no mean magnitude. He died in 1619. Upon his brass a map of the world is engraved in one circle, upon which, nevertheless, is shown all the four quarters.

Thomas W. A. Robinson, Esq., of Houghton-le-Spring, gave a paper on Barnard Castle, which will be printed in a future *Journal*.

FEBRUARY 14TH, 1866.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were elected :

H. Williams Mackreth, Esq., 110 Cheapside.

W. Crook, Esq., Fenchurch-street.

Lawrence Vanderpant, Esq., 52 Maddox-street.

Henry Buxton, Esq., Beaumont Lodge, Wood-jane, Shepherd’s Bush

Henry Cooper Rose, M.D., High-street, Hampstead.

John Bishop Howard, Esq., Hall Staircase, Temple.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society—for the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, July 1865.

The council having directed a letter of condolence to be addressed to Dr. W. V. Pettigrew, and the family of the late lamented Treasurer, T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., the following was now ordered to be printed :

Council Room, Sackville-street, Jan. 10th, 1866.

DEAR DR. PETTIGREW,—I have been requested by the Council of the British Archæological Association to express to you how sincerely they sympathise with you and the other members of your family in the affliction with which it has pleased Providence to visit you.

You have lost an excellent father—the Association an invaluable friend. It would be superfluous in me, on this occasion, to dwell upon his services to the Society. They are even better known to his family than to us; for, whilst we have only benefited by the results, they have witnessed the unwearied zeal with which he devoted every minute of his time to its interests—the actual daily labours of head and hand from morning till night—the unceasing application—the indomitable energy displayed by him during years of severe suffering, and terminating only with life itself. We mourn in common with you, and beg you to receive the assurance of our deep sense of the bereavement we have all sustained in the decease of Thomas Joseph Pettigrew.

Believe me,

Dear Dr. Pettigrew, faithfully yours,

J. R. PLANCHÉ.

Dr. Vesalius Pettigrew.

7 Chester-street, Jan, 24th, 1866.

DEAR MR. PLANCHÉ,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 10th inst., in which, by desire of the Council of the British Archæological Association you offer to me and the other members of my family their sincere condolence with us in our sad bereavement. You have so ably depicted the character of our deeply-lamented father, and his unwearied assiduity in furthering the objects and interests of the Association, that I have only to add how sensibly we feel their kindness, and that their appreciation of his talents, kind disposition, and strenuous exertions in their behalf are most gratifying and consoling to us in our affliction. I can assure you that many years of his life, after sustaining a severe domestic bereavement, were soothed, and rendered comparatively happy, by applying himself to the study of a pursuit which brought him into contact with men of congenial and intelligent minds, such as compose the Society of the British Archæological Association.

Permit me to return our most sincere thanks to the Council for their sympathy, and to yourself for the truthful manner in which you have conveyed their feelings to the relatives of their former friend.

Believe me, dear Mr. Planché,

Yours always faithfully and attached,

W. VESALIUS PETTIGREW.

J. R. Planché, Esq.

S. H. Harlowe, Esq., exhibited some fragments of pottery from Ingoldmells near Skegness, in Suffolk. These and similar fragments are found on the sea shore, and appear to be washed out from a bank of clay near the low-water mark.

H. Syer Cuming, Esq., Hon. Sec., observed that the three specimens exhibited bore, as Mr. E. Roberts had pointed out to him, marks of the hand and fingers which, when in a plastic state, had moulded them to their present rude form. They appeared to have been made to be used as handles by the potters engaged in work at this place, and were no doubt applied to hold the plastic articles during the process of manipulation. The discovery indicated the existence at this place of a pottery in late Roman times, and showed that since that period the sea had greatly encroached on the coast.

E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited some specimens of Roman pottery just found during some building operations in Gracechurch-street: they had evidently been previously disturbed. They were of Samian and imitation Samian ware, one of them remarkable for being glazed on one side only.

J. B. Greenshields, Esq., J. W. Bailey, Esq., and others, exhibited some ancient equipments of the archer. Those of Mr. Greenshields were in bronze, and Mr. Cuming thought them intended to facilitate the drawing the string of the cross-bow; they were two rings side by side in one plane, and between them, and at right angles to their plane, stood two, three, or four fangs intended, perhaps, to receive the string of the bow. The other articles were thumb-guards of bone and one of aventurine glass of eastern manufacture. They exemplified the difference in the use of the bow of the eastern and western nations, the former of whom drew the string with the thumb.

Graham H. Hills, Esq., R.N., submitted a drawing of a tombstone discovered more than a year ago on Helbre Island at the mouth of the river Dec. The head of a stone cross had been previously found within a few feet of the same spot. Two men and their families constitute the population of the island, one named Hughes, a servant of the Mersey Dock Board at Liverpool, which Board owns the island; the other, a servant of the Trinity House. The island was purchased by the Board of the Bishop of Chester. From Leland and others we know that it once contained a small cell of the great monastery of Chester, and some mounds still seem to mark the site of the cell. It was near them, close to the shore on the west side of the island, that Hughes exposed both these stones, the only known evidences of this small monastery. The cross has been drawn in Dr. Hume's book on the antiquities of Meols. The gravestone is apparently of the thirteenth century. It is five feet five in. long, one foot ten in. wide at the head, one foot five in. at the foot, and bears a cross connected with

two concentric circles, formed by sinking the surface of the stone, and leaving the cross in relief. In a local record a drawing has been published which, however, does not appear to be strictly correct.

The Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, F.S.A., submitted his *Fasti Cicestrenses*, upon which the Treasurer made some introductory remarks. Mr. Walcott's laborious compilation will be forthwith printed accompanied by Mr. Hills' observations, as Mr. Walcott requests. Mr. Walcott, at the same time, generously placed at the disposal of the Association his extracts from the Public Records of Inventories of Lilleshall Abbey, the Priory of St. Thomas nigh Stafford, Dieulacres Abbey, Darley Priory, Dale Priory, and Barnwell Priory, and expressed the great satisfaction which he had derived from the study of the monastic papers to be found in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association.

FASTI CICESTRENSES.

BY THE REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., PRECENTOR
OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

THE subject which Mr. Walcott has brought forward, is not at first sight of the most attractive nature; but a little consideration will shew to those who have not travelled in this path of inquiry that it is nevertheless a most useful one. As the Council has resolved to accept the offer which Mr. Walcott made to place his manuscript at our disposal, it occurred to me that it would be desirable to preface it with some account of the laborious compilation which Mr. Walcott has so generously committed to the public through our pages.

All who are accustomed to investigate the dates of ancient deeds and charters are ready to recognise the value of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* of Peter le Neve, particularly as now presented to us in the three 8vo. volumes of the new edition by Mr. Duffus Hardy. The work is a list of the dignitaries of the English church, from the earliest periods, of all the Cathedrals and both Universities; but as originally produced by Le Neve, or, as Browne Willis says, in reality by Bishop Kennet, it contained often no names of the cathedral prebendaries,—the rank and file, as it were, of the cathedral clergy,—but only of the bishops, deans, treasurers, chancellors, and other officers holding specific dignities. To Le Neve's work Mr. Duffus Hardy added many corrections, and introduced the prebendaries; but these he gave at Chichester, only from the date of the accession of the house of Hanover to the English throne. The excellent index which accompanies

this work is of great use in ascertaining the dates of charters and other documents, the only clue to whose date is often to be found in the names of the attesting witnesses. In the vast number of names, all of authentic date and character, here collected, is therefore preserved a most valuable and convenient chronological record. For this application of the work, the names of the prebendaries of the last one hundred and fifty years, added by Mr. Hardy, have not yet become valuable.

Mr. Walcott has applied himself to complete the work of Le Neve and Hardy with respect to one cathedral, viz., that of Chichester. He has passed over the bishops, as finding them already treated of with sufficient amplitude and accuracy, and begins his labours with the deans, followed by the precentors, the chancellors, the treasurers, the archdeacons of Chichester, and the archdeacons of Lewes. Chichester was one of the sees removed by William the Conqueror from a village, viz. Selsey, to the city which has ever since been the see of the bishop of Sussex, or the South Saxons. All these dignitaries Mr. Walcott has succeeded in tracing either almost or altogether from the foundation of the cathedral. His lists contain numerous additions to those of Mr. Duffus Hardy; but the most important addition is that which next claims our notice, for when we come to the prebendaries we find that the whole of these have now for the first time been discovered, and arranged under the heads of their thirty-three prebends. Mr. Walcott has not in every case been able to trace the endowment to its origin, nor to commence with the first incumbents. Four of the prebends were founded or refounded by Bishop Sherborne in the reign of Henry VIII, and five others have their origin fixed at 1397 (*circa*), Wilmington; 1299, Earham; 1259, West Wittering; 12..., Hova Ecclesia, by Bishop Poore; and 1147, Ferring, by Bishop Hilary. Of the others, the notices begin, one in the thirteenth century, twenty-two in the fourteenth century, and one in the sixteenth. To many of the names he adds useful and interesting biographical remarks; and the sources to which his laborious researches have extended will be understood to be trustworthy and reliable, from his own account of them. He has, he states, conducted "an independent inquiry among the MSS. of the British Museum and Oxford, and the records at Chichester, in order to compile his work. The materials were,—Extracts from Patent Rolls, made by Dr. Hutton, in the Harl. MSS.; and in the same collection, Le Neve's own collections, and Bishop Kennett's collections; also the Burrell MSS. in the British Museum; the Statutes of Chichester, with the signatures attached; the Visitations of bishops before the reformation of the cathedral body, in the Bishops' Registers; and collations to dignities and prebends (in the same); Clarke's MS. lists (partially used by Dallaway) in the Chapter Muniments;

and in the same keeping, the Chapter Act Books of the sixteenth century; the Bishops' Registers since the Reformation; Swayne's MSS., a miscellaneous collection of extracts; and MS. Catalogue of Dignitaries, with short notes, of the eighteenth century; Wood's MSS. in the Bodleian at Oxford have also been consulted. The biographical illustrations have been made from Browne Willis's *Cathedrals*, Newcourt's *Repertorium*, and other well known authorities. The Warden of New College, Oxford, has collected from the muniments of the College the names of Fellows who held Wiccamical prebends."

It is not deemed desirable to repeat Mr. Hardy's list of the prebendaries, nor any of the names of dignitaries after the accession of the House of Hanover, and Mr. Walcott's MS. therefore stands herein abridged by the omission of everything after 1711. To supply, in some measure, the gap before the lists of prebendaries commence, Mr. Walcott has collected lists of the clergy constituting the capitular body at several chapters in the early period of the cathedral, viz., at the following dates: 1140, 1192, 1197, 1200 *circa*, 1226, 1232, 1247, 1251, and 1262; and from these lists we learn how the capitular body was constituted in those early times. In 1140 it contained the Dean and four residentiary canons:—Ivo de Wells, Dean; Alured, Edward, Mag. Peter, Mag. John.¹ In 1192 there are sixteen members:—Mathæus, Dean; Lodovicus, the Præcentor; Galfridus Aiguillon, the Chancellor; Peter, Archdeacon of Lewes; Simon, Godfrey de Stockton, Garinus, Mag. Sylvester, Archdeacon of Chichester; Mag. Richard, Treasurer; Malgerus, Willelmus, Dom. Guido, Richard, Marcellus. Mag. Robert, Mag. William Durandi.² In 1197, thirty members:—Seffrid, the Dean; Ludovicus, Præcentor; Galfridus, Chancellor; Richard, Treasurer; Sylvester, Archdeacon of Chichester; Jocelyn, Archdeacon of Lewes; Roger, Petrus de Lewes, Garinus, Guido de Bishopston, Mag. Thomas, Mag. Robert de Boseham, Mag. Robert de Felpham, Godfrey de Stockton, Mag. Robert de Stockton, William, Philip de London, Mag. Peter de Bokeham, Marcellus, William Durandi, Mag. Ralph de Forder al. Ford, John de Hampton, Malger, Richard de Kirkle, Adam de Ecclesden, Robert de Melkel, Mag. Edmund, Nicholas Tuthonum, Peter de Colemere, Philip de Sco. Edwardo.³ In the next instance only the residentiaries appear to be named: Thomas, Godfrey de Weseham, Nicholas Crassus, Mag. Galfridus de Gloucester, Robert de Amberley.⁴ In 1226 ten names:—Symon, the Dean; W. de Leukenore, Præcentor; Mag. Thomas de Lychfield, Chancellor; William Durandi, Archdeacon of Chichester;

¹ Pa. Ro. 6 Hen. II, MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 9.

² Stat., f. 53, MS. Harl. 6973, f. 28.

³ Stat., f. 58b, MS. Harl. 6973, f. 30.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6973, f. 17b, 18.

Mag. William de Keynsham, Richard de Maupuldre, Robert de Amberley, Nicholas Crassus, John de Neketon, Godfrey de Weseham.¹ In 1232 there are thirteen members :—Thomas, the Dean ; Mag. William, the Treasurer ; William, Archdeacon of Chichester ; R., Archdeacon of Lewes ; W. de Kainesham, Mag. Walter de Gloucester, Mag. Jocelyn de Altâ Ripâ, Mag. John de Arundel, Walter, Robert de Amberley, Nicholas Crassus, Richard de Glenthams, John de Nevil.² In 1247 there are eight residentiaries and eight non-residents :—G., the Dean ; E., Præcentor ; John, the Chancellor ; John, Archdeacon of Chichester ; Laurence de Somercote, Walter de Glovernia, Hervey Cornubia, Stephen de Pagham, Mag. William, Treasurer ; John, Laurence de Sco. Martino, Dom. Peter Chacepore, the Abbot of Grestein ; William filius Petri, William de Sco. Ægidio, R. Passelew,³ Archdeacon of Lewes. In 1251 there are ten resident and seven non-resident :—Galfridus, the Dean ; Ernisius, Præcentor ; John, the Chancellor ; William, the Treasurer ; John, Archdeacon of Chichester ; Walter de Gloucester, Hervey Cornubia, Stephen de Pagham, Dom. James de Haworth, Robert de Beccles, Robert, Archdeacon of Lewes ; Walter Fitz-Peter, Simon de Clympyng, Adam de Seldeslye, William de Radinges, Mag. Roger de Cantelupe, Mag. Peter de Depham ;⁴ and in 1262 seven residentiaries appear,—Walter de Gloucester, William de Bracklesham, Chancellor ; Simon de Clympyng, Archdeacon of Lewes ; John de Coruleto, Robert Hastings, Robert de Purle, Adam de Seldeslygh.⁵ A list of about 1397 shows fourteen residentiaries, with twenty-eight vicars choral, and sixteen non-residents, but as the names appear in their proper places under the respective prebends, they need not be repeated. In 1441 the canons residentiary had dropped to six in number, the non-residents being twenty-three. At the present day there are the Dean and four residentiaries.

In glancing through Mr. Walcott's lists it is very interesting to catch, as it were, the early footsteps of men who have afterwards risen to eminence. In 1439 John Morton was Chancellor of the cathedral ; soon afterwards he became Archdeacon of Chichester, and rose to be Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor of England, and a Cardinal. In 1412 Simon Marcheford, was prebendary of Middleton, and died in 1417 at Rome, Cardinal of St. Chrysogoni, though, perhaps, this may be only an instance of the possession of pluralities then common to an extravagant degree among the highest ecclesiastics—like another instance, one Ambaldus, in the 12th Ed. III, who was prebendary of Fittleworth, and died in 1350 Cardinal Bishop of Alba and Tusculum. In 1402 a humbler

¹ Stat., f. 54, MS. Harl. 6973, f. 28.

² MS. Harl., 6973, f. 20.

³ Ibid., f. 23.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6973, f. 30.

⁵ Ibid., f. 65. Pa. Ro. 2 Ed.



instance of the pluralist occurs: John Chytterne, was Rector of Newchurch, of S. Thomas's Salisbury, Winterbourne, Stapylton, Bewick St. John, Prebendary of Chichester, of Romsey, of Heytesbury, Shaftesbury, Wilton, Wherwell, of St. Paul's, of Hereford, of Salisbury, and Archdeacon of Wilts. The pious Bishop Jewell, of Salisbury, was in 1551 Archdeacon of Chichester, and Juxon, Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, had been a Prebendary of Chichester. Two characters we meet with, who present themselves under less pleasant circumstances of distinction—John London, D.C.L., Prebendary of Seaford in 1531, and of Selsey in 1532, and Thomas Bedell, Prebendary of Hampstead in 1536, were two of the commissioners engaged in the suppression of the monasteries.

In 1283 we seem to meet with an old, and, at one time, mysterious friend, Bogo de Clare, first introduced to the notice of the members of this Association by Mr. Hartshorne.¹ In 1284 this individual was engaged travelling from Wales to Lincoln, and thence to London on the King's service. It is suggested by Mr. Hartshorne that this may be the same Bogo de Clare who subjected himself to a heavy fine for unlawfully arresting Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1290, in Westminster Hall, and who again, as Mr. Clarence Hopper² has shown, was entangled in law proceedings two years afterwards, when his servants actually compelled the officer of the court who came to serve some letters of citation, to eat the letters, wax-seals, and all. Now these dates and circumstances are not incompatible with the Bogo who in 1283 was precentor of Chichester, and who, though called *Roger de Clare* in 1292, holding the same office, it is highly probable was the same man. If these things are probable, then it is also likely to be proved some day that the Bogo, or Bogo de Clare, of all these transactions was that Bogo de Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, who in 1267 was Rector of Adelington; 1274, Prebendary of York; 1284, Treasurer of York; 1287, Chancellor of Llandaff; 1292, Canon of Wells, and also was Chaplain to the Pope.

The lists afford us a few notices of the foundation or existence of the altars in the cathedral, the altars of St. Edmund and St. Thomas-the-Martyr, the altar of St. Augustine, and that of St. Cross in the Rood loft, the chantry of St. Anne, of St. Mary, and St. Faith in the cloisters, the altars of St. Clement and St. Peter.

Besides these notices, we get one or two of other buildings. John Goodmanstowe, Prebendary of Henfield in 1399, was clerk for the repairs of Westminster Hall, and John Brackenburgh, Chancellor of Chichester in 1483, and Prebendary of Lincoln, was master of the new work of St. Mary's, Strood. Now, it was suggested in the

¹ Journal, vol. xviii, p. 75.

² Vol. xx.

account of Barnard Castle with which Mr. Robinson has favoured us, that the Brackenbury tower there was so named after Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower of London under Richard III, who, as Duke of Gloucester, was possessed of Barnard Castle. From Surtees we know that the family of Brackenbury belonged to the neighbourhood of Barnard Castle, of which family it is highly probable this Sir Robert was a member, and not improbable that John Brackenburgh, of Chichester and Lincoln, was also a member. Surtees is at a loss to account for the name given to the Brackenbury tower except it were built by some member of this family. Whom, I would suggest, could be more probable than this John Brackenburgh, the master of the New Work at St. Mary's, Strood.

But the notice which to me is the most interesting of the whole, and with which I shall close this account, is that of John Cloos, who having been one of the prebendaries, became Dean of Chichester in 1479, and dying in 1500, was buried under a marble tomb near the door of the Chapter House.

The name of Cloos or Close is a remarkable one in connexion with architecture. When Henry VI commenced that splendid monument of his taste for architecture, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, one of the first Fellows of the College was Nicholas Cloos. We learn from Le Neve's *Fasti* that this man, in 1447-8, being then Chancellor of Cambridge University, was collated to the archdeaconry of Colchester. King Henry VI made a grant of arms, which is unfortunately without date,¹ to Nicholas Cloos, clerk, to mark the favour he had acquired in and about the works of King's College. After this, on 14th March, 1449-50, Cloos became Bishop of Carlisle; and Godwin (*De Præsulibus*) tells us that he was *prejectus* of the works at King's College. He was translated from Carlisle to the see of Lichfield and Coventry in 1452, and died in October of that year. Now, without entering into the question of how far he was really the architect of King's College Chapel, as Hearne, Britton, and others have believed, his connexion with those works, and fitness in some sort for that connexion, must be admitted. Let us see, then, what this suggests with reference to Chichester Cross, a small, but beautiful, specimen of architecture, finished, as Dallaway says the existing workmen's bills of charges shew, about 1500, the very year that John Cloos, the dean, died. The cross was built at the cost of Edward Story, who in 1468 was made Bishop of Carlisle, and must have been acquainted with the friends of Cloos, bishop there sixteen years before. But Story was also Master of Michael House, Cambridge, and that he was intimate with those connected with the works at King's College, then still in progress, is

¹ In Bentley's *Excerpta*, the grant is given at length.

apparent from a deed given in Coles MSS.,¹ in which he appoints the mason and the mason-warden of those works and two of the carpenters to settle a question of right of eavesdrop which had arisen between him and Gonville College. Edward Story thus comes from Cambridge and Carlisle to Chichester in 1478, and in the next year John Cloos, whose surname belongs also to King's College, Cambridge, and to Carlisle, is made, as if by the new bishop's influence, dean of Chichester. With these concurrent circumstances it is not a little interesting to inquire can any proof be discovered that John Cloos designed, or was connected with Bishop Story's beautiful cross. I trust that some one will be found to follow up this question.

DEANS.

- 1108 ODO, sent by Anselm to Henry I, to give him an account of the quarrel between him and the Archbishop of York. *MS. Harl.* 6974, fo. 5, 56b, 6127, fo. 122, 6098, fo. 107b, 109, 7520, fo. 34; *Kennet's Dyptycha*; *Lansd.*, 933, fo. 93, etc.; *Stat. Book B.*; *Eadmer*, 101
- 1115 RICHARD I. *MS. Harl.* 6976, fo. 43b
- 1125 MATTHEW, Preb. of Hastings
- 1140 IVO DE WELLS, 6 *Hen. II*; *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 9
- 1147 RICHARD II
- 1150 JOHN DE GRENEFORD, *MS. Cotton, Dom.* ii; *Matt. Par.* 106; *Ann. Winton.* 1173. BISHOP. Founder of Eartham Prebend
- 1158 WILLIAM, founder of St. Mary's Hospital. His chantry was at the altar of SS. Edmund and Thomas M.
JOHN. *MS. Harl.* 6974, fo. 5
- 1176 JORDAN DE MELEBURN, *Beck Ep. Vesp. B.* 15; *MS. Harl.* 6976, fo. 44, 158b
- 1180 SEFFRID I. BISHOP.
- 1180 MATTHEW OF CHICHESTER. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28; 6976, fo. 42b; 158b. *Cart. Scacc. M. Nero. Evi.* fo. 157. *Reg. CC. C. Oxon. Reg. de Waltham* 110, *Liber Y*, fo. xxxix
- 1193 NICHOLAS D' AQUILA. *Cart. Scacc. Reg. Mag. Linc.* fo. 22. *MS. Harl.* 6976, fo. 43a
- 1197 SEFFRID II, made a postern into the fields from the deanery through the city walls. Geoffrey de Gloverniã purchased the land between the walls and the Lavant. BISHOP. *Harl. MS.* 6957, fo. 22b, *lib. Y*, fo. lxxxxi
- 1220 SIMON DE PERIGORD. *Harl. MS.* 6973, fo. 28; 6976, fo. 43b; *Lib. Y*, fo. lxxxvii; *Reg. Coll. Univ. Cart. Scacc.*
- 1230 WALTER. *MS. Harl.* 6976, fo. 43b
- 1232 THOMAS OF LICHFIELD. Founder of St. Mary's chantry. He had chantries at the altars of SS. Thomas and Edmund, St. Augustine and St. Mary. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 11, 17b, 18; *Reg. Coll. Univ.* fo. 62; *Swayne*, 252.
- 1247 GEOFFREY. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 23b; 6976, fo. 44; *Cart. Scacc. Reg. Coll. Univ.*; *Prynne* iii, 224; *Lib. Y*, fo. lxxxix

¹ Coles MSS., vol. i, p. 109.

- 1262 WALTER DE GLOUCESTER. 4 *Edw. I*; *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 32 b; 6976, fo. 43 a, b; *Swayne*, 252; *Stat.* 55, 58; *Prynne* iii, 186. Custos of St. Mary's Hospital. His chantry was at St. Anne's altar
- 1280 WILLIAM DE BRACKLESHAM. *Lib. Y*, fo. clxiv b. R. of Erlington, Archdeacon of Wells, Collector of Tenths
- 1296 THOMAS DE BERGHSTEDE. *Reg. Winchelsea*, *Lib. Y*, p. lxxxxvii. Archdeacon of Lewes, founder of the chantry of St. Augustine and St. Cross in the Rood Loft
- 1299 JOHN DE GRENEFELD, D.C.L. Oxford. Inc. Blackley, 1291; R. of Stratford, 1294; Preb. of York, 1287; St. Paul's, 1229; Lincoln, Southwell, 1269; Ripon, 1272; Clerk of the Council; Lord Chancellor, 1302-4; cons. to York, 1306; sat in the Council of Vienne; he d. at Cawood, 1315, and was buried at York. *Prynne* iii, 884; *Annal. Winton*, 1173; *Mat. Par.*, 106; 30 *Edw. I*; *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 81, 82, 85 b; 6976, fo. 156 b.
- 1316 JOHN DE ST. LEOFARDO. (PRECENTOR, 1305.) R. of Seulhoe.
- 1332 HENRY DE GARLAND. 18 *Edw. II*; *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 145. (CHANCELLOR.) Founder of two St. Mary chantries for Bp. Gilbert, 1336, and of St. Faith in the Cloisters, 1332
- 1342 WALTER DE SEGRAVE. 22 *Edw. III*; *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 124
- 1356 WILLIAM DE LYNN. 37 *Edw. III*; *ibid.*, 6960, fo. 68; 6975, fo. 25; *Swayne*, 182. BISHOP
- 1367 NICHOLAS DE ASTON. 40 *Edw. III*; *ib.*, fo. 76 a. *Lib. Y*, lxxxxvi
- 1369 ROGER DE FRETON. 46 *Edw. III*; *ib.*, 6957, fo. 15; 4 *Ric. II*; *ib.* 6961, fo. 216; *ib.* 6973, fo. 34. Prebendary of York, 1370, Salisbury and Wilton. D. 1381
- 1383 ROGER LE SCROPE. 10 *Ric. II*; *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 48; installed in presence of the Abbot of Dureford, Prior of Heryngham; William, Subdean; Thomas, Dean's Vicar; John, Succenter; Walter, Sub-Treasurer, and Sir Stephen le Scrope. *Ibid.*, 6973, fo. 31. D.C.L. of Oxford; third son of Sir Richard Scrope, L.C. of Bolton; Chanc. of Camb. Univ., 1378; official of Ely; Canon of York; Chaplain to the Pope; Preby. of Lincoln, 1386; Prothonotary of the Apostolic See; cons. at Genoa to Lichfield, Aug. 19, 1386; Archbishop of York, 1398; beheaded on a charge of fidelity to Ric. II at Bishopthorpe, June 8, 1405; buried at York. Arms: az. a bend within a bordure or charged with a mitre of the field a label of three points arg.
- 1390 WILLIAM DE LULLINGTON. 13 *Ric. II*; *MS.* 6961, fo. 77; *Lib. Ep. Cicestr.*, fo. 51. R. of St. Dunstan's in the West. Chancellor of St. Paul's, 1401
- 1397 JOHN DE MAYDENHITHE. *Reg. Praty*, fo. xxix; 1 *Hen. IV*; *MS. Harl.*, b. 962, fo. 8, 17 b, 35 b. Rector of St. Dunstan's in the West; Vic. Gen. of W. of Wykeham
- 1407 JOHN HASELEE. R. of St. Peter's, Cornhill
- 1410 HENRY LOVEL. *Coll. Kennet C.*, p. 61
- 1415 RICHARD TALBOT. 4 *Hen. V*; *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 70 b; *ibid.* 6973, fo. 346
- 1420 WILLIAM MILTON. *Pa. R.* 9 *Hen. V*; *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 80 b; *Reg. Chichele*, fo. 28, 574. Archd. of Bucks, 1402; d. 1424; buried in the west porch, Chichester
- 1425 JOHN PATTEN. 38 *Hen. VI*, 6963, fo. 57. B.C.L., Oxford, brother of Bp. Waynflete; Archdeacon of Surrey, 1447 and 1481; buried at Waynflete. Arms: fusilly erm. and sa. a canton or
- 1435 JOHN CROUCHER. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 6; *Reg. Chichele*, fo. 289. Warden of St. Mary's Hospital
- 1479 JOHN CLOOS, D.C.L. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 69; *Swayne*, 182. Vic. Gen. 1478-1500. He had a chantry at St. Clement's altar, and was buried juxta ostium domus capitularis eccles. cath. sub tumbâ marmoreâ. V. of W. Thorney, 1486. *Reg.*, fo. 6
- 1509 JOHN PRICHERD al. Pychard, B.D. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 94, 153

- 1504 JEFFREY SYMPSON. *Reg. Fitzjames*, fo. 39. F. of New Coll., Oxford; Dean of the Chapel; Dean of Lincoln; d. Aug. 20, 1508
- 1509 JOHN YOUNG. *Reg. Sherb.*, fo. 132; *MS. Lansd.*, 979, fo. 58. Born at Newton Longueville; Warden of New College, 1521; Judge of the Pre-rogative Court, Canterbury; R. St. Martin's, Carfax, 1502; Newton Longueville, 1525; St. Christopher's and St. Magnus, London, 1514; Warden of St. Thos. Hosp. Lond., 1510; Master of the Rolls, 1511; Prior of Shulbrede, Bp. of Calliopolis, 1514. He died May 28, 1526, and was buried in New Coll. Chapel. Arms: fusilly or and sa. ar. a fess gu. two unicorns' heads ppr.
- 1526 WILLIAM FLESHMONGER, D.C.L. F. New College; Canon of Salish., 1518, and Linc., 1519; V. Shoreditch, 1524; Tangmere, 1530; Pagham, Storrington, 1530; Warden St. Mary's Hosp., 1520; d. 1541. Arms: or a cross betw. four standing cups three bezants. *A. O. Fasti* ii, 37-8
- 1541 RICHARD CAURDEN. *MS. Lansd.* 980, fo. 76; *Reg. Day*, fo. 12; *MS. Harl.* 6975, fo. 72; *Swayne*, 709, 719. Electione facta et celebrata psalmoque Te Denm solempniter decantato summum altare deducta præfatus præsidens eorum mandato dictam electionem coram multitudine copiosa vivæ vocis oraculo
- 1549 GILES EYRE, D.D. *Reg. Day*, fo. 50. Educ. at Eton; Vice-Prov. King's Coll., Camb.; R. Kingston, 1538; Fulbourn, All Saints, 1540; Elm, 1540; Chapl. to Hen. VIII and Edw. VI; Preb. of Ely, 1541; Westminster, 1549; Winchester, York, 1569. He d. Sept., 1551. Arms: az. a chevron arg. between three wheatears or
- 1551 BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON, B.D. *Reg. Day*, fo. 67; *Lansd. MS.* 981, fo. 9. A Cornishman, and friar minorite; sometime of New College and of Camb.; tutor to the Duke of Suffolk; keeper of the royal libraries; Canon, Canterbury, 1559; of Windsor, 1559. Died in exile on the continent
- 1552 THOMAS SAMPSON, B.D. B. 1517 at Playford, Suffolk; F. Pemb. Hall, Camb.; Master of Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, 1567; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1570; R. All Hallows', Bread-street, 1551; Dean of Ch. Ch., 1561. He d. April 9, 1589, and is buried at Leicester
- 1553 WILLIAM PYE, B.D. *MS. Lansd.* 980, fo. 275; *Reg. Story*, 59. Born in Suffolk; F. Oriel Coll., Oxf., 1529; Princ. St. Mary Hall, 1537; Proctor; Preb. of Wells, 1554; Archd. of Berks, 1545; R. of Chedsey. Died 1557
- 1558 HUGH TURNBULL. *MS. Lansd.* 981, fo. 39. D.C.L. Oxon; a native of Lincolnshire; Canon of Canterbury, 1554. *Rymer*, xv, p. 382; *Hasted's Kent*, iv, 617
- 1566 RICHARD CURTEYS. BISHOP
- 1570 ANTHONY RUSHE, D.D., Madg. Coll., Oxf. *A.O.* ii, 187; *Lansd. MS.* 981, fo. 167. Educ. at Canterbury, and Master of the King's School, 1561; R. Brightling; Calverton, 1566; Woodham Walter, 1565; Orgarswick; Preb. of Canterbury, 1568, and Windsor; Chapl. to Earl Sussex and the Queen; d. Apr. 1, 1577; buried at Windsor. Arms: Gu. a fess between three horses courant arg.
- 1577 MARTIN CULPEPPER, M.D. *A.O.* ii, 187. Warder of New Coll., Oxf., 1573; R. Stanton St. John, 1576; Colerne, 1588; Archd. of Berks, 1588; Vice-Chanc. Oxf., 1578. He d. 1605. Arms: arg. a bend engr. gu.
- 1601 WILLIAM THORNE, D.D. *Cal. State Paper*, 340; *A.O.* ii, 258; *MS. Lansd.* 984, fo. 123; *Book of Extracts*, fo. 11 b. Born at Sanerley, Wilts; F. New Coll., Oxf., 1587; Chapl. to the King; one of the translators of the Old Testament; Reg. Prof. of Hebrew, 1598; d. Feb. 13, 1630; bur. at Chichester
- 1630 FRANCIS DEE, D.D. *A.O.* ii, 300; *Rymer* viii, p. iii, p. 113. Cons. to Peterborough at Lambeth, May 18, 1634
- 1634 RICHARD STEWARD, D.C.L. *Rymer* viii, p. iii, p. 113; *Clarendon* vi, 321; *Burnet* i, 169, 208. Son of Nicholas, steward of Pattishall; F. All Souls, Oxf.; Prov. of Eton, 1639; Preb. of Worc., 1628; St. Paul's, 1641; Westminster, 1638; Dean of Chapel Royal, 1641; St. Paul's, 1641; Westminster, 1645; Clerk of the Closet, 1638; Chapl. to the King; Prolocutor, 1640; d. at Paris, Nov. 14, 1651; buried at St. Geneviève. Arms: or within a double tressure fleury counterfleury a lion gu.

- 1660 BRUNO RYVES, D.D. *Walker ii*, 14. Born in Dorset. Clerk of New College, 1619; Chapl. of Magd. Coll. 1616; V. Stanwell; R. St. Martin's Vintry, 1628; Acton, 1677; Haseley, 1660; Chapl. to the King; Dean of Windsor, 1660; Wolverhampton; Registrar of the Garter, 1660; Author of *Mercurius Rusticus*. He d. July 13, 1677. Arms: arg. a bend lozengy erminois cotised sa.
- 1660 JOSEPH HENSHAW, D.D. Cons. to Peterborough, 1663
- 1663 JOSEPH GULSTON, D.D. *A.O.* iv, 68. F. of St. John's, Camb.; Chapl. in Ord.; R. Bishop's Waltham; Master of Magd. Hosp., Winchester; Preb. of Winchester; d. April 10, 1669; buried in the north choir aisle of Chichester. Arms: arg. two bars nebulée gu. over all a bend sa. charged with three plates
- 1669 NATHANAEL LORD CREWE, D.C.L. Born at Stene, 1633. R. of Linc. Coll., 1668; R. Witney, 1671; Dean of the Chapel Royal, P.C., 1676; cons. to Oxford, 1671; trans. to Durham, 1674. He died 1722, and was buried at Stene. Arms: az. a lion ramp. arg.
- 1671 THOMAS LAMBROCK, D.D., of St. John's, Camb.; d. Nov. 27, 1672; buried at Chichester. Arms: sa. a chevron arg.
- 1672 GEORGE STRADLING, D.D. *Lansd. MS.* 987, fo. 374. Son of Sir John Stradling; born at St. Donats; I. of All Souls', 1641; R. Hanwell, 1661; Fulham, 1660; V. St. Bride's, London, 1672; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1660; Westminster, 1663; died April 9, 1688; buried in Westminster Abbey. *A.O.* iv, 237
- 1688 FRANCIS HAWKINS, D.D. *MS. Lansd.* 987, fo. 99. Peterhouse, Camb.; R. Gedney; V. Willesden, 1667; Chaplain of the Tower: Preb. of St. Paul's, 1688; promoted for his services in obtaining confessions from state prisoners. He died Feb. 19, 1699. *A.O.* iv, 238
- 1699 WILLIAM HAYLEY, M.A. *Lansd. MS.* 987, fo. 374. F. of All Souls, Oxf. Chapl. to Sir Wm. Turnbull, 1686; Will. III, 1694; R. St. Giles-in-the-Fields, 1695; d. Oct. 29, 1715; buried there. Arms: arrow on a cross az. four mascles and a cinquefoil of the field

PRÆCENTORS.

MS. Harl. 7520.

To the Dignity is attached the Prebend of Oving.

- 1120 KARLO al. Kalo. *Cart. Scacc. Selden on Tithes*, p. 339; *Le N. MS.*
- 1145 HENRY. *M.³A.* 123, *Le N. MS. Monasticon*, p. 1169
- 1147 ROBERT. *M.³A.* 124, *Le N. MS. Monasticon*, p. 1169
- 1185 LEWIS. *Statutes. Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS. Nero E. vi*, fo. 157. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28, 30
- HUGH DE TALMACO. *Dean's Book*, p. 139
- 1216 WILLIAM DE LEUCKNOR. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28
- 1219 ERNISIUS DE TYWA. *Statutes. Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS. MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 23 b
- 1271 RICHARD DE CLIFFORD. *Pa. Ro. 55 Hen. III. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 22
- 1283 BOGO (DE CLARE?). *Reg. Peccham*, fo. 197 a, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 172
- There was a Bogo de Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, Chancellor of Llandaff, 1287; Preb. of York, 1274-98; [Willis, 83; York. Lland. 100]; Treas. of York, 1284; Canon of Wells, 1292. *MS. Harl.* 6968, fo. 130 a. R. Adelingfleite, 1267; Chaplain to the Pope. *Ib.* 1697, fo. 110
- 1292 ROGER DE CLARE. *Dean's Book*, 139. *Swayne MS.* 1297
- 1395 JOHN DE SCO. LEOLFARDO. *Pa. Ro. 33 Edw. I. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 86 b. DEAN, 1316
- 1321 GAILHARD DE MOTA. *Pa. Ro. 11 Edw. II. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 128, 128 b, 133, 137, 138; 6959, fo. 31, 113. Preb. of Lincoln, 1320; Archd. of Oxford, 1312; Ely, 1345; Cardinal of St. Lucia

- 1373 ROBERT DE DERBY. *Pa. Ro.* 41 *E. III. MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 159 ; 6960, fo. 80 b. 43 *E. III.* fo. 90. R. of Greenstede, 25 Edw. III
- 1379 THOMAS DE MIDDLETON. *Pa. Ro.* 2 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 58-11 *Ric. II.* fo. 17. King's Chaplain
- 1399 PHILIP GALEYS. Vic. Gen. to Bp. Buckingham, 1396. *MS. Harl.* 6951, fo. 9 b. TREASURER
- 1409 RICHARD COURTENAY, D.C.L. Exeter Coll., Oxf. Son of Philip Courtenay, of Powderham; Canon of St. Paul's, 1394; Lincoln, 1401; York, 1403; Wells, 1407; Archd. of Northampton, 1410; Dean of St. Asaph, 1402; Wells, 1410; Chanc. of Oxf. Univ. 1407, 1411; Envoy to France and Denmark; cons. to Norwich, Sep. 11, 1413; d. at Harfleur, Sept. 15, 1415; bur. in Westminster Abbey
- 1407 NICHOLAS REES. *Reg. Repingdon. Le N. MS. MS. Harl.* 3605
- 1407 WILLIAM REED. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 121. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 121, 144, 160 b; Nephew of Bp. Rede; Chancellor, 1399; Treasurer, 1411; Archd. Chich., 1398
- 1441 JOHN BLOUNHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 121, clii. *Reg. Chichele*, p. 11. fo. 191. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 6. Archd. of Chichester, 1412; Treasurer, 1410; Pres. of Chapter
- 1478 JOHN WYNE. *Pa. Ro.* 37 *Hen. VI. MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 56. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 2, 69. Resigned on a pension of 40 marks a year; Clerk to the King
- 1485 RICHARD ASPYNHULGH, B.D. *Reg.* 2 b
- 1502 HENRY HOTEN al. Hutten, D.D. Communer, 1498. *MS. Harl.* 3605. *Swayne*, 720
- 1505 WILLIAM HORSEY, D.C.L. *Reg. Sherb.*, fo. C. *Reg.*, fo. 42. *MS. Harl.* 3605, 3607. Vic. Gen. 1503-12; Preb. of Linc. 1514; Archd. of London; Præc. of St. Paul's, 1514; d. 1542
- 1542 GEORGE WYNDAM. *Reg. Craumer*, fo. 388 a. *Swayne*, 720. Residentiary
- 1543 CUTHBERT OXLEY, B.C.L. *Reg. Day*, fo. 11
- 1546 THOMAS DAY, B.C.L. *Reg. Day*, fo. 26. F. of All Souls, Oxf., Canon of Oseney, 1532; Christchurch, 1546; d. 1567
- 1569 THOMAS WILLOUGHBY, B.D. Camb., Oxf., 1575. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 199 b. Chaplain to Archbp. Parker and Q. Eliz.; R. Barham and Bishopsbourne, 1559; Canon of Canterbury, 1550; Dean of Rochester, 1574; d. Aug. 19, 1585. *A.O. Fasti* ix, p. 198; *Hasted* iv, 611; ii, 27
- 1579 JOHN BECON, LL.D. *MS. Cole* xxxii, 58; Residentiary, 1579; Vicar General, 1588; born in Suffolk; F. of St. John's, Camb.; Pub. Orator, 1571; Canon, 1574; Chanc. of dioc., 1575; of Norwich, Preb., 1581; Chanc. of dioc. Lichfield, 1582; d. 1587; bur. in St. Giles's, Cripplegate
- 1587 HENRY BALL, D.D., 1594. F. of New College, Oxford; born at Lichfield; Archd. of Chichester; d. 1603. *MS. Harl.* 3605. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 268
- 1603 JOHN MATTOCK, B.D. *Reg.*, fo. 21 b. Archd. of Lewes; d. Dec. 27, 1613
- 1613 THOMAS MURIELL, M.A. *Reg.*, fo. 65. *MS. Harl.* 3605, al. Mariat or Minerall
- In the church of Tillington is a brass of William Cox, D.D., described as Ecc. Cath. S. Trin. Cicestr. Præcentor, who died c. 15 Feb., 1658 [see Arnold's *Petworth*, 105], but Chillingworth, who died A.D. 1643-4, and appears here in Hardy's edition of *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane*, in his monument in the cloisters, is described as Præcentor Sarisburiensis. *Aubrey* ii, 287
- 1629 DAVID STOKES, D.D., Oxf. *Cal. State Papers*, p. 102. F. of Peterhouse and Eton; R. of Everden, 1638; Binfield; Canon of Windsor, 1628. Author of *Expos. of XII Min. Prophets*; d. 1669
- 1660 JOSEPH HENSHAW. DEAN
- 1663 JOSEPH GULSTON. DEAN
- 1669 NATHANAEL LORD CREWE. DEAN
- 1671 GEORGE STRADLING. DEAN, 1672

- 1688 ROBERT JENKIN, A.M. Master of St. John's Coll., Camb., 1711; Marg. Prof., 1711; deprived as a non-juror; Chaplain to Bp. Lake; author of the *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*; he afterwards took the oaths to Q. Anne. *Nichols* iv, 241-8. D. April 17, 1727
- 1690 JOHN PATRICK, D.D. *Reg. Patrick*, fo. 5. Brother of Bp. Patrick; preacher of Charterhouse, 1640; Preb. of Peterborough, 1685; d. 1695
- 1696 HENRY EEDES, D.D. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 12. V. Amport, 1661; Preb. of Salisbury; Residentiary, 1 stall, 1662-1703; he received the Duke of Monmouth. *Suss. Arch. Soc. Publ.*, vii, 169
- 1703 EDMUND GIBSON, D.D. Queen's, Oxf.; Warden of St. Mary's Hosp., 1715, by the Primate's option. *Reg.*, fo. 23. Son of Edmund Gibson; born at Bampton, Westmoreland, 1669; Libr. of Lambeth, 1696; Chapl. to Abp. Tenison, 1698; R. Lambeth, 1703; Stisted, 1700; Archd. of Surrey, 1710; cons. to Lincoln, Feb. 12, 1715; trans. to London, 1723; author of *Codex Jur. Eccl.*, 1713; editor of *Camden's Britannia*, 1693; *Sax. Chron.* 1692; *Quintilian*, 1693; *Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ*, 1698; d. Aug. 4, 1748, at Bath; buried at Fulham
- 1707 HENRY GRAY

CHANCELLORS.

- 1121 JOHN. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS.*
- 1145 PETER
- 1148 JOSEPH. *M.^a, 124. Le N. MS. Monasticon* vi, 1169
- 1180 JOHN D'AQUILA. *Statutes*
- 1192 GALFRIDUS AQUILLON al. Aungyll. *Statutes. MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28
The Aquillons founded the Prebend of Marden
- 1204 HUGH DE TOURNAY. *Pa. Ro.* 16 *Jo. MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 56
- 1222 RALPH DE NEVILLE. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Hen. III. Ib.* fo. 21. 15 *Hen. III.*, fo. 31. BISHOP
- 1227 EUSTACE DE LEVELAND. *Pa. Ro.* 18 *Hen. III. Ib.*, fo. 31 *b.* 16 *Hen. III. Ib.*, fo. 31 *b.*; 6978, fo. 174 *b.* Absent on the King's service in Ireland; Archd. of Lewes
- 1229 THOMAS DE LICHFIELD. *Statutes. MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28. DEAN
- JOHN CLYMPING. *Statutes. MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 30. BISHOP
- 1256 WILLIAM DE BRACKLESHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 53 *Hen. III. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 17, 52; 6963, fo. 65. *Hen. III. Ib.*, fo. 13. *Monast.*, v, 1171. Collector of Tenths; Archd. of Wells
- 1280 WILLIAM DE PAGHAM. *Cart. Scacc. MS. Harl.*, 3605
- 1291 JOHN DE LACY al. LISIEUX al. Lasci. *Prynne*, 503. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 535
- 1330 HENRY DE GARLAND. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 86 *b.*, lib. Y, fo. viii. DEAN
- 1332 JOHN BISHOPSTONE. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 34. R. Clyve and Westbury; Major and Senior of the church, vac. decanatu.
- 1362 WALTER BRACKLESHAM. *Kennet's Diptych*, fo. 91 *b*
- HENRY COKHAM. *Reg. Islip. MS. Harl.* 6975, fo. 22
- 1367 ROBERT DE WALTON. *Pa. Ro.* 39, 40 *Edw. III. MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 74 *a.*, 75 *b*
- 1371 JOHN DE KEPSTON
- JOHN DE BISHOPSTONE. *Reg. Lond.*
- 1386 JOHN SHILLINGFORD. *Pa. Ro.* 9 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 41 *b*
- 1388 LAMBERT THIRECKYNGHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Ric. II. Ibid.* fo. 60
- SIMON RUSSELL
- JOHN GERNEMOUTHE
- 1399 WILLIAM REED. *MS. Harl.* 3605. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 121. PRÆCENTOR
- 1407 ROBERT NEEL. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160 *b* *Reg. Chichele.* p. i, fo. 191 *b*

- 1407 JOHN STOPYNDON. King's Clerk; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1429. Archd. of Colchester, 1433; Dorset, 1447; Master of the Rolls, 1438; d. 1447
- 1439 JOHN MORTON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 12. *Pa. Ro.* 15 *Hen. V.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 27 b. 3 *Hen. VI.* *Ib.* 6963, fo. 12. D.C.L. Balliol Coll., Oxf.; Commissary of Oxford and Moderator, 1446; Principal of Peckwater Inn, 1453; Chancellor of Oxford, 1494; Master in Chancery and of the Rolls, 1472; R. of Blockswich, St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, 1472; Preb. of Salisbury, St. Paul's, Subdean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Winchester, Leicester, Huntingdon, Berks, Lord Chancellor, 1486; cons. to Ely, 1479; trans. to Canterbury, 1486; Cardinal, 1493; d. 1500
- 1439 JOHN FAWKES. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. 12 *Pa. Ro.* 15 *Hen. V.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 21 b, 43, 59. 38 *Hen. VI.* *Ib.* 27. R. of All Saints, Hastings; Clerk of Parliament; Dean of Hastings, Windsor, 1462; Preb. of Lincoln; Chapl. of St. Barth., Rye, 1442; Chaplain of the Chantry of Robertsbridge at the great altar of St. Mary
- 1478 EDMUND LICHFIELD. Preb. of Lincoln, 1471
- 1483 JOHN BRACKENBURGH. *Reg. Russell*; *Preb. of Lincoln.* Master of the, New Work, St. Mary's, Strood
- 1496 THOMAS BURWELL. Communer, 1496
- 1507 WILLIAM PORTER, B.D. Warden of New Coll., Oxford, 1494; R. Colerne 1508; Saham Tony, 1482; Canon of Lincoln, 1485; Præcentor and Preb. of Hereford, 1515; d. 1520; bur. at Hereford
- 1512 WILLIAM BYRLE al. Burleigh. *Kennet's Dypt.*, p. 93. Fellow of King's, Camb.; resigned
- 1525 JOHN WORTHIAL, B.C.L. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 70. *Swayne*, 718, 729. *Reg.* 67. Residentiary, 1530; Princ. of New Inn Hall; Warden of St. Mary's Hosp.; Archd. of Chichester
- 1530 GEORGE CROFT. Oriol. *Swayne*, 718; *Burnet, Hist. of Reform.* i, p. 719; *Cranm. Lett.* ccxlvii. R. of Shepton Mallet, 1535; Residentiary, 1531; hanged for denying the royal supremacy, 1538
- 1559 WILLIAM TRESHAM, D.D. *MS. Harl.* 3605. *A.O.* i, 374. Residentiary, 1560; F. of Merton; Canon of Oseney, 1532; R. of Bugbrook, 1541; V. Bampton; Registrar, 1523; Commissary, 1559, of Oxford; deprived; d. 1569
- 1560 AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE, M.A. F. New Coll., Oxf. *MS. Harl.* 3605. Official of the Bishop, 1559; Residentiary, 1560; V. Rye, 1564-7; Preb. of Salisbury, 1566
- 1562 WILLIAM BRADBRIDGE, D.D. Residentiary, 1559; born in London; F. Magd., Oxf., 1529; R. Tarring; V. Eastbourne; Preb. 1554; Dean of Salisbury, 1563; cons. to Exeter, March 18, 1571; d. June 27, 1573; bur. at Newton Ferrers. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 79, etc.
- 1572 JOHN CHANTLER, A.M. *MS. Harl.* 3605; R. Gt. Harwood; Preb. of Lincoln, 1570; d. 1595
- 1572 HENRY BLAXTON, B.D. Educated at Winchester; F. Trin. Coll., Cam.; Residentiary, 1570. Arms: arg. two bars in chief three cocks gu.
- 1606 ROGER ANDREWES, B.D. *MS. Lans.*, 984, fo. 227; Residentiary, 1607; Master of Jesus Coll., Camb., 1618; V. Chigwell; R. Cowfold, Emmeth, Nuthurst, 1606; Preb. of Ely, 1617; Winchester, 1627; Archd. of Chichester; one of the translators of the Holy Bible; d. 1635
- 1609 JOHN DRURY. *Cal. State Papers*, p. 556, 641. *A.O.* ii. 228. Archd. of Oxford, 1592
- 1635 JOHN SCULL, M.A. Merton and Linc.; R. of Slinfold; d. 1641. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 366
- 1641 JAMES MARSH, D.D. Merton. *MS. Lans.* 985, fo. 52; V. Cuckfield; Archd. of Chichester
- 1660 THOMAS LAMBROCK, D.D. *MS. Harl.* 3605. DEAN
- 1672 WILLIAM SAYWELL, D.D. *MS. Harl.* 3605. Educated at Cranbourne School; F. of St. John's, Camb.; Master of Jesus Coll., 1679; Chapl. to Bp. Gunning; Preb. 1679; Arch. 1681 of Ely; R. Willingham, 1679; d. 1701; bur. in Jesus Coll. Chapel

- 1701 JOHN WRIGHT, M.A. Oriel. Residentiary, 1703-19. *MS. Harl.* 3605; *Reg. Grove*, fo. 38; *Reg. Williams*, fo. 13

TREASURERS.

- 1130 STEPHEN
 1148 ROGER. *M.³A.* 123. *Le N. MS. Cotton*, 325. *Monast.* vi, 1169
 1170 WILLIAM NEVILL. His chantry was at the altar of St. Thomas M. and St. Edmund. 10s. in wine were given to the choir on his anniversary. *Swayne*, 314
 1185 LUKE. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS.*
 1190 SEFFRID. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS.*
 1197 RICHARD. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 29
 1233 WILLIAM DE NEVILL. *Statutes. Reg. Grostete*
 1251 WILLIAM. Residentiary. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 20, 23 *b*
 1271 NICHOLAS. Residentiary
 1282 GILBERT DE SCO. LEOFARDO. Bishop
 1291 ROBERT DE PURLE. Residentiary, with William de Selsey, an executor of Bishop Richard's will
 1297 WILLIAM DE IRETON. *Reg. Winchelsea*
 1300 WILLIAM DE THEFORD, D.D. *Reg. Winchelsea*, fo. 138 *a*
 1340 HUGH DE DARKENEBY
 1340 WALTER DE SEGRAVE. DEAN, 1342
 1349 STEPHEN KIRTLEBURY. *Pa. Ro.* 23 *Edw. III* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 138
 1352 WALTER GESTE. *Pa. Ro.* 25 *Edw. III*. *Ib.*, fo. 166
 1362 JOHN DE WEDLINGBURGH. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS. Reg. Islip.* *MS. Harl.* 6975, fo. 22. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 22. Residentiary
 1396 PHILIP GALEYS. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160 *b*. PRECENTOR
 1410 JOHN BLOUNHAM. PRECENTOR
 1411 WILLIAM REED. PRECENTOR
 1415 WILLIAM MALPAS. *Reg. Chich.* p. i, fo. 191 *b*. Archd. of Worcester, 1383
 1437 JOHN KYNG, B.D. d. 1415; bur. at Eastbourne
 1474 JOHN STRETTON, LL.D. Preb. of Lichfield, 1448; Salisbury
 1479 JOHN DOGET, LL.D. Prov. of King's Coll., Camb. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68. R. Eastbourne, 1478; Arch. of Chester, 1499; Chapl. to Ric. 11; Preb. of Lichf., 1488; Salisbury; Lincoln, 1473; Chanc. of Salisbury, 1485; Vic. Gen. of Salisb., 1483; d. April, 1501
 1501 WILLIAM GREEN, D.D. Preb. of Lincoln, 1473. *Swayne*, 720
 1507 NICHOLAS WEST, LL.D. F. of King's Coll., Camb.; R. Eaglescliffe, Elton; Witney, 1502; Archd. of Derby, 1486; Dean of Windsor, 1509; Registrar of the Garter; cons. to Ely, 1515; d. 1553; bur. at Ely in his Chantry chapel
 1516 JOHN COLET. D.D. Oxford; V. of Stepney; Preb. of York, 1493; Salisbury, 1502; St. Martin's-le-Grand, 1503; Dean of St. Paul's, 1505; founder of St. Paul's School, 1512
 1519 THOMAS WODYNGTON, D.C.L. F. New Coll., Oxf. *Reg. Sherborne*, fo. xxx; R. St. Marylebone, Lond., 1514; Chanc. of Wore., 1503; Dean of Bocking, 1507. *Swayne*, 719
 1519 HUGH (al. Robert) ROLFE. *Sherborne Reg.*, fo. xxx *b*; Residentiary, 1526, 1554. *Reg.*, fo. 99 *b*. *Swayne*, 714. *Rymer* vi, p. ii, p. 73
 1539 ROBERT PETERSON, B.D. *Swayne*, 719. Residentiary, 1541; Preb. of York 1537-46. *Willis*, 153
 1553 JOHN SMITH. M.A. *Reg.*, fo. 99 *b*. Residentiary, 1559
 1562 AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE. CHANCELLOR



- 1567 WILLIAM OVERTON, D.D. Residentiary, 1569. Educated at Glastonbury; F. Magd. Coll., Oxford, 1551; Preb. of Lichfield, 1567; Winchester, 1559; Salisbury, 1570; R. Stoke-on-Trent, 1579; Nursling, 1560; Rotherfield, 1569; Henbury; cons. to Lichfield, 1580; son-in-law of Bp. Barlow. He died 1509, and is buried at Eccleshall. Arms: az. a chevron betw. three unicorns heads erased arg. armed and crined or
- 1581 STEPHEN CHATFIELD, M.A. V. of Kingston, 1574; R. Charlewood, Long Ditton, 1577; d. 1589. Thomas Chatfield was V. of Chiddingfold, 1560
- 1598 RICHARD NEILE, D.D. Residentiary, 1604; educated at Westminster; F. of St. John's, 1575; Trin. Coll., Camb., 1581; public orator, 1583; V. Cheshunt, 1596; Teddington; Southfleet; Clifton Camville; Chaplain to Archbishop Laud, Lord Burleigh, and the Earl of Salisbury; Dean of Westminster, 1605; Master of the Savoy, 1605; Clerk of the Closet; P.C., 1627; cons. to Rochester, 1603; trans. to Lichfield, 1610; Lincoln, 1614; Durham, 1617; Winchester, 1628; York, 1631; d. 1640. Arms: paly of ten arg. and gu.
- 1610 ROBERT NOWELL, B.D. Residentiary, 1613; half-brother to Archbishop Neile; V. Cheshunt, 1605; R. Wormley, 1599; Islip, Crawley; Preb. of Westminster; Lichfield, 1614; Durham, 1620; Archd. of Bucks, 1614; Lewes; Subdean of Lincoln, 1613; d. 1643; bur. at Winchester. *Reg.*, fo. 60b. *A.O.* ii, 289
- 1660 PHILIP KING, D.D. Residentiary, 1662; son of Bp. King; student of Ch. Ch., Oxf.; F. of Ex. Coll., 1623; Publ. Orator, 1625; R. of St. Botolph's, Bpsgate., 1636; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1660; Chapl. in ord.; Archd. of Lewes; d. 1666; bur. at Langley
- 1667 WALTER JONES, D.D. Ch. Ch., Oxford; Preb. of Westm.; St. Paul's, 1669; Subdean of Chapel Royal; bur. at Westm. Abb., 1672. *A.O.* ii, 242, 245
- 1672 TOBIAS HENSHAW, M.A. Archd. of Lewes; half-brother to Bp. Gunning. *G.M.* lxiii, i, p. 15
- 1681 HENRY MAURICE, D.D. Jesus Coll., Oxf.; Chapl. to Abp. Sancroft; Marg. Prof., 1691; R. Newington, Llandrillo, 1684; Preb. of Worc. 1691
- 1691 WILLIAM BARCROFT, A.M. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 2. Residentiary, IV Stall, 1696-1712

ARCHDEACONS OF CHICHESTER.

MS. Harl., 6098, fo. 113. Archidiaconi in sollicitudine parochiarum et in curâ præsunt animarum. *Statutes*, fo. 52

- 1121 JOHN. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS.*
- 1123 HENRY. *Statutes Cart. Scacc. Cotton*, 325. *Le N. MS.*
JORDAN DE MELEBURNE. *Beck. Ep. Le N. MS. Statutes.* DEAN
- 1176 SEFFRID. *M.¹A.* 193. *M.²A.* 593. *Le N. MS.* BISHOP
- 1179 JOCELYN
In 1190 W. Earl of Chichester, and Q. Alienora, his wife, by charter gave a prebend in West and East Dene, which was then held by Archdeacon WILLIAM LEN. It was confirmed by *Pa. Ro.* 10 *Hen. III.* m. 10, n. 84. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 24b
- 1190 SYLVESTER. *Statutes*, fo. 58 b. Residentiary. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 30, 28
- 1203 HENRY DE CORNHILL
- 1205 JOCELYN. *Pa. Ro.* 6 *J.*, m. 6, n. 16. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 4 b. *Reg. Wells.* *Cotton*, 9, 89, 113, 222, 293. *Le N. MS. Swayne*, 251
- 1226 WILLIAM DURANDI. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28
- 1240 WALTER. *Cart. Scacc. Le N. MS.*
- 1244 JOHN DE REIGATE. *Swayne*, 299. *Statutes*, 58. Residentiary. *Pa. Ro.* 25 *Hen. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 45. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 30
- 1259 GEOFFREY DE GATES. *Prin.* 120. *Cart. Scacc. M.³A.*, p. 126. *Le N. MS. Canon. Mon.* vi, 1171

- 1290 ROBERT
- 1305 HAMELIN DE GODELE. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I.*, p. 1. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 58 b
- 1307 GERVASE. *Ryly Placita. Le N. MS.*
- 1316 ROBERT LEYSET. *Pa. Ro.* 14 *Edw. II.*, p. 3. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 76
- 1356 SIMON DE BREDON. *Reg. Gynwell. Le N. MS. MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 165. *R. Greensted. 25 Edw. III.*
- 1356 WALTER DE ALDERBURY. *MS. Harl.* 6951, fo. 120 b. V. Walford, 1349; Itchenstoke; Preb. 1361; Dean, 1362, of St. Paul's
- 1362 JOHN DE SCULTHORP. *Reg. Gynwell. Le N. MS.* R. of Gt. Marlow
- 1395 SIMON RUSSELL. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 75. CHANCELLOR
- 1395 JOHN THOMAS. *Reg. Buckingham. Le N. MS.* V. of Sutton, co. Line.
- 1398 WILLIAM REED, PRÆCENTOR
- 1409 JOHN CLOOS. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 155, 160 b
- 1412 JOHN BLOUNHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 155. PRÆCENTOR
- 14... JOHN LYNDFIELD. *Reg. Flemyng. Wells, 3. Gray. Le N. MS.*
- 1440 WILLIAM WALESBY. Residentiary. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 18, 74. R. Crawley, Bucks; Chelsea, 1450; Preb. of Line., 1441; Salisb.; Dean St. Stepli., Westm.; d. 1458
- 1443 WILLIAM NORMANTON. King's Chaplain
- 1454 SIMON DE GREDON
JOHN MORTON. CHANCELLOR
- 1473 WILLIAM SKYLTON. *Swayne*, 715
- 1477 PETER HUSE. *Swayne*, 715. Preb. of Linc., 1481; d. 1499
- 1481 HENRY BOLEYN, D.D. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.*, fo. 17. *MS. Harl.* 6974, fo. 44. R. Bottesford; Præcentor and Residentiary of Lincoln, 1473; d. 1481
- 1494 JOHN COKE, LL.D.
- 1495 GERARD BURRELL al. Borell, D.D. V. Cuckfield; Residentiary
- 1512 WILLIAM NORBERRY. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiii
- 1530 JOHN WORTHIAL, B.C.L. CHANCELLOR, 1524
- 1551 JOHN JEWELL, D.D. Educated at Barnstaple. F. C.C.C., Oxford, 1539; R. Sunningwell, 1557; cons. to Salisbury, 1559. His works have been published by the Parker Society; d. 1571; buried at Salisbury. Arms: arg on a fess betw. three hawks' heads gu. the virgin's head on a chief sa. betw. two falcons a hawk's head arg.
- 1553 ALBAN LANGDALE, D.D. Camb. *A.O.* ii, 146; *Foxe* i, 1587, 1596; *Strype's Mem.* ii, 328, etc. F. St. John's, Camb.; R. Buxted; Preb. York, 1554; Chanc. of Liehf., 1558; died a Romanist. He disputed with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer
- 1558 ROBERT TAILOR, B.C.L. *Reg. Dec. et Cap. Cantuar.*, fo. 42
- 1559 RICHARD TREMAYNE. *Pa. Ro.* 1 *Eliz.* i
- 1560 THOMAS SPENCER, D.D. Ch. Ch. R. Hadleigh
- 1571 JOHN COLDWELL, M.D. Born at Faversham; F. St. John's, Camb., 1558; R. Aldington, 1558; Tunstall, 1572; Saltwood, 1580; Chapl. to Archbishop Parker; Dean of Rochester, 1581; cons. to Salisbury, 1591; d. Oct. 14, 1596
- 1575 THOMAS GILLINGHAM, A.M. *MS. Harl.* 3605
- 1580 JOHN LONGWORTH. *MS. Harl.* 3605
- 1586 WILLIAM STONE, B.D. *MS. Harl.* 3605
- 1596 HENRY BALL, D.D. PRÆCENTOR
- 1603 THOMAS PATERSON
- 1608 ROGER ANDREWS. CHANCELLOR
- 1635 LAURENCE PAY, D.D. Ch. Ch. R. West Stoke, 1611; Pulborough; Stopham
- 1639 JAMES MARSH. CHANCELLOR

- 1643 HENRY HAMMOND, D.D. Educ. at Eton; F. Magd. Coll., Oxf., 1625; Publ. Orator, 1645; R. Penshurst, 1633; Canon and Subdean of Ch. Ch., 1644; d. 1660
- 1660 JASPER MAYNE, D.D. Student Ch. Ch. Oxf.; V. Cassington; Purton; Chapl. to Earl of Devonshire, and in ordinary; Canon of Ch. Ch. 1660; d. 1672; bur. at Ch. Ch. *MS. Lans.* 985, fo. 57
- 1672 OLIVER WHITBY, B.D. Trin. Coll., Oxf.; Residentiary, IV Stall, 1660-79. *Walker's Suff.* A.O. iv, 424. R. of Petworth under Bishop King; his son founded the school at Chichester, which bears his name
- 1679 JOSIAS PLEYDELL, B.A. Brasenose Coll. and New Inn Hall; V. Lyminster, 1681; Cocking; R. Nuthurst, 1696; Minister of St. Peter's, Bristol. A.O. iv, 265
- 1707 JAMES BARKER, M.A. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 28; R. Cocking, 1704

ARCHDEACONS OF LEWES.

K.B. 39, 15, O.

- 1154 HENRY. *Selden on Tithes*, 339. *Le N. MS.* Arch. Soc. Suss. Publ. ix, 257
- 1180 PETER. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 28. *Arch. Soc. Suss. Publ.* ix, 258
- 1193 JOCELYN. Residentiary. *Statutes*, 58 b. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 30. Brother of Bishop Hugh of Wells (Lincoln); Canon of Wells; Officer of Exchequer; Justice of Common Pleas, 1264; cons. to Bath and Wells, May 28, 1266. He consecrated Henry III, 1216; the second founder of Wells Cathedral. He died Nov. 9, 1242, and is buried at Wells
- 1226 EUSTACE DE LEVELAND. *Pa. Ro.* 10 Hen. III. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 23 b. CHANCELLOR
- 1227 REGINALD DE WINTON. *MS. Harl.* 6978, fo. 174 b
- 1244 ROBERT PASSELEW. *Pa. Ro.* 25 Hen. III. *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 44, 45; 49; 6958, fo. 19. *Pa. Ro.* 15 Edw. III. p. iii. *Ib.* 6959, fo. 83; 6973, fo. 23. V. of Southampton, 1225; Archd., 1243; Preb., 1247, of St. Paul's; Preb. of Salisbury, 1251; King's Treasurer; d. 1252; bur. at Waltham
- 1252 SIMON DE CLYMPINGHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 25 Hen. III. *Harl. MS.* 6959, fo. 13 b. 2 Edw. IV. *Ibid.* 6963, fo. 65
- 1279 GODFREY PECKHAM
- 1296 THOMAS DE BERGHSTEAD. DEAN, 1296-9
- 1301 THOMAS DE COBHAM. A Kentish man, known as the good clerk; Canon of Hereford, 1299; St. Paul's, 1310; York, 1312; Subdean of Salisbury, 1313; Precentor of York, 1312; cons. to Worcester, May 22, 1317; died at Hartlebury, Aug. 27, 1327; buried at Worcester
- JOHN DE GODELE. *Pa. Ro. Edw. I.* fo. 31 b. Preb. of Hastings; Dean of Wells, 1305; d. 1332
- 1313 JOHN GEY al. Gettenham. M.¹A. 932. *Le N. MS.* Abbot of Newenham
- 1316 WILLIAM DE ESIDEN. *Arch. Soc. Suss. Publ.* ix, 263
- 1346 WALTER DE LINDICH al. Lyndrigg. R. of Hammys; Cic. dioc. *Kennet MS.*, fo. 92. *Ro. Claus. Edw. III.*, p. 1, m. 22
- 1353 WILLIAM DE LUGHTEBURGH. Reg. Gynwell. *Le N. MS.*
- 1374 JOHN CURDRAY. *Cart. Scacc.* *Le N. MS.* R. of Compton
- 1389 WALTER FOREY. *Pa. Ro.* 12 Ric. II. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 67. R. of Compton
- 1391 RICH. al. Nichols. STONE. *Lib. Epi. Cic.*, fo. 58
- 1402 JOHN BAMPTON. *Reg. Rede.*, fo. 160 b, xxix
- 1441 LEWIS COYCHURCH. Residentiary
- 1473 JOHN PLENTYTH. F. King's Coll., Camb. V. Hartfield. Residentiary
- 1486 THOMAS OATLEY. *Reg.*, fo. 5 b
- 1486 RICHARD HILL, B.C.L. Dean of the King's Chapel; R. Fulham, 1488; Preb. of Salisbury, 1486; Dean of Chapel Royal; cons. to London, 1489; d. 1496; bur. in St. Paul's

- EDWARD VAUGHAN, LL.D. Camb.; V. Islington, 1509; St. Matthew's, Friday-street, 1487; Canon and Treas. of St. Paul's, 1503; cons. to St. David's, 1509. Arms: gyronny of eight arg. and sa. four fleurs de lys counterchanged
- 1509 WILLIAM ATWATER. *Reg. Sherb.*, fo. xxii. D.D.: F. Magd. Coll., Oxford, 1480, and Eton; Comm. of Oxford, 1497; V. Hawbridge, 1489; Dyche, 1498; Podyl Hinton; Canon of Windsor, 1499; Salisbury, 1505; Lincoln, 1512; Chan. of Lincoln, 1506; Archd. of Hunts., 1514; Dean of the Chapel Royal, 1502; Salisbury, 1509; P.C.; cons. to Lincoln, 1514; d. 1521; bur. at Lincolh. Arms: barry of eight erm. and gu. over all betw. three lucies hauriant on a chevron or a rose betw. two lilies of the second slipped vert
- 1512 WILLIAM CRADOCK. R. Rodwell
- 1517 OLIVER POLE. *Reg. Sherb.*, fo. xxviii
- 1519 ANTHONY WAYTE. *Reg. Sherb.*, fo. xxix c. *Swayne*, 715. R. of Cudloe (Cudlaw, near Clipping, now submerged in the sea)
- 1527 EDWARD MORE, B.D. Head Master of Winchester; Warden, Winton Coll., Oxf., 1524; V. Gillingham; Canon of Winchester, 1524; d. 1541. Residentiary, 1526. *Rymer VI*, ii, 73; *Swayne*, 729
- 1531 ROBERT BUCKENHAM, D.D. Camb. *Wood MS. E.* 3, 224; R. Harting, Chilington
- 1541 JOHN SHERRY. *Harl. MS.* 6975, fo. 72. R. Chayleigh
- 1551 RICHARD BRIESLEY, LL.D. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224. R. Slynfold, 1555; Stoke, Surrey; Commissary, 1555; d. 1558
- 1558 THOMAS TAYLOR, B.C.L. R. Brightling
- 1559 EDMUND WESTON. *Rymer's Fed.*, tom. vi, p. iv, p. 28. Residentiary, 1561
- 1569 THOMAS DRANT, B.D. F. St. John's, Camb.; *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224; R. Birdham; V. Slynfold, 1569; Residentiary, 1569
- 1578 WILLIAM COELL, A.M.
- 1578 WILLIAM COTTON, A.M. Queen's Coll., Camb. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224. *A. O. Fasti* ii, 211. Educated at Guildford School; R. West Tilbury, 1581; Finchley, 1581; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1577; Residentiary; Bishop of Exeter; d. at Silvertown, 1621; bur. at Exeter
- 1598 JOHN MATTOCK, M.A., PRÆTOR
- 1612 RICHARD BOCKENHAM, D.D., Camb. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 223. R. Bromley; Residentiary, 1610
- 1639 WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, D.D. *Rymer Fed.* viii, p. iii, fo. 27
- 1660 THOMAS HOOKE, D.D. Residentiary
- 1660 PHILIP KING. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224. TREASURER
- 1667 NATHANIEL HARDY, D.D. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224. Of Hart Hall, Oxf.; R. Henley-on-Thames; St. Dionis, Lond., 1660; V. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 1661; Dean of Rochester, 1660; d. June 1, 1670; bur. in St. Martin's. *Hasted* ii, 23.
- 1670 TOBIAS HENSHAW. TREASURER
- 1681 JOSEPH SAYER, B.D. 1670, of Wadham Coll., Oxf. *Wood MS. E.* iii, 224; R. Northchurch, Herts., 1670; Newbury; Sulham, 1665; Yattenden, 1656; Preb. of Salisbury, 1670. *A. O. Fasti* iv, 322
- 1692 RICHARD BOURCHIER, B.D. St. John's, Camb.; V. Ampport; Residentiary III stall, 1695-1723. *A. O. Fasti* iv, 323; *Reg. Grove*, fo. 7

CANONS AND PREBENDARIES.

(The names or places of their preferment unknown.)

C. 1154 GILBERT. *Arch. Coll. Suss.* ix, 257C. 1150 SEFFRID. *Ibid.*

1227 ALEXANDER NECCHAM

MICHAEL DE NEVILLE; d. 1239. *Kennet's Dypt.* fo. 91

RICHARD DE MAPENORE

- 1246 GUIDO DE PALUDE. *Pa. Ro.* 30 *Hen. III.* *Ibid.* fo. 91 b
- 1268 SIRICIUS. R. Donnington; Clerk of the Pope's Chamber. *Pa. Ro.* 53 *Hen. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 15
- 1271 HENRY DE KILKEND. Brother of the Bishop of Ely.
- NICHOLAS DE BRACKETGEDEN or Bachiden. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* V. 281
- 1272 JOHN OTTOBON. Son of the Cardinal. *Pa. Ro. Edw. I.*
WILLIAM DE SELSEY. *Pa. Ro.* 4 *Edw. I.*, m. 19. *MS. Harl.* 6358, fo. 32 b
- 1279 JOHN DE SHERER
ROBERT DE BARDELBY. Canon of York
JOHN PAXTON
- 1283 RALPH DE FRENYNTHAM
WALTER DE BATHONIA
THOMAS BER. *Reg. Peccham.* fo. 197 a
- 1305 HENRY DE GUILDFORD. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 86 b
WILLIAM DE DALE. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 86 b
JOHN DE LANGTON. *Ibid.* 87
PHILIP MARTELL al. Martial, B.C.L. *Ibid.* 89 b
- 1313 GIBERT DE BRUERE. *Pa. Ro.* 6 *Edw. II.* *Ibid.* 110 b. R. Astbury; Preb. of York, 1324; Lichfield; Salisbury, 1338; Archd. of Ely; Dean of St. Paul's, 1336; d. 1353
RALPH FITZ-RALPH. *Reg. Osleton*, fo. 138 a. V. Witley
- 1315 ROBERT DE MAIDENSTONE
- 1315 JOHN DE HILDESLE. *Pa. Ro. Edw. II.* fo. 148. *Harl. MS.* 6969, fo. 43 a. *Add MS.* 6344, fo. 535. R. of Thendon. Envoy to Spain
- 1327 SIMON DE MEOPHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 1 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 20 b
- 1338 NIGEL DE WEVERE. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 59 b
- 1347 ROBERT DE STRATTON
- 1366 WILLIAM DE CHICHELE. *Pa. Ro.* 39 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 136 b
- 1383 ADAM WYKMERSHAM
JOHN FELTON. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 73
- 1427 THOMAS BROWNE. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Hen. VI.* fo. 11. *MS. Harl.* 6963. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 535. Rector of Bexle; Preb. and Subdean of Lincoln, 1414; Preb. of Lichfield, 1425; Dean of Salisbury, 1431; Vicar-general of Archbishop Chichele; Envoy to France, 1439; sat in the Council of Basle; cons. to Rochester, 1435; trans. to Norwich, 1436; d. 1445. Arms: arg. three martlets in pale on two flanches sa. three lions pass. guard. of the field
- 1477 ROBERT WEST
- 1441 SIMON MOLEYS. *Reg. Praty.* fo. 73, locum tenens decani, 1479. Adm. ad Subdecanatum s. Vicariam perpetuam ad altare S. Petri 1466. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 1
- 1443 JOHN STOKYS. Official Gen. of Worcester, 1443
THOMAS MATTHEW. R. E. Lavant; Chapl. to Earl of Arundel; d. 1463
GEORGE BOLEYN, D.D. *Harwood's Lichf.* p. 183. *Hasted's Kent*, iv, 617. Trin. Hall, Cambridge; R. Bangor; Kempston; St. Dionis Back Church, London, 1575; Preb. of York, 1566; Canterbury, 1566; Dean of Lichfield, 1576; d. 1603; bur. at Lichfield
ROBERT REYNOLDS, D.C.L., F.N.C., Oxf.; F. Winton Coll.; Chapl. to Bp. White; R. Whaddesdon, 1554; Master of St. Cross, 1545; Commissary, 1547; and Chan. of Winchester, 1553; Preb. of Lincoln, 1555
Anthony Wood, *MS. E.* 3, 223, gives the following installations, probably those of Firls Seaford, and Colworth:
WILLIAM EMMS, M.A.
THOMAS BITHY, M.A., Nov. 11, 1681
HENRY NEWEL, D.D., May 29, 1668

PREBENDARIES.

Bracklesham.

First Fruits, £11:7:4. *Parl. Surv.* £119.

- 1244 WALTER DE PRESCOTT. *Pa. Ro.* 28 *Hen. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 45
- 1244 JOHN MANSEL. *R. Hayhenet (MS. Harl., fo. 39; Preb. Salisbury (Ib. fo. 73 b; S. Mallyng, fo. 40; St. Paul's, fo. 42; Wells, fo. 43; Bridgnorth, fo. 76 b; Chancellor of St. Paul's, fo. 43 b; Keeper of the tower, fo. 72; Keeper of the seal, fo. 49 b; Provost of Beverley, fo. 49; Dean of Wimborne, fo. 49; Chaplain to the king; Treasurer of York, fo. 59.*
- NICHOLAS DE WICK. *Temp. Bp. Richard. Arch. Suss. Coll. i, p. 177*
- 1351 ROGER DE CANTELUPE. *Swayne MS.* 251
- WILLIAM MORIOUN or Noioun
- 1388 WILLIAM SCALDWELL. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 57
- 1438 ROBERT FELTON. *Pa. Ro.* 16 *Henry VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 23 b
- 1389 ROBERT NEALE. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 272
- 1397 WILLIAM MIDDLETON or Milton. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160 b
- 1407 RICHARD COURTENAY. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 117 b. PRÆCENTOR
- CHRISTOPHER WILKS
- NICHOLAS YELNATOFT
- 1432 ROBERT ALLERTON. *Pa. Ro.* 10 *Hen. VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 13 b
- 1438 WILLIAM BREWEST. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 27. al. Breuster; Clerk of the king's kitchen; Preb. of Windsor
- 1478 JOHN CLOOS. *Reg. Story*, fo. 2. DEAN
- 1480 RICHARD LEWYS. *Swayne MS.* 721. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
- 1499 WILLIAM GRENE, D.D. TREASURER, 1501. *Reg.* fo. 30 b
- 1500 ADAM FACETE, D.C.L. *Swayne MS.* 720. *Reg.* fo. 36
- WILLIAM BIRLEY, A.M.
- 1510 JOHN REEDE, D.D. *Kennet Dypt.* fo. 93. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxij^o. F.N.C. 1474; Warden of New Coll. Oxf. 1520; Head Master of Winchester; Tutor of P. Arthur; Canon of Lincoln, 1503; Master of St. Cross and Magd. Hosp., Winchester; d. 1521; bur. in New Coll. Chapel. Arms: az. on a bend or three choughs within a bordure semee of hurts and torteaux
- 1521 HUGH ROLF, TREASURER. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxj^o. Residentiary, 1554; V. Henfield, 1521; R. Slynfold, 1521
- 1549 EDWARD CHAMBERS, B.A.
- 1554 JOHN WYNESLEY, B.C.L. *Rymer's Fæd.*, vi, p. iv, p. 48. Brother of Bp. Bonner; R. Tarporely; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1541; Archd. of London, 1543; Middx., 1554; d. 1556
- 1555 ROBERT BRYSLY, D.C.L. *Reg. Cicestr.* fo. 60
- 1556 THOMAS VALENCE, M.A. *Reg. Pole*, fo. 56 a. *Rymer's Fæd.*, vi, p. iv, p. 48
- 1564 RICHARD KITSON, B.D. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 196 a. R. Ardingley; R. of Barcombe, 1564; Residentiary, 1578
- 1602 THOMAS PATTENSON, B.D. *Reg. Adm.* fo. 19
- 1607 ROBERT WARD, B.D. *Reg. Adm.* fo. 39
- 1640 JOHN GREGORY, M.A. Ch. Ch. *Ath. Ox.* iii, 200. *Walker Suff.* ii, 14. Preb. of Salisbury; the orientalist and friend of Selden; d. 1646
- 1646 MICHAEL GLYDD, B.D. F. of New Coll. Oxf.; V. Earham; R. Hawkey
- 1660 JOHN GURGANY, M.A. Merton; Chapl. of the College; R. of Clapham; Preb. of Sarum; D.D.; the friend of Selden; died Sept. 1, 1673. *A.O.* iii, 206. *Fasti* iv, 244. *Walker* ii, 14

- 1675 JOHN SEDDON, M.A. B.N.C. Oxf. *Reg. Brideoake*, fo. 11
 1679 THOMAS BIELBY, M.A. V. of Henfield, 1664
 1681 THOMAS MUSGRAVE, M.A. D.D. Queen's, Oxf.; Archdeacon, 1669;
 R. Trefford, Mickling, 1698; Dean, 1684, of Carlisle; Preb. of Durham,
 1675; d. 1686. *Wood. A.O.* iv, 398

Bury.

First Fruits, £13:6:8. *Swayne*, £13:6:8. *Dr. Clarke*, £200,

- 1521 WILLIAM NORBURY. V. Beeding, 1484. *Swayne MS.* 715
 WILLIAM SKYNNER. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxii. *Swayne MS.* 729
 1527 THOMAS BARRETT. D.C.L. of New Inn Hall, Oxf.; Principal there,
 1529; Canon of King's College, 1540. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 80
 1526 WILLIAM CLAYBOROUGH. *Reg. Dec. et Cap.* fo. 11 b. *Swayne MS.*
 729. *Reg.* fo. 69
 1534 THOMAS BARRETT, D.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 74. *Swayne MS.* 718
 1538 ROBERT PETERSON. *Swayne MS.* 719. TREASURER, 1539
 1555 GEORGE CAREWE (Honble.) Third son of Edw. Lord Carew; Chaplain
 to Edw. VI and Q. Eliz.; Precentor, 1549; Archdeacon, 1556, and Canon
 of Exeter; Præc., 1558, and Preb. of Sarum; Archd. of Totness, 1534; R.
 of Silvertown; St. Giles in the Fields; Dean of Exeter, 1570; Ch. Ch. 1559;
 Bristol, 1552; Windsor; Registrar of the Garter; Dean of the Chapel;
 Master of the Savoy. *Reg.* fo. 99 b
 1556 WILLIAM GEFFE al. Jeffrey, LL.D. *Reg.* fo. 108 b
 1558 MILES BYNDE al. Bendes. R. of Woodmancoote, 1561. *Reg. Dec. et Cap.*
Cant. fo. 43 b
 1569 EDMUND TYLNEY. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 193 b
 1587 STEPHEN CHATFIELD, A.M. TREASURER
 1598 SIMON ROBSON al. Robinson, D.D. Dean of Bristol; d. 1617. *Reg.* fo. 9
 1617 THOMAS TALCOAT, A.M. *Reg.* fo. 71
 JOHN RYVES, B.D. R. Tarrant Gonville. *Walker's Suff.* ii, p. 15
 1660 EDWARD GOUGH
 1668 HENRY GOUGH, M.A. Ch. Ch.
 1676 JOHN CUDWORTH, B.D. Trin., Oxf.; R. Hinton; Kiddlington, 1686;
 Ford, Clymping, 1673. *Reg.* fo. 11. *Wood E.* iii. *Add. MS.* 11822. *A.O.*
 iv. *Fasti*, 393. *Reg. Brid.* fo. 14

Colworth.

Parl. Surv. £190. *K.B.* £18:3:4.

- RICHARD TANGMERE. *Pa. Ro. Edw. III.*, p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6960,
 fo. 104 b
 1385 THOMAS DE LYNTON. Dean of the Chapel of the King's Hospital.
Reg. Courtenay, fo. 260
 1388 GUIDO MOONE al. Mohun. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 104 b.
 Guy Mohun, of Anglesea; R. of Bradwell; V. Harrow; Canon of Sarum,
 1386; Lincoln, 1394; Preb. and Treas., 1394, of St. Paul's; Keeper of the
 Privy Seal; Lord Treasurer of England, 1398; d. at Carlton, Kent, 1407;
 bur. at Leeds Abbey. He was consecrated to St. David's, Oct. 9, 1401
 1390 THOMAS BOTELER. *Pa. Ro. Ric. II.* 13. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 70 b
 1397 JOHN NOTTINGHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix^o. Preb. of St. Paul's; Dean
 of Hastings
 WILLIAM WYNDESORE. *Pa. Ro. Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 102 b
 WILLIAM NOTTINGHAM

- 1406 RICHARD CLIFFORD. *Pa. Ro. 7 Hen. IV. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 38 b, 39 b.*
R. of Clyve
- 1407 THOMAS HENDMAN. *Pa. Ro. 8 Hen. IV. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 45.*
Reg. Stafford. Rede, fo. cxxxv^o. Preb.; Archd. 1410; Chancellor, 1416,
of Exeter; res. 1417
- 1411 WILLIAM PILTON al. Fylham. *Pa. Ro. 12 Hen. IV. MS. Harl. 6962,*
fo. 52. Reg. Chich. i, fo. 194. Preb. of Pencriet; Preb. and Archd. of
Cornwall, 1419; res. 1436
- 1436 REGINALD KENTWODE
- 1441 JOHN TAVERNER. *Pa. Ro. 24 Hen. VI. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 36 b*
- 1445 ADAM MOLEYS. BISHOP
- 1448 JOHN HERNLEY. *Pa. Ro. 28 Hen. VI. MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 42 b*
- 1478 JOHN CEWELL. *Reg. Storey, fo. 2*
THOMAS WARDELL
- 1508 GABRIEL SYLVESTER. *Reg. Sherborne, fo. xxii*
- 1512 HENRY EDIAL. *Reg. Sherborne, fo. xxiii*
- 1517 THOMAS WELLYS al. Weekes. *Reg. Sherborne, fo. xxviii^o; Swayne, 715*
- 1524 JOHN WORTHIAL. *Reg. fo. 66 b. Reg. Dec. et Cap. 11 b, 45, 10. Add*
MS. 11822. CHANCELLOR, 1515; Chancellor of diocese, 1518; Archd. of
Chichester, 1530
- 1525 EDWARD MORE. *Reg. fo. 67. Archd. of Lewes*
- 1541 JOHN SAMPSON. *Swayne, 719*
- 1551 THOMAS BEAWLEY. *Reg. Crammer, fo. 131 a*
- 1576 JOSEPH MARVYN, A.M.
- 1608 JERONYM BEALE, B.D. Master of Pemb. Hall, Camb. *Reg. fo. 40.*
R. Nuthurst, 1610; Hardwick; Willingham; Vice-Chancellor of Camb.,
1622; Chaplain and Sub-Almoner to James I; Preb. of Ely; d. 1630
- 1609 ROGER ANDREWES, D.D. *Reg. fo. 44 b. CHANCELLOR*
RICHARD MILESON, M.A. Archdeac. of Suffolk, 1640; Chapl. to Bp.
Montague; died a Romanist beyond seas
- 1660 HENRY SMITH, M.A.
- 1681 THOMAS BEILBY, M.A.

Eartham.

Founded by John Greenford. *Matt. Par. 106; Ann. Winton. s. a. 1173;*
Reg. Rede. f. 23

Swayne, £2:3:8. K.B., £2:6:8.

- 1329 WILLIAM D'AMBERLEY. *Swayne, 243*
- 1350 STEPHEN KETTLEBURY. *Pa. Ro. 23 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6959, fo.*
138 b. King's treasurer
- 1368 JOHN DE STACY. *Pa. Ro. 41 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6960, fo. 80 b*
RICHARD RAWNDES. *Pa. Ro. 51 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6960, fo. 134 b*
- 1378 HUGH DE BRIDHAM. *Ibid.* Preb. of Windsor.
- 1397 BENJAMIN CRANDREN. *Reg. Rede, fo. xcix^o*
- 1402 JOHN CHURCH. *Reg. Rede. MS. Harl. 6960, fo. 160 b*
- 1409 JOHN ELMERE
- 1415 THOMAS AYLWARD. *Reg. Rede, fo. cxlix b*
- 1415 JOHN CLIDEROWE, D.C.L. *Reg. Chichele II, fo. 191.* Born at Romney;
R. of Crayford; cons. to Bangor, 1428; d. in London, Dec. 12, 1436; bur.
at Crayford. (Br. Willis, 87)
- 1441 WILLIAM TOBY. *Reg. Praty, fo. lxxiv*
JOHN BREUS
- 1459 LAUR. al. LANC. PENYCOKE. *Pa. Ro. 37 Hen. IV. MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 54 b*

- 1478 OLIVER SOMMER al. Sompner. *Reg. Storey*, fo. iii
 1481 ADRIAN DE BARDYS. *Reg. Storey*, fo. lxviii b. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.* fo. 18
 1484 RICHARD CHAUNCELER, B.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 26
 WILLIAM SKYNNER
 1521 WILLIAM NORBURY. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxij^o. Archdeacon of Chichester, 1512
 1525 EDWARD MORE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. c
 WILLIAM NORBURY. *Swayne*, 729. Archd. of Chichester
 1524 RICHARD MASON. *Reg.* fo. 66 b. *Swayne*, 729. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 10.
 Residentiary, 1526. *Rymer*, vi, p. ii, p. 73
 1525 EDWARD HIGGINS al. Hugones. *Swayne*, 729. *Reg.* fo. 67
 1537 JOHN CRAYFARDE, D.D. *Swayne*, 718. Residentiary, 1541. *Ib.* 719
 1545 ROLAND SWINBURNE, B.D. *Reg.* fo. 35
 1558 THOMAS FRYER, B.A.
 1571 THOMAS GOODHALL, M.A.
 1577 THOMAS SORBY
 1587 THOMAS DIGGONS, A.M.
 1595 RICHARD MANN, M.A. Residentiary 1603
 1609 RICHARD BUCKINGHAM, B.D. *Reg. H.* fo. 58. Archd. of Lewes
 1614 EUGENIUS STOCKTON, M.A. Vicar of Wallerton, 1613; R. East Lavant;
 Residentiary, 1628; died 1635
 1615 THOMAS LARGE, M.A. *Reg.* fo. 68. V. Hollington; Triston, 1597
 1627 MICHAEL GLYDD, D.D. *Add MS.* 11822. R. Hawksley; V. Eartham,
 1628; Residentiary, 1661
 1661 RICHARD GLYDD. F. New Coll. 1649
 1676 SAMUEL WOODFORD, D.D. Wadham. *Reg. Bridgoake*, fo. 12, 14. Preb.
 of Westminster

Ferring.

Parl. Surv. £157.

(Founded by Bp. Hilary, 1147. *Book of Extracts*, fo. 21.)

- 1330 RICHARD DE HAVERING. *MS. Harl.* 6127, fo. 51
 1359 JOHN DE HATTON. *Pa. Ro.* 32 *Edw. III.*, p. ii, p. 36 b. *MS. Harl.*
 6960, fo. 66
 1363 WILLIAM ROTHWELL. *Pa. Ro.* 36 *Edw. III.*, p. iii. *Ibid.* fo. 65 b.
 R. East Pirye; Linc. Dioc.; Preb. Linc., 1351; Archd. of Essex; bur. at
 Rothwell
 1372 ROBERT DE WALTON. *Pa. Ro.* 45 *Edw. III.*, p. ii. *Ib.* fo. 113 b. King's clerk
 1388 WILLIAM NOION. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix^o. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Rie. II.* *MS. Harl.*
 6961, fo. 57, 60-1. R. Haddenham; Preb. of York; Lincoln, 1398; d. 1405.
 His will is in *Test. Eborac. T.* iii
 1397 WILLIAM HERON
 1401 WILLIAM BROWNE
 1409 THOMAS HARLING. R. Ringwood and Pulborough, where his brass re-
 mains. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Hen. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 160 b; 6962, fo. 36
 1423 WILLIAM BYGONNYLL, D.C.L. Preb. of St. Paul's, 1445; Official of the
 Arches, 1444
 1444 WALTER ESTON. Inceptor legum. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 42
 1466 EDWARD POYNYNGS. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 368 b; *Swayne*, 715
 1472 WILLIAM DUDLEY. *Reg. Dee. et Cap.* fo. 2; *Swayne*, 715; Residentiary, 1472
 WILLIAM TALBOT
 1484 EDMUND CHADERTON. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 1 b
 1521 JOHN BLYTHE. Preb. of Lichfield, 1510; Hereford

- JOHN GOLDDIFFE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix b
 1558 EDMUND GOODHALL, D.D.
 1563 LAURENCE NOWEL, M.A. Brasenose, Oxford; brother of Dean Nowell; Master of Sutton Coldfield School, 1546; Tutor to Earl of Oxford and W. Lambarde; R. Houghton; Drayton Bassett; Preb. of York, 1566; Archd. Derby, 1558; Dean of Lichfield, 1560; died 1576
 1576 HENRY BALL, D.D. PRECENTOR
 1588 JOHN BELL, M.A.
 1618 JOHN NUTT, A.M. *Reg. G.* fo. 72. *Add MS.* 11822. R. of Barwick
 1660 PHILIP KING. TREASURER
 1667 ROBERT PRATY al. Pretty. R. East Claydon, 1658
 1674 WILLIAM NORRIS, M.A. *Wood MS. E.* 3, fo. 271

File.

K.B. £9: 10: 0.

- 1364 JOHN VINCENT. *Pa. Ro.* 37 *E. III.* p. 11. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 69
 1383 WILLIAM PETWORTH. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxx. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 84. Residentiary, 1402
 1409 JOHN LANDER. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 160 b
 1415 JOHN LAUNCE. *Reg. Chichele*, p. i, fo. 194
 PETER IRFORD
 1439 JOHN BRETON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 12 b, 74
 1478 JOHN BASSET. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3
 1481 RALPH HEATHCOTE. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68 b
 JOHN CHAMPION, *Rymer* vi, p. ii, p. 72. Residentiary, 1526; V. Eastbourne, 1508; R. Slyndon, 1510; R. Storrington; Tangmere, 1530. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 38
 1500 ROBERT PICKARDE. *Swayne MS.* 720
 1510 RICHARD MASON. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxij^o
 1512 ROBERT CHAPPELL. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiiij^o
 JOHN ASLABY
 1517 WILLIAM BYRLEY
 JOHN WORTHIAL. CHANCELLOR, 1525
 1521 SAMPSON MITCHELL. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxii
 1555 ANTHONY CLERK, B.D. *Reg. D. et Cap.* 59 b
 CHRISTOPHER LANCASTER
 1569 THOMAS DRANT, B.D. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 199. Residentiary, 1569. Archd. of Lewes
 1572 CHRISTOPHER WREY
 1574 THOMAS GILLINGHAM, M.A. Residentiary. Archd. of Chichester
 1578 MILO BENNES, M.A.
 EDMUND CURTEYS
 1604 RICHARD NEILE, D.D. *Reg. II.* fo. 23. Residentiary, 1609. TREASURER, 1598
 HENRY STRINGER, D.D. Fellow, 1614; Warden, 1647, of New Coll. Oxf.; R. Waddesden; Hardwick, 1641; Reg. Prof. of Greek; d. 1648. *A.O.* iv, 46
 1660 THOMAS BALLOW, M.A. D.D., 1661, of Ch. Ch., Oxford. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 258. Residentiary 11 stall, 1660-2
 1669 ZACHARY CRADOCK, D.D. Residentiary 111 stall, 1669-95
 1692 WILLIAM WHITEAR, A.M. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 25. *Add MS.* 11182, fo. 67. *Ib.* 11822. V. of Boxgrove, 1704; d. 1723
 1706 SAMUEL ARNOLD, M.A., Merton. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 29

Fittleworth.

K.B., £2:13:4.

- AMBALDUS. *Pa. Ro.* 12 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 67 b. R. East Grenstede and Maidstone; Preb. of Lincoln, 1335; Archd. of Buckingham, 1333; Card. Bishop of Alba and Tusculum; d. 1350
- 1355 JOHN DE WINWICK. *Pa. Ro.* 28 *Edw. III.*, p. i. *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 164 b; 6960, fo. 17 a; R. Bocking; Glatton; Wigan; Preb. of York; Lincoln, 134; Lichf.; Southwell; Salisbury; Wells; Treas. of York, 1349
- 1372 PETER DE DALTON. Preb. of Lincoln, 1372; Treas. of Lincoln, 1383; d. Nov. 16, 1605; bur. at Lincoln. (*Willis*, 93.)
- 1383 JOHN DE WYNCHCOMBE. *MS. Harl.* 6973, fo. 34; Preb. of Lincoln, 1350. (*Willis*, 214)
- 1388 RALPH CANON. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Rich. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 53
- 1397 THOMAS HAYLING. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix
- 1407 WILLIAM SWAN. *Pa. Ro.* 8 *Hen. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 40
- 1407 WILLIAM AGHTON. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Hen. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 38
- 1409 JOHN MESSENGER. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 160 b. Preb. of Southwell
- 1415 NIGEL HORNINGTON. *Reg. Chichele*, p. i, fo. 194. *Pa. Ro.* 22 *Ric. II.*, *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 131 a
- 1422 JOHN NORKHEAD
- 1441 JOHN BIRKHEAD. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. *Pa. Ro.* 10 *Hen. V.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 82 b
- 1473 JOHN LEE, D.C.L. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3, 68. *Swayne*, 715
- 1499 ROBERT GENNYSBROWE al. Gaynesburg. *Swayne*, 721, *Reg.* 30 b
- ADAM FACETE
- 1501 WILLIAM GRENE. Chaplain. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.* 36 b, TREASURER, 1501
- 1513 RICHARD DUDLEY, D.D. *Reg. Sherborne*, fo. xcix. F. of Oriel Coll., Oxf.; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1502; Præc. of Salisbury, 1507; Preb. of York, 1508; d. 1536. (*Willis*, 153.)
- 1525 GEORGE DUDLEY. *Reg. D. et C.*, fo. 11 b; *Swayne*, 729; *Reg.* 68
- 1561 DAVID SPENCER
- 1572 THOMAS BROWNE, B.D.
- 1574 JOSEPH BROWN, A.M.
- 1602 MILO HODGSON, B.D. *Reg. Grindal*, fo. 130 b. *Reg. G.* fo. 17. Residentiary, 1606. R. Hailsham and Westham
- 1616 JOHN CHAUNTREL, B.A. *Reg.* fo. 70
- THOMAS GILLINGHAM, D.D. *Walker's Suff.* ii, 15; restored, 1660; Archd. of Chichester; d. 1673
- 1673* WILLIAM HOWELL, M.A. *MS. Add.* 11822. R. Egdean. Fittleworth, 1677
- 1676 WILLIAM THOMAS, M.A. *Wood MS. E.* iii, fo. 271. *Reg. Brideoake*, fo. 15. *Reg.* fo. 9. R. Upmarden; d. 1686
- 1686 PETER HEALD, M.A. *Reg. Lake*, fo. 4. *MS. Add.* 11822

Gates al. Eastergates.

Parl. Surv. £139. K.B. £8.

- 1385 JOHN MEDFORD. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 258. *Pa. Ro.* 9 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 39 b. Chaplain to the king; R. Guildford, 1402; d. 1407
- 1390 JOHN BOOR. *Pa. Ro.* 13 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 2, 70, 71, 75, 99 b, 108, 121 b. Preb. Wharwell; Windsor; Shaftesbury, Bridgenorth; Dean of the Chapel and St. Burian's

- 1397 HENRY SPICER al. Harleston. *Reg. Chichele*, fo. 191; *Rede*, fo. 160 b; *Pa. Ro.* 2 Hen. IV. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 21
- 1441 WILLIAM ROWE. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. Residentiary
- 1478 THOMAS HAWKINS. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3
RALPH COLLINGWOOD
- 1481 WILLIAM SENGLE al. Seagle. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
- 1499 ADAM FACETE, D.C.L. *Reg.* 30 b
- 1501 ROBERT GAYNESBURG. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.* fo. 36 b
- 1521 JOHN EDMUNDS, D.D. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix b. *Swayne*, 715
- 1526 GEORGE CROFT. *Reg.* fo. 68 b
- 1526 JOHN WORTHIAL. *Reg.* fo. 170 b
- 1529 THOMAS ADISHEAD, M.A. *Reg.* fo. 70 b. *Rymer VI*, ii, 73. R. Pulborough, 1530; Residentiary, 1525; Tangmere; St. Leonard's Vedastham, 1530. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 73, 67. This name occurs at 1525, *Swayne*, 729; *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 11; and 1534, *Swayne*, 720
- 1530 JOHN THORPE. *Swayne*, 730. *Reg.* fo. 72 b
- 1555 THOMAS MAWNFIELD, B.D. *Reg.* fo. 101 b. R. Petworth, 1531; Maresfield, 1561
- 1561 EDMUND WESTON, B.C.L. Residentiary, 1569; Archd. of Lewes, 1559
- 1570 THOMAS BLUETT al. Blewett. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 200; V. Rogate, 1560
- 1597 WILLIAM PRATT. *Reg. H.* fo. 5 b
- 1618 THEOPHILUS KENT, A.M. *Reg.* fo. 72 b, 63. *Walker's Suff.* ii, 15. V. Oving, 1613; Archd. of Sudbury. A sufferer in the rebellion
- 1660 ADAM LUGAR, M.A.
- 1661 CHRISTOPHER CANNER, M.A.
- 1679 THOMAS PHILLIPS, M.A.
- 1681 JOSIAH PLEYDELL, M.A. Archd. of Chichester, 1679
- 1708 GEORGE GOODWIN, A.M. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 39

Hampstead.

K. B. £2 : 13 : 4.

- 1391 JOHN YERMOUTH al. Gernemouth al. Ayrmouth. *Lib. Epi. Cic.* fo. 58. CHANCELLOR. Residentiary
- 1399 PHILIP GALEYS. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix. 160 b. PRECENTOR. Residentiary, 1402
WILLIAM REED. *Reg. Rede*, fo. cxliv. PRECENTOR
- 1410 JOHN BLOUNHAM. PRECENTOR, 1407
- 1415 JOHN BREMORE. *Reg. Chichele i*, fo. 194
- 1441 WALTER SHYRRYNGTON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. Prob. of Hastings
- 1458 WALTER BLAKET. *Pa. Ro.* 36 Hen. VI. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 108
- 1478 HENRY CRACHALL. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
WILLIAM GRENE
JOHN GYLES
- 1485 RICHARD SKYPTON. *Reg.* fo. 2 b
- 1489 JOHN OXENBRUGE. *Reg. Sherborne*, fo. xcix b. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.* fo. 30
- 1522 WILLIAM al. JOHN HOCHYNSON al. Horsynson al. Richardson. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxiii. *Reg. D. et C.* 7 b. *Swayne*, 715
- 1523 NINIAN BORELL. *Reg.* fo. 65 b. *Swayne*, 715. V. Cuckfield
THOMAS MERCER. *Swayne*, 718
- 1536 THOMAS BEDELL¹ B.C.L. of New Coll., Oxford. *Reg.* fo. 70. Archd.

¹ 1534 THOMAS Lord CROMWELL held the Advowson. *Swayne*, 718

of Cleveland, 1533; Clerk of the King's Council, 1533; a Commissioner to visit the religious houses in order to their dissolution; R. Halton, 1512; Buckingfold and Newstead, Kent, 1514; Sandhurst, 1516; East Peckham, 1517; R. St. Dionis, Backchurch, 1522; Hadleigh, 1531; Wrotham, 1532; Dean of Boeking; Preb., 1534; Archdeacon of London, 1537; d. 1537. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 25

- 1546 RICHARD BRISLEY, LL.D. Archd. of Lewes
 1555 JOHN FLETCHER, M.A. *Reg. fo.* 101 b
 1558 ROBERT NORMAN
 1579 EDWARD RICHARDS
 1593 WILLIAM WHEATLEY, M.A.
 1596 GARRETT PETERS, M.A.
 1598 LAURENCE BOND, D.D. Camb.; incorp. at Oxford, 1599; *Reg. H.* fo. 10. R. Combes, 1592. *Wood's A.O. Fasti* ii, 280
 1609 THOMAS EMERSON, M.A. *Reg. G.* fo. 40 b. V. Climping, 1596
 EDWARD LANGHORNE
 1660 SAMUEL WILKINSON
 1681 HENRY SNOOKE

Heathfield.

Parl. Surv. £120. *K.B.* £9 : 16 : 8.

- 1305 WALTER DE THORNTOLT. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 88.
 The first direct appointment to a Prebend by name in the Rolls
 1343 WALTER DE WESTON
 1397 ROBERT BRIDGER al. Brudegará. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 35. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160 b
 1415 JOHN ELMERE. *Reg. Chichele* i, fo. 194
 1441 THOMAS MARSHAL. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. Residentiary
 1466 WILLIAM FARDEN al. Forden. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 1. *Swayne*, 715. "Adm. in the Treasury"
 1478 WILLIAM COKYS al. Cokes. King's Clerk. *Pa. Ro.* 17 *Edw. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 8 b. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
 1521 JOHN PERS al. Peers. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix b
 1535 RICHARD DARELL. *Reg. fo.* 74 b. Al. Stephen Darell, 1541. *Swayne*, 710
 1555 JOHN ANGELL. *Reg. fo.* 97
 1568 THOMAS CHAUNTER. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 196 a
 MORECROFT
 1572 RICHARD ASTON
 WILLIAM COELL, M.A. Archd. of Lewes
 1604 JOHN MATTOCK. *Reg. H.* fo. 27. PRECENTOR, 1603. Archd. Lewes, 1598
 GEORGE EDGELY, D.D. *MS. Harl.* 6127, fo. 53. *Add. MS.* 11822. R. Nuthurst
 WILLIAM OUGHTRED, B.D. F. King's Coll., Camb.; V. Shalford, 1604; Nuthurst Albury, 1610; Tutor to Lord W. Howard; the eminent mathematician; d. 1660
 1660 JOHN SEFTON, M.A. Residentiary, II stall, 1672-8
 1679 FRANCIS HALL
 1681 GEORGE MAY, D.D. Residentiary II stall, 1678-1703
 1704 THOMAS HAYLEY, D.D. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 26. DEAN

Henfield.

- 1309 THOMAS LOWE
 1344 WALTER DE WESTON. *Pa. Ro. 17 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6959, fo. 93*
 1353 ROBERT DE CHIGWELL. R. Hadham; Kingston, 1337; "Chien, 1339;"
 Preb. St. Paul's, 1336; Hereford, 1337. *Newcourt, i, 202*
 1376 JOHN DE FORDHAM. Preb. of York, 1376; Lincoln, 1376; Dean of
 Wells, 1379; Lord Privy Seal; Treasurer, 1386; Sec. to the King; cons.
 to Durham, 1382; trans. to Ely, 1388; d. 1425; bur. at Ely. Arms: sa.
 between three crosses fleury a chevron or
 HENRY DE SNAITH. *MS. Harl. 6969, fo. 58.* Canon of Beverley; How-
 den; St. David's; York, 1376
 1382 REGINALD DE HUTTON. *Pa. Ro. 5 Ric. II. MS. Harl. 6961, fo. 26.*
 R. Basingbourne; Preb. of Westbury; Lincoln, 1351; Chanc. of St. Asaph,
 1390; d. 1390
 1391 NICHOLAS STONE. *Pa. Ro. 13 Ric. II. MS. Harl. 6961, fo. 82 b.* Archd.
 of Lewes
 1397 ROBERT NEEL. *Reg. Rede, fo. xxix.* Chanc. of diocese. Residentiary,
 1402
 1399 JOHN GOODMANSTON. *Pa. Ro. 1 Hen. IV. MS. Harl. 6962, fo. 5 b, 6b.*
 Preb. of Hereford; R. of Ross; Chanc. of St. Paul's, 1396; Clerk for the
 repairs of Westminster Hall
 1401 PHILIP EDMASTON
 1411 ROBERT NEELE. *Reg. Rede fo. 160 b.* CHANCELLOR
 1430 JOHN FRANK. *Pa. Ro. 8 Hen. VI. MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 11 b.* King's
 Clerk
 1438 THOMAS BECKINGTON. *Reg. Praty, fo. 74.* D.C.L.; born at Walling-
 ford or Beckington; F. New Coll., Oxf., 1408; R. St. Leonard's, Sussex;
 V. Sutton Courtney; Preb. of York; Lichfield; Wells, 1442; Aredn. of
 Buckingham, 1435; Master of St. Katharine's, London; Dean of the
 Arches; frequently employed in missions of state; cons. to Bath and
 Wells, Oct. 13, 1443; the munificent benefactor of Wells and Lincoln Coll.,
 Oxf.; he d. at Wells, Jan. 14, 1445, and was buried there
 1443 THOMAS LYSIEUX. *MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 36, 51 b;* R. St. Michael's,
 Cornhill, 1432; Preb. Bridgnorth; Dean of St. Paul's, 1441; Keeper of
 Privy Seal, 1458
 1478 THOMAS DANET, D.D. *Reg. Storey, fo. 68.* Prine. St. Alban Hall, Oxf.,
 1468; R. Slapton; Almoner to Edw. IV; Preb. of Linc., 1480; Treas. St.
 Paul's, 1487; Dean of Windsor, 1478; d. 1483; bur. there
 1492 ROBERT STOREY. V. Eastbourne, 1490. BISHOP
 1499 ROBERT SHERBORNE annexed the Prebend to the See. BISHOP
 1503 WILLIAM UNDERHILL, B.C.L. *Reg. fo. 37. Fitzjames*
 1627 JOHN GOLDSMITH, M.A. *Rymer viii, p. ii, p. 250.* R. Pulborough, 1639

Higbly.

Parl. Surv. £225.

The Prebendary was to celebrate a mass of requiem on all Fridays except Christ-
 mas-day and Good Friday. (*Book E, fo. 77.*) The Prebend is attached to the
 Mastership of the Prebendal school. Founded in the thirteenth century.

- 1367 WILLIAM DE HORWICK. *Pa. Ro. 40 Edw. III, p. i. MS. Harl. 6960,*
fo. 75 b; 6973, fo. 34. Residentiary, 1383
 1409 ROBERT POBELOW. *Pa. Ro. 11 Ric. II. MS. Harl. 6961, fo. 60, 108.*
Reg. Rede, fo. 160 b, xxix^o. Residentiary, 1402
 LEWIS COYCHURCH. *Reg. Praty, fo. 74.* Residentiary. Archd. of
 Lewes, 1411



- 1441 WALTER ESTON. *Pa. Ro.* 13 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 81. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. R. Mossingham; Preb. of Salisbury; Residentiary locum tenens decani, 1441
THOMAS MARSHALL
- 1458 IVO BARRETT. *Reg. Bauchier*, fo. 69, 70. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 108; 6963, fo. 55
- 1478 THOMAS WARMAN. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3
- 1481 EDWARD MANTYLL. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
- 1497 NICHOLAS TAVERNER
JOHN WYKLEY, B.A.
- 1500 JOHN HOLT. *Swayne*, 720
- 1502 ANTHONY CLARK
- 1521 JOHN GOLDUFF
- 1524 WILLIAM FRIEND, M.A. F. New Coll., Oxf.; V. Stoughton; R. St. Andrew's, Chichester
- 1532 JOHN TUCHENOR, M.A. F. New Coll., Oxf., 1521. *Reg. D. et C.*, fo. 63 b. *Reg.*, fo. 73 b. *Swayne*, 718. Head Master of Winchester, 1526; R. of Calbourne, 1530
- 1541 ANTHONY CLARKE, B.D. *Swayne*, 719
- 1550 THOMAS GARBARD, M.A. *Reg.* fo. 59. Head Master of Guildford School, 1566; d. 1572
- 1554 AUGUSTINE CURTEYS. V. Eastbourne
- 1556 ROBERT KING, LL.D. Educ. at Thame; a Cistercian of Rewley Abbey; Abbot of Bruerne Thame and Olney; V. Charlbury; Preb. of Lincoln, 1536; cons. Suffragan of Roan, near Athens, 1539; trans. to Osney, 1542, and Oxford, 1546; he died Dec. 4, 1557, and was buried in Ch. Ch., Oxford
- 1561 MATTHEW MYERES. *Swayne*, 730
- 1561 HENRY BLAXTON, B.D. Residentiary, 1573. CHANCELLOR
- 1571 JOHN PENVEN, M.A.
- 1572 JOHN BEECHING
- 1578 GEORGE BUCK
- 1582 JOHN SANDFORD, M.A.
- 1591 WILLIAM SALE, LL.B. *Reg. Grindal*, fo. 130 b. Residentiary
- 1604 HUGH BARKER, D.C.L. F. New Coll., 1585; Dean of the Arches. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 307. Chanc. of Oxf. dioc.; d. 1632; bur. in New Coll. Chapel
- 1604 GEORGE BELGAR, B.D. *Reg. H.* 24
- 1660 THOMAS BARTER, B.A.
- 1665 JOHN BAGULEY, M.A.
- 1669 FRANCIS BACON, M.A. Linc. Coll., Oxf.
- 1686 ROBERT TOPP, M.A.
- 1686 PETER HEALD, M.A.
- 1700 THOMAS BAKER, M.A. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 12

Hoba Ecclesia.

Parl. Surv. £50. *K. B.* £4 : 6 : 8.

Founded by Bishop Poore.

JOHN NEETON

- 1402 JOHN CHYTTTERNE. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xevi. *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 26, 38 b, 39, 27 b; 6963, 28 b, 44 b, 64. R. Newchurch; St. Thomas, Salisbury; Winterbourne; Stapledon; Berwick St. John; Preb. Romsey, Shaftesbury; Wilton; Wherwell; St. Paul's, 1409; Hereford; Salisbury, 1409; Archd. of Wilts, 1407

JOHN BRYMHAM

- 1441 FULCO BERMINGHAM. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. *Pa. Ro.* 15 Hen. V. MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 21. King's Clerk; Preb. of Linc., 1438; York; Archd. of Oxford
- 1481 JOHN THORPE
THOMAS BURWELL
- 1511 WILLIAM PORTER, B.D. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiii. CHANCELLOR, 1507
WILLIAM BYRLEY
- 1513 WILLIAM FLESHMONGER al. Foster. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiiij. DEAN
- 1514 JOHN PREDIAUX. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxvii. V. Eastbourne
- 1515 HUGH ROLFE. TREASURER, 1519
- 1517 RICHARD MASON. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxvii b
- 1525 THOMAS ADISHEAD. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix b
- 1526 GEORGE CROFT. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 11. *Swayne*, 729. CHANCELLOR
- 1529 JOHN SEAGER, B.C.L., *Reg.* fo. 71. *Swayne*, 730
- 1540 PHILIP MESSEWENS. *Swayne*, 719
- 1544 THOMAS GERMYN. *Reg. Cranm.* fo. 391. *Swayne*, 719
- 1554 THOMAS SAULL. *Reg.* fo. 94
- 1555 LAMBERT PEACHEY
- 1563 JOHN STEVENSON
- 1566 HENRY FISHER, B.A.
- 1571 MICHAEL WARD, A.M.
- 1579 JAMES ALLEN
- 1580 JOHN HUDSON, M.A.
- 1589 LAURENCE ALCOCK, A.M.
- 1592 WILLIAM SHORTRED
STEPHEN GOFFE, D.D. *Rymer Fœd.* viii, p. iii, p. 151. *Reg. H.* 56. *Cal. State Pap.* 685. A.O. iv, 494. V. St. Botolph's, 1605; R. Bramber, 1603; Stanmer, 1603; Hurstmonceaux, 1639; deprived; died at Paris, 1681
- 1660 ROBERT LEEVES, A.M. *Wood MS. E.* iii, fo. 287
- 1699 HENRY al. Lewis ALLEYN, A.M. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 7

hova Vlla.

Parl. Surv. £27. *Clarke MS.* £80. *K. B.* £10.

- 1345 BERNARD BROCAS. *Pa. Ro. Edw. III.* p. iii. MS. Harl. 6959, fo. 142, 153 b. Preb. of Wells; Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster
- 1352 ROGER DE DARKING
WILLIAM DE WHITTLESEA. MS. Harl. 6127, fo. 55
- 1354 ADAM DE HILTON. *Pa. Ro. 27 Edw. III.* p. ii. 35 *Edw. III.* p. i. MS. Harl. 6960, fo. 47 b, 15 a; R. Glatton; Provost of Wells
- 1386 JOHN MORY. *Pa. Ro. 9 Ric. II.* MS. Harl. 6961, fo. 41
- 1397 WILLIAM REEDE. *Reg. Rede*, fo. lxiv. PRECENTOR
- 1402 JOHN CHYTTERNE. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix
ROBERT NEEL. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix. CHANCELLOR, 1407
- 1407 JOHN PARKER. *Reg. Rede*, fo. cxxi, 160 b
- 1415 ROGER HERON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74
- 1442 THOMAS CHICHELE. D. Decret. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 21. Preb. of Linc., 1431; Preb. of Southwell; York, 1440; Archd. of Canterbury
- 1458 THOMAS ESLAKE. MS. Harl. 6958, fo. 107 b; 6963, fo. 55
- 1478 JOHN STUBBYS. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68
- 1521 ROBERT ASHCOMBE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix b
RICHARD SHYRLEY

ROBERT ASTON

- 1526 JOHN NASE. *Reg. fo. 68 b*
 1526 THOMAS ADISHEAD. *Reg. fo. 70*
 1529 JOHN WORTHIAL. *Reg. fo. 70 b. Swayne, 720. CHANCELLOR, 1525*
 1543 GEORGE WYNDHAM. *Reg. D. et C. fo. 94 b. PRÆCENTOR. 1542*
 1544 THOMAS GERMAN
 1549 ROBERT MORTLAKE. *Reg. fo. 47 b*
 1561 WILLIAM OVERTON, A.M. Residentiary, 1569. TREASURER
 1562 ROBERT REYNOLDS, LL.D.
 1587 FRANCIS COX, D.D. *Reg. fo. 65 b. V. Horsted Keynes, 1560; Brighton, 1565; Residentiary, 1570; Custos St. Mary's Hosp., 1601*
 1613 WILLIAM THORNE. DEAN, 1603
 1630 WILLIAM COX, D.D.
 1660 WILLIAM CARR, A.M.
 1669 THOMAS WOODWARD, A.M.
 1696 GEORGE BARNESLEY. *Reg. Grove, fo. 12*

Hurst al. Bishophurst.

Parl. Surv. £133. K. B. £16: 13: 4.

- 1305 JOHN DE LANGTON. *MS. Harl. 6975, fo. 20 b*
 1368 JOHN DE SANKEY al. Sankevill. *Pa. Ro. 17 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6958, fo. 51 b*
 1310 THOMAS DE NORTHWODE, D.D. *Pa. Ro. 13 Edw. III. MS. Harl. 6959, fo. 70 b. Preb.; Subdean, 1328; Treas. 1329; Archd., 1331, of Lincoln*
 1354 WILLIAM DE ROTHWELL. *Pa. Ro. 26 Edw. III, p. 1. MS. Harl. 6960, fo. 4 a, 36 b*
 1364 JOHN DE SEVERLEY. *MS. Harl. 6975, fo. 15. Reg. Islip. Provost of Wengham*
 1397 WILLIAM NORTON. *Reg. Rede, fo. 106 b, xxix. R. Harneton*
 1490 WILLIAM LOXELE. *Reg. Rede, fo. lxxix b. R. Harneton*
 MARMADUKE LUMLEY, LL.B. A native of Durham; Master of Trin. Hall, Camb., 1429; Chanc. of Camb., 1427; R. of Stepney, 1429; Charing; Archd. of Northumb.; Preb., 1425; Præcentor, 1427, and Bishop, 1450, of Lincoln; cons. to Carlisle, 1430; d. Dec. 1450; bur. in Charter House, London. Arms: arg. betw. three popinjays vert on a fess gu. a mitre or
 1421 WILLIAM WALESBY. *Reg. Praty, fo. 74. Pa. Ro. 3 Hen. VI. MS. Harl. 6963, fo. 12. Archd. of Chich., 1440*
 1428 JOHN FAUKES. CHANCELLOR
 1443 WILLIAM NORMANTON. Archd. of Chich., 1443
 1478 JOHN KYBO. *Reg. Storey, fo. 2, 68. R. Broadwater, 1480. Residentiary*
 1481 PETER HUSEE. Archd. of Chich.
 1496 GERARD BORELL al. Burwell. *Swayne, 719. Archd. of Chich.*
 1521 JOHN FARLINTON. *Reg. Sherb. fo. xcix b*
 1525 RICHARD MASON. *Reg. fo. 68 b*
 1532 RICHARD WYATT. *Reg. fo. 73 b. Swayne, 720*
 1568 EDWARD GORING
 ARTHUR ATTEE, M.A. Merton; Proctor, 1570. *A.O. Fasti ii, 185*
 1582 JOHN DRURY, D.C.L. Archd. of Oxford, 1592; Residentiary, 1592; d. 1614
 1614 RICHARD BUCKINGHAM, B.D. *Reg. fo. 66 b*
 1628 JOSEPH HENSHAW. *Rymer's Fœd. viii, p. iii, p. 27. DEAN*

- 1663 HUMFRED NEAL, A.M.
 1666 WILLIAM GULSTON, A.M. *Hutchins' Dorset* i, 539. Son of Rev. Dr. Gulston; R. Wymondham; educ. at Grantham School; Sizar of St. John's, Cambridge; Chaplain to the Duchess of Somerset; R. Symondsburys, 1669-84; D.D. 1679; cons. to Bristol, 1678; d. April 4, 1684; bur. at Symondsburys
 1684 FRANCIS BACON, M.A.
 1684 EDWARD BEAVER, M.A.
 1705 EDWARD LITTLETON, A.M. All Souls', Oxf. *Add. MS.* 11822. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 13, 29. V. Amberley, 1701; R. Bignor, 1701; d. 1721

Epthorne.

K.B. £10. *Dr. Clarke*, £130. *Parl. Surv.* £80.

- ROBERT DE SUTTON. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 70 b; Preb. St. Paul's, 1389; Chanc., 1386, and Preb. of Ossory; Clerk of the Rolls, Ireland
 1389 JOHN DE PAXTON. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160 b. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 163 b. *Pa. Ro.* 12 Ric. II. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 67, 70. Residentiary, 1402; R. St. Martin's, Ludgate; Preb. of St. Paul's
 1441 ROBERT CHARLTON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74
 1458 ROBERT STILLINGTON, LL.D. *MS. Harl.* 6950, fo. 118; 6963, fo. 55. Son of John Stillington; bur. in York-shire; of All Souls' Coll., Oxf.; Canon of Wells, 1445; Treas. of Wells, 1447; R. St. Michael's, York, 1448; Canon of York, 1451; Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, 1458; Archd. of Berks, 1463; of Wells, 1465; cons. to Bath and Wells, Jan. 11, 1466; Keeper of the Privy Seal; Lord Chancellor, 1467-75; d. a prisoner in Windsor Castle, May, 1491
 1459 WILLIAM BOSTON. *Pa. Ro.* 37 Hen. VI. *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 55 b
 1478 JOHN FULLER. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 47 b, 68
 1481 WILLIAM GYFFORD. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 69. *Reg. Bouchier*, fo. 124 b. Residentiary; Chanc. and Canon of South Malling
 1490 EDMUND al. Richard MARTYN, D.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 12
 1499 RICHARD GRENE, M.A. *Reg.* fo. 30
 1515 JOHN PREDIAUX. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxvii, xxviii, xcix b
 1538 JAMES TURBERVILLE, D.D. R. Woodmanecote, 1520. Residentiary, 1554; F. of New Coll., Oxf.; Scribe of the University; Preb. of Winchester; cons. to Exeter, 1555; deprived June 18; d. in the Tower, Nov. 1, 1559
 1550 JOHN WHYTE
 1555 RICHARD BRISLEY, LL.D. *Reg.* fo. 100. *Cole MS.* xxxii, 58. Archd. of Lewes
 1555 RICHARD JOHNSON
 1559 JOHN KNIGHT. *Reg. Dec. et Cap. Cant.* fo. 44 b
 1561 EDWARD FOSTER
 1569 JOHN WALSALL, A.M. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 197 b
 ROBERT CLAY
 1574 THOMAS BROWNE, B.D.
 1585 WILLIAM STONE. *Reg. Whitgift*, fo. 363. Archd. of Chichester
 1596 EDWARD BRAGGE, A.M.
 1597 ROBERT BIRD, A.M. *Reg. II.* fo. 4
 EDWARD FULHAM, D.D. Student Ch. Ch., Oxf. *A.O.* iv, 237. *Add. MS.* ii, 822; R. Hampton Poyle; Wotton; Canon of Windsor, 1660; Prof. of Moral Phil., Oxf., 1633-8; d. 1694
 1682 NICHOLAS HICKS, B.D. Residentiary, 1685

East Marden.

Parl. Surv. £30. *K. B.* £4:15:0.

- 1313 PETER DE VENOUR. *Pa. Ro.* 6 *Edw. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 109
 1318 EDMUND DE LA BECHE. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 61 b. *Preb. of St. Paul's*, 1339
 1366 THOMAS OKLE. *Pa. Ro.* 39 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 74 b, 104 b. *R. of Winterbourne*
 1389 WILLIAM FARINGDON. *Pa. Ro.* 12 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 64
 1397 JOHN THOMAS. *Reg. Rede.* fo. 160 b, xxix. *Archd. of Chichester*
 1409 JOHN CLOES
 1424 JOHN BUCCELL
 1441 GERVASE NORTON. *Reg. Praty.* fo. 74
 1445 THOMAS SWIFT, B.C.L. *Reg. Praty.* fo. 41, 44
 1478 RICHARD BONAWATER al. Boveanter. *Reg. Storey.* fo. 3, 63
 1521 NICHOLAS TAVERNER. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xcix
 EDWARD BLYTHE
 BARNARD HOLDEN
 JOHN FOXE. *Reg.* fo. 69. *Preb. of Salisbury*, 1519; d. 1530
 1529 JOHN COLENS. *Swayne*, 729
 1525 BARNARD HOLDEN. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxii; *Reg.* fo. 70 b; *Swayne*, 729
 1530 JOHN RUGGE. *Reg.* fo. 72; *Swayne*, 730
 1530 SIMON FOWLER. *Swayne*, 730
 1531 THOMAS WEME al. Wenner. *Reg.* fo. 72 b. *Swayne*, 717
 1536 SIMON FOWLER. *Swayne*, 717. *Reg.* fo. 72 b. *R. Slyndon*, 1508
 1558 PETER ADISHEAD
 1583 THOMAS BARWICKE. *Reg. Whitgift.* fo. 199. *Chapl. to Archbishop Whitgift*
 1589 THOMAS SMITH
 1596 GARRET WILLIAMSON, B.D., al. Gerard Wilkinson. *Residentiary*, 1602; *V. Westdean*, 1595
 1610 ROBERT NOWELL, B.D. *Reg. G.* fo. 68 b. *Residentiary*, 1613. *TREASURER*
 WILLIAM JUXON, D.C.L. Son of Richard Juxon; born at Chichester; educ. at Merchant Taylors' School; *Pres. St. John's, Oxf.*, 1621; *Vice-Chanc.*, 1626; *V. St. Giles', Oxf.*, 1609; *R. Somerton, Dean of Worcester*, 1628; *Chapel Royal*; *Clerk of the Closet*, 1632; *Lord Treas.* 1638; *Chapl. in Ord.*; *P. C.*, 1635; cons. to London, Oct. 27, 1633; trans. to *Canterbury*, 1663; he attended Charles I on the scaffold; he d. at Lambeth, June 4, 1660, aged 81, and was buried in *St. John's College Chapel*. *Arms*: or betw. four ogres' head sa. a cross gu.
 1638 LAURENCE PAY, D.D. *Rymer* viii, p. iv, p. 64. *Archd. of Chichester*
 EDWARD BOUGHEN, D.D. *Walker's Suff.* ii, 15
 1660 ROBERT PORY, B.D.
 1668 HENRY NEICE, D.D. al. NUCE; *R. Stedham*; d. 1706
 1689 JOHN PEACHEY, M.A. *Reg. Patrick.* fo. 1. *Add. MS.* 11822. *R. Stedham*, 1699; *Marden*

Middleton.

K. B. 43s. 4d.

- 1397 ANDREW YONGE. *Reg. Rede.* fo. 160 b, xxix. *Pa. Ro.* 15 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 92 b. *R. Westwell*

- 1401 ROBERT HALLUM, D.D. *Pa. Ro.* 14 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 90 b.
R. Northfield; Preb. of York, 1399; Archd. of Canterbury, 1400; Chanc.
of Oxf. Univ., 1403; sat in the Councils of Pisa, 1408, and Constance, 1414;
cons. to Salisbury, 1408; Cardinal S. Chrysogoni; d., 1417, at Gottlieb;
bur. at Rome
- 1412 SIMON MARCHEFORD. *Reg. Rede*, fo. cliii b
- 1415 RICHARD PETWORTH
THOMAS COLE
- 1438 RICHARD PRATY, D.D. *Pa. Ro.* 16 *Hen. VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 22 b.
BISHOP.
- 1438 JOHN WRABY. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 2
- 1441 JOHN BOLD. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74
EDWARD BRUGE
- 1443 NICHOLAS WARD. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 32
- 1478 EDWARD CHEYNEY. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3, 68
JOHN FRY
- 1505 THOMAS HARPUR. *Swayne*, 715. *Reg.* fo. 42
- 1521 WILLIAM LEE al. LEGHE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. c
- 1523 JOHN BURY. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 10. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. 92. *Swayne*, 715.
Reg. 66
- 1530 THOMAS ADISHEAD. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 45. *Reg.* fo. 72. *Swayne*, 730
- 1531 GEORGE CROFT. *Reg.* fo. 73. CHANCELLOR
- 1538 WILLIAM TRESHAM. CHANCELLOR, 1559
- 1560 RICHARD WRIGHT
- 1570 WILLIAM CLARKE, B.D. *Reg. Parker*, fo. 200. Residentiary, 1570
- 1572 DENNIS HURST
- 1573 WILLIAM BEAL
- 1584 JOHN COX. V. Compton, 1584
THOMAS HOOKE, D.D. Residentiary; Archd. of Lewes
- 1664 JAMES HERRING
- 1666 JOHN WARD, D.D.
- 1668 MALACHY CONANT, B.D. Ex. Coll., Oxon.; F. Magd. Coll., 1656; a
Somersetshire man; R. Beeding, 1666; d. 1680; author of Urim and
Thummim
- 1678 GEORGE MAY, D.D. *Reg. Brideoake*, fo. 26
- 1582 ISAAC WOODROFFE, A.M. V. Rotingdean, 1687
- 1699 JOHN WRIGHT, A.M. *Reg. Williams*, fo. 9
- 1704 HENRY CHEYNELL, D.D. *Reg. Williams*, fo. 25

Seaford.

K. B. 16s. 8d.

- 1389 JOHN BOCKWORTH. *Pa. Ro.* 12 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 64 b
- 1397 RICHARD GRESHAM al. GARHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160
RICHARD GARDEN
- 1398 RICHARD PRENTYS. *Reg. Praty*, fo. lxxii
EDWARD WARHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. lxiv
- 1415 RICHARD DEREHAM. *Reg. Chichele* i, fo. 194
EDWARD HUNTE
- 1439 JOHN GRENDON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 8
- 1441 JOHN KING, B.D. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 20. TREASURER
- 1478 JOHN PLENTYTH. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68. Residentiary, 1481. Archd. of
Lewes

- 1521 WILLIAM ROLL. *Swayne*, 730
HENRY DELY
- 1525 JOHN BURY
- 1531 JOHN LONDON, D.C.L. *Swayne*, 730. Warden New Coll. Oxf., 1526; R. Stanton St. John, 1527; Adderbury; Canoh of York, 1519; Linc. 1522; Salisbury; Windsor; Treas. of Linc., 1522; Dean of Wallingford, 1536; Oseney, 1542; Royal Comm. for the spoliation of the monasteries; d. in the Fleet, 1543
- 1532 JOHN NORBURY. *Reg.* 74
- 1538 WILLIAM GREENE. *Swayne*, 719
- 1541 THOMAS PAYNELL. *Swayne*, 719
- 1545 THOMAS WEME. *Reg.* fo. 18 b
- 1553 JOHN LAWE. *Reg.* fo. 82
- 1555 JOHN WHITE. *Reg.* fo. 61
- 1560 WILLIAM MASON
FRANCIS COX
- 1587 THOMAS WILSHA, B.D. R. of Westbourne, 1595. *GM.* xvi, 453; d. March 20, 1613
- 1615 JAMES HUTCHINSON, B.D. *Reg.* fo. 69
- 1660 WILLIAM PAUL, D.D. Residentiary 1st Stall, 1660-62
- 1662 HENRY FEDES, D.D. PRECENTOR
- 1703 WILLIAM SHERWIN, M.A. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 24

Selsey.

K. B. £9: 10: 0.

- 1331 GILES DE CREMONA. *Pa. Ro.* 5 *Edw. II.*, p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 73 b
- 1340 JOHN LEECH. *Pa. Ro.* 8, 14 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 42 b, 73 b, 52 b; 6956, fo. 79. R. Sevenoaks; Mells; Mapledurham; Petersfield; Preb. of Wells
- 1343 RANULPH DE DALTON
- 1351 PETER al. JOHN DE LEECHE. *Pa. Ro.* 25 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 158 b; 164 b. R. Harrow, 1351; Crondale, 1352; Preb. of St. Paul's; Lincoln
- 1381 HUGH DE COTTINGHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 5 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 26. Preb. of Limerick
- 1383 JOHN DE HARLASTON. *Pa. Ro.* 7 *Ric. II.* *Ibid.* 34 b, 52
- 1391 NICHOLAS STONE. *Pa. Ro.* 13 *Ric. II.* *Ib.* fo. 81 b
JOHN CAPEL de Bockworth
- WILLIAM WENLOCK. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 83 b. Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster
- 13... MICHAEL SERJEAUX. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 60, 114 b, 114. R. of Harrow; Preb., Wells; Archdeacon of Dorset
- THOMAS DE MIDDLETON. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 102. PRECENTOR, 1397
- 1397 EDWARD EARTHAM
- 1402 EDWARD WARHAM. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160
- 1419 SIMON GAUNSFIELD. *Pa. Ro.* 5 *Hen. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 72 b
- 1420 WILLIAM GAUNSTED. *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 78. R. Selsey, 1420
- 1441 THOMAS COCKAYN. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74
- 1479 ROBERT GENNYSBROGH. *Swayne*, 715. See Gaynesburgh, 1505, below
- THOMAS ESTON
- 1504 WILLIAM HORSEY. *Reg.* fo. 40. *Swayne* 715. PRECENTOR
- 1505 ROBERT GAYNESBURGH. *Reg.* fo. 43 b
WILLIAM CRADOCK

- 1516 THOMAS IRELAND. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxvii. *Swayne*, 719
 1516 HUGH ROLFE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxvii b. TREASURER, 1519
 1523 WILLIAM NORBURY. *Swayne*, 729. *Reg. D. et C.*, fo. 10. *Reg.* fo. 66 b.
 Archd. of Chichester, 1512
 1526 NINIAN BORELL. *Reg.* fo. 70
 1527 JOHN WORTHIAL. *Reg. Sherb.* xxxii. *Reg.* fo. 68 b. Archd. of Chi-
 chester. CHANCELLOR
 WILLIAM ROLL. *Reg.* fo. 74
 1532 JOHN LONDON, D.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 74
 1538 LAURENCE WODECOCK, *Swayne*, 719. F. of New Coll., Oxf.; V. Box-
 grove
 1558 STEPHEN DALINGER al. Valinger
 1570 WILLIAM CLARKE, D.C.L.
 1587 THOMAS PYE, B.D.
 1609 JOHN CRADOCK, D.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 53 b. F. New Coll., Oxf.: Winchester
 College, 1617; Residentiary, 1614; Canon of Winchester
 1641 THOMAS HOLLAND al. Hudson. *MS. Harl.* 6127, fo. 63. *A.O.* iv, 99.
Walker ii, 15
 WILLIAM STATEVILLE, D.D. *A.O.* iv, 99. *Walker* ii, 15
 1660 JOHN FELL, D.D. Student; Canon, Dean, 1660, of Ch. Ch., Oxf.;
 Master of St. Oswald's Hosp.; Vice-Chanc. of Oxford, 1666-9; editor of St.
 Cyprian; cons. to Oxford, 1675; a munificent benefactor of his see and
 cathedral; he died July 10, 1686, and is buried at Ch. Ch.
 1661 GEORGE SHAW, B.D.
 1674 CHRISTOPHER SPENCER, B.A. *Wood E.* iii, fo. 271. V. Westbourne,
 1678; d. Oct. 22, 1705; *G. M.* xvi, 454
 1705 WILLIAM NICHOLS, D.D. *Add. MS.* ii, 822. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 29. R.
 Selsey, 1702

Somerley.

Parl. Surv. £25: 17: 6. *K. B.* £4: 10: 0.

- 1386 WALTER ALMALY. *Pa. Ro.* 2 *Ric. II.* 9 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 8,
 19 b, 43. Secundarius; Preb. of Hereford; Tamworth; Dean of Windsor,
 1380
 1391 JOHN PROPHETE. *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 53, 71, 89 b. R. Orpington;
 Leighton Buzzard; Ringwood; Preb. Linc., 1387; Salisb., 1413; Dean of
 York, 1406; Hereford, 1393; Præc. Aberguilli; Keeper of Privy Seal; Sec.
 to the King; d. 1416; bur. at Ringwood
 1415 THOMAS RIGGELE. *Reg. Chichele* i, 194. *Rede* xxix
 1440 WILLIAM TREVORDEN, B.C.L. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 18, 74
 1458 WILLIAM MORE. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 11; 6963, fo. 55
 JOHN LYNDFELD. Archd. of Chichester
 1480 RICHARD REWYS. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3
 1481 ROBERT DALTON. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 55
 GEOFFREY SYMEON
 1503 JOHN BANASTRE, B.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 37. *Fitzjames*
 WILLIAM HOONE
 1504 NICOLAS BRADBRIDGE, M.A. *Reg.* fo. 39
 JOHN PREDIAUX
 1516 CHRISTOPHER PLUMBER. *Reg. Sherb. C.*, xxviii. Preb. Linc., 1533;
 Canon of Windsor; deprived 1534
 1534 ANDREW TRACY. *Reg.* fo. 74 b. *Swayne*, 718
 1866

- 1545 THOMAS HICKLING
 1555 MAURICE GYTTESS, M.A. *Reg. fo. 104*
 1565 JOHN IGULDEY
 1576 RICHARD BARWICKE
 1611 WILLIAM COXE, M.A. *Act Book 13, 150; Extracts, 14 b.* Canon of Exeter, 1643. Residentiary, 1611. *Merc. Rust.* 62
 JOHN NAPPER
 1660 NICHOLAS GARBRAND al. Garbard, D.D. V. Washington, 1640; Residentiary III stall, 1660-9; R. Patching, 1660-71
 1671 JOHN MILLE, M.A. R. Pulborough; Nuthurst, 1665
 1676 WILLIAM HOWELL, M.A. *Reg. fo. 9. Brideoake, 24.* R. Egdean, 677; V. Fittleworth, 1677
 1681 ROBERT CLIPSHAM, M.A.
 1703 WILLIAM JENDEN, M.A. *Reg. Grove, fo. 23*
 1705 WILLIAM BARCROFT. *Reg. Croft, fo. 27.* TREASURER

Sutton.

Parl. Surv. £125. K. B. £18:6:8.

- 1321 GILBERT DE MIDDLETON. *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 134 b; 145 b; 148. Preb. of Linc. 1316; St. Paul's, 1318; Salisbury; Wells; Hereford; Ledbury; Romsey; Archd. of Northampton; d. 1330
 1334 GILES DE MALDESISIO de Cremonâ. *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 43 b
 1343 ROBERT DE WORCESTER
 1345 WILLIAM DE KILDESBY. *Pa. Ro. 19 Edw. III. MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 102. Preb. of S. Paul's; Beverley; Howden; Southwell; Tickhill; "Penerick;" Lincoln
 1351 MICHAEL DE NORTHBURGH, D.C.L. *Pa. Ro. 24 Edw. III. MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 153. R. Fulham; Preb., Lincoln; Lichfield, 1339; Salisbury, 1351; St. Paul's, 1351; York, 1353; Archd. of Chester, 1340; Suffolk, 1347; Colchester, 1363; Dean of Pontefract, 1339; cons. to London, 1354; d. at Copford, 1361; buried in St. Paul's
 1383 WILLIAM PETWORTH. *Pa. Ro. 7 Hen. IV. MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 37 b; 6973, fo. 34. *Reg. Paty, fo. 140 b*
 1397 ROBERT GILBERT, D.D. Warden of Merton Coll. c 1416; Dean of the chapel to Henry V, whom he attended to Agincourt; R. of All Hallows, Lombard street, 1415; Northburg, 1416; Preb. Præc., 1418, of Salisbury; Dean of York, 1426; cons. to London, 1436. *Gutch iv, 6*
 1402 EDMUND WYLBORD. *Reg. Rede, fo. xxix*
 1403 JOHN LAUNCE. *Pa. Ro. 6 Hen. IV. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 31, 40. Preb. of St. David's
 1441 RICHARD PETWORTH. *Reg. Praty, fo. 74*
 1458 JOHN BEDALE. *Pa. Ro. 15 Edw. IV. MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 111; 6963, fo. 55. Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster
 1478 GEORGE DAWNE. *Ibid.* Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster
 1492 JOHN TYRRY. *Reg. fo. 12 b*
 1510 JOHN EARLTON. *Reg. Sherb. fo. xxiii*
 1521 ANDREW BENSTEDE. *Reg. Sherb. fo. c*
 1524 RICHARD POKEHERST al. Parkhurst. *Reg. D. et C. Cant. fo. 42 b. Reg. fo. 65*
 1558 AUGUSTINE BRADBIDGE, B.D. CHANCELLOR. Chanc. to Archbishop Parker; Keeper of the Prerogative Court, 1570; he assisted the Primate in his antiquarian researches, and was overseer to his will. *Reg. Parker. Strype's Parker, b. ii, c. 3; iv, 3, 46. App. n, lx, c.* CHANCELLOR
 1575 THOMAS YALE, D.C.L. Preb. of Lichfield, 1560; Dean of the Arches; Archd. St. Asaph, 1564; Chanc. Bangor dioc., 1570; d. 1577

- 1578 JOHN BEACON, D.C.L. PRECENTOR
 1588 CHRISTOPHER MINSHULL, M.A. R. Ashington; Buneton, 1586. Emley,
 1590; Combes, 1601
 1614 EUGENIUS STOCKTON, A.M.
 1635 WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT
 1660 GEORGE HEATH
 1672 WILLIAM SAYWELL. CHANCELLOR, 1672
 1674 WILLIAM SNATT. *Wood E.* iii, fo. 271. R. Sutton, 1679-82
 1690 HENRY HOLYWELL, M.A. *Reg. Patrick*, fo. 5
 HENRY EEDES
 1704 JAMES BARKER, M.A. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 25 Archd. of Chichester

Sydesham.

Parl. Surv. £63:7:0. *Clarke*, £40. *K. B.* £13.

- 1336 BERNARD DUFFUS
 1352 WALTER GEST. TREASURER
 1353 THOMAS DE DUNELENT
 1365 JOHN DE BISHOPSTONE. CHANCELLOR
 1367 JOHN DE BRYMMINGHAM
 1386 THOMAS HERTFORD
 1392 GUY MONE, al. GUIDO MOONE
 1398 RALPH REPYNGDON. *Pa. Ro.* 21 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 123, 127 b.
 Preb. of Salisbury; Treas. of St. Paul's
 1397 JOHN BREMMERE. *Pa. Ro.* 2 *Hen. VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 19 b; or 1402.
Reg. Rede, fo. xxix, 160 b
 1401 JOHN DOVEY
 1415 JOHN WELBORNE. *Reg. Chichele* i, fo. 194
 1441 WALTER SHYRRINGTON. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 68; Preb. of Tamworth;
 Lincoln, 1420; S. Patrick's, 1436; Howden; York, 1407; St. Paul's, 1440;
 Master of Tickhill College; Chanc. of the Duchy of Lancaster; d. 1448
 1448 THOMAS BROMER
 1459 HENRY GREENE
 1481 IVO DARELL. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68. Residentiary, 1478
 ROBERT KIRKLAND. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiii
 1510 ADAM FACETE
 1513 WILLIAM PORTER. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiv, c
 1524 RICHARD WAREHAM. *Reg.* fo. 66
 1535 JOHN UDAL al. Wydall. *Swayne*, 718. Secretary to Q. Anne Boleyn; had
 the advowson
 1545 JOHN HALL. *Reg.* fo. 18
 GEORGE COOPER, B.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 25
 1558 RICHARD JOHNSON, M.A.
 1562 THOMAS WARD, M.A.
 1563 HENRY WORLEY, D.C.L. *Cole MS.* xxxii, fo. 57. Residentiary, 1570, 86;
 Official of the diocese, 1572; d. 1586
 1586 JOHN COPCOTT, D.D.
 1590 THOMAS BENTHAM, M.A. Preb. of Lichfield, 1578
 1594 RICHARD TAYLOR
 JOHN MANTLET al. Manlatt. *Walker* ii, 14
 1669 ANTHONY NETHERCOT, M.A. *Wood MS. E.* iii, fo. 287
 1700 SAMUEL WOODWARD, D.D. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 10

- 1700 JAMES BARKER. Archd. of Chichester
 1704 WILLIAM WHITEAR, M.A. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 25

Thorney.

Parl. Surv. £110. *K. B.* £12.

- 1298 HENRY GERLAND. *Swayne*, 241. Chancellor, 1330; Dean, 1332
 1349 JOHN DE CLAXTON. *Pa. Ro.* 11. 22 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 59 b; 121 b
 1351 THOMAS DE BRAMBER. *Pa. Ro.* 25 *Edw. III.*, p. iii. *MS. Harl.* 6259, fo. 96, 141, 144, 164, 166. Residentiary; R. Cottingham; Leighton Buzard; Bolebant; Preb. of Lincoln; St. Paul's, 1354; Wherwell, 1355; Bridgenorth; Master of St. Leonard's, York; Dean of Wimborne
 JOHN LYCEFORD
 1397 LAURENCE PARKYN. *Reg. Rede*, fo. lxvii, 160. *Chichele*, 1, fo. 194. Al. Kankyn
 1427 WILLIAM KERIWALDMERON
 1441 JOHN CRAYHALL al. Crackell. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. Residentiary
 1458 REGINALD BASSET. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3, 68. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 111; 6963, fo. 53
 WILLIAM PORTER. CHANCELLOR, 1507
 1513 WILLIAM BYRLEY. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiii. A.D. 1520. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxx. CHANCELLOR, 1512
 1517 HENRY EDIAL. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxix
 1525 JOHN CHAMPION. *Reg.* fo. 67
 1525 RICHARD MASON. *Swayne*, 729. *Reg.* fo. 67 b
 1526 WILLIAM NORBERY. *Swayne*, 717. *Reg.* fo. 68 b. Archd. of Chichester, 1512
 CHRISTOPHER DUGDALE
 1530 GEOFFREY TOMSON. *Reg.* 72 b
 1531 GEORGE CROFT. *Swayne*, 717. CHANCELLOR
 1531 THOMAS ADISHEAD. *Swayne*, 718. *Reg.* fo. 73
 1541 WILLIAM LANGLEY, B.D. *Swayne*, 719. Liber Regis. Vicar and Sub-dean of St. Peter's the Great, 1535
 1549 JOHN WORTHIAL, B.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 48. CHANCELLOR, 1525
 1550 WILLIAM DAY. Scholar Student of Canterbury. *Reg.* fo. 55
 1555 CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, B.D.
 1559 WILLIAM HARFORD
 1581 CHRISTOPHER WRAY
 1585 EDMUND COORTESSE. Brother of Bp. Curteys. V. Cuckfield. Deprived, 1597
 1606 SAMUEL HILL, B.D. *Reg. G.* fo. 27
 THOMAS LOCKEY, B.D. *A.O.* iv, 242. Bodley's Librarian; Preb. of Salisbury, 1660; Canon of Ch. Ch., Oxf., 1665
 1660 RICHARD WASHBOURNE, B.D. *Reg. G.* fo. 27
 JOHN MANTESS, A.M. *MS. Harl.* 6127, fo. 61. *Walker*, p. 14
 1672 TOBIAS HENSHAW, B.D. TREASURER
 1672 JOHN SAYWELL. *Wood E.* iii, fo. 1672
 1692 RICHARD BOURCHIER, B.D. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 8. Archd. of Lewes

Waltham.

Parl. Surv. £166. *Clarke MS.* £100. *K. B.* £11.

- 1332 WALTER DE BURLE. Preb. of Wells
 HENRY DE CLIFFE. *MS. Harl.* 6956, fo. 63. Preb. of Wells

ROBERT DE HELPISHAM

- 1334 JOHN DE LEECH. *MS. Harl.* 6956, fo. 79
 1362 ADAM DE HILTON. *Pa. Ro.* 35 *Edw. III.*, p. i. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 47 b
 EDMUND STREETE
 1385 WILLIAM PACKINGTON. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 23, 106. R. Wearmouth;
 Treas. of King's Hosp.; Keeper of the Wardrobe; Dean of St. Martin's
 1391 ROGER ALBRIGHTON. *Pa. Ro.* 14 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 87, 89.
 Preb. 1391; Treas., 1393, of St. Paul's
 1397 JOHN WOTTON, B.D. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 160 b. R. Staplehurst; Warden of
 Maidstone, 1395; d. 1417; buried at Maidstone. *Hasted ii*, 115
 1397 JOHN SUTTON. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix
 1426 NICOLAS WYMBUSH. *Pa. Ro.* 5 *Hen. V.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 76. Preb.
 of Lincoln, 1426
 1430 REGINALD PELHAM. *Pa. Ro.* 8 *Hen. VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 12.
 King's Clerk
 1441 THOMAS CHICHELE. D. Decret.
 1442 WALTER BYCONNYLL, LL.D. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 27
 1444 WALTER ESTON
 1458 WILLIAM TRAY. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 111; 6963, fo. 55
 1466 THOMAS BARKAR. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3. *Swayne*, 715
 1481 THOMAS WARDALL. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68. *Swayne*, 720. *Reg.* fo. 186
 1510 RICHARD MASON
 1525 JOHN CHAMPION al. Campion. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxiii, xxxiii
 1525 RICHARD MASON. *Reg.* fo. 67
 1525 JOHN CHAMPION. *Reg.* fo. 67 b, 69 b
 1537 SIMON SHEPHERD. *Swayne*, 718
 1564 ROBERT GREENAKERS
 1573 WILLIAM COLE, M.A. R. Pidinghoe
 1573 CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN
 1580 EDWARD WALLIS
 1588 JOHN COX
 1594 RICHARD CUTT, B.A.
 1598 EDWARD MUNTSLER, M.A.
 1603 EDWARD WICKHAM, M.A. *Reg. H.* fo. 23. Chaplain to the Bishop
 EDWARD ASHBURNHAM, M.A. *Walker ii*, 15. V. of Tonbridge
 1641 JOHN SECKRELL
 1660 OLIVER WHITBY, B.D. *A.O.* iv, 424. Archd. of Chichester, 1672
 1679 JOHN PATRICK, D.D. *A.O.* iv, 292. PRECENTOR, 1690
 1690 JAMES SMITH, B.D. *Reg. Patrick*, fo. 8

Wilmington.

Rex dedit Decano et Capitulo Eccles. Cath. Cicestr. prioratum de Wilmington alienigenam, qui, ut dicebatur, fuit præbenda in eccl. predicta, que nuper fuerunt Abbatis de Grastino in Normandia, valoris cexl mare. per annum habendum durante guerra. *Pa. Ro.* 2 *Hen. V.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 67.
 Edward IV gave the Prebend to the Dean and Chapter to found two Chantries for the repose of the soul of his cousin Nicholas Mortimer. *Swayne MS.* 311. Bishop Sherberne refounded it as Bursalis Prebend

- 1397 ABBOT OF GRESTEIN (Normandy). *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix

Aisborough, or Grene.

Clarke MS. £280. Parl. Surv. £160. K. B. £6:6:0.

- 1345 DAVID DE WOLLERE. *Pa. Ro.* 19 *Edw. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6959, fo. 104 b. V. Hornsey, 1345; R. Bradley, 1330; Knaresdale; Foston; Bledelow, 1342; Elvele, 1349; Radly, 1355; Brington; Somersham, 1361; Leverington, 1361; St. Thomas', Bedford; Master of St. John's Hosp., Ripon, 1340; Preb. of Howden, Southwell; Ripon; St. Paul's, 1349; York, 1352
- 1346 PHILIP DE WESTON
ROBERT ALKERINGTON
RICHARD THOREN
- 1367 JOHN THOREN. *Pa. Ro.* 40 *Edw. III.*, p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 78 b. Warden of Bawtre
- 1389 GILES DE STOKELY al. Wenlock. *Pa. Ro.* 12 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 63
- 1397 WILLIAM LANGTON. *Reg. Rede*, xxix, 160 b. *Pa. Ro.* 2 *Hen. IV.* *MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 16 b. Preb. of Boseham
- 1415 NICHOLAS COLNET. Warden of St. Bartholomew's, Rye, 1413-20
- 1418 JOHN CROWCHER. DEAN
- 1441 JOHN DEEPDENE. R. Denham; Canon of Windsor; Registrar of the Garter, 1445; Preb. of Lincoln; Salisbury
- 1449 THOMAS WALKINGTON. *Pa. Ro.* 11 *Ric. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 111; 6962, fo. 58; 37 *Hen. VI.*; 6963, fo. 56. SUB-DEAN
JOHN CLOOS
- 1458 THOMAS MARSHALL. *Pa. Ro.* 37 *Hen. VI.* *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 56
IVO BARRETT
- 1478 RICHARD SWAYNE. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3, 68 b
- 1495 JOHN CHAMBERS. Residentiary, 1498
- 1521 RICHARD SHYRLEY. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. c. *Swayne*, 719
JOHN COSYN
- 1526 ROBERT BRACE. *Reg.* fo. 68
- 1526 JOHN NATE al. Nax. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 11 b. *Swayne*, 719
- 1537 THOMAS POWELL. *Swayne*, 718
- 1551 RICHARD TAYLOR, LL.D. *Cole MS.* xxxii, 58. Residentiary; Official of Diocese, 1534
- 1559 JOHN LOWE. *Reg. D. et Cap. Cantuar.* fo. 45 b
- 1563 WILLIAM MAWDESLEY al. Maddesley
- 1566 JOHN BRIGHT
- 1591 THOMAS BICKLEY, M.A.
- 1595 ROBERT BRICKENDEN al. Brizenden, M.A. F. Merton Coll. Oxf. R. Eartham, 1611
- 1609 WILLIAM HUTCHINSON. *Reg. G.* fo. 43 b. Archd. of Lewes
- 1660 GEORGE BENSON, D.D. Queen's, Oxf.; R. Cranley; Chatten; Patching, 1624; Preb. Worc. 1671; Master Ledbury Hosp.; Dean of Hereford, 1672; d. 1693. *Walker* ii, 14

West Wyttering.

Parl. Surv. £80. K. B. £20.

(This Prebend is attached to the Theological Lectureship founded by Archbishop Boniface, 1259.)

- 1259 JOHN DE ROGATE
- 1268 JOHN DE CORULETO. *Pa. Ro.* 46 *Hen. III.* *MS. Harl.* 6957, fo. 72 b. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* X, 120. Residentiary, 1271

WILLIAM DE RUFFO

RICHARD DE ARUNDEL

- 1305 ADOARDUS DE MONTE MARTINI. *Pa. Ro.* 32 *Edw. III.* p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 88 b; 6127, fo. 66
- 1383 MICHAEL CAUSTON, D.D. *Pa. Ro.* 13 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 83 b; 6973, fo. 34. Residentiary
- 1397 RICHARD ALKYNGTON al. Alkinston al. Alkerton. *Pa. Ro.* 20 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 113 b. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix, 160. Residentiary, 1402
- 1397 RALPH REPYNGDON. *Pa. Ro.* 20 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 112; 6962, fo. 9
- 1398 THOMAS BUTILLER. *Pa. Ro.* 21 *Ric. II. MS. Harl.* 6962, fo. 121. Dean of Windsor, 1403
- 14... WILLIAM AYSCOUGH. LL.D. Camb. Clerk of the Council; Preb. of Lincoln, 1436; cons. to Salisbury, 1438; murdered by a mob at Edyngden, 1450; buried there
- 1438 HENRY SEVER, D.D. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 3 b. *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 36. Warden of Merton Coll., Oxf., 1445; Chancellor of Oxford Univ., 1443; Provost of Eton, 1444; Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster; Preb., 1445; Chanc., 1449, of St. Paul's; d. 1471; buried in Merton Chapel
- 1478 GILBERT HEYDOCK. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3. *Pa. Ro.* 36 *Hen. VI. MS. Harl.* 6985, fo. 11; 6962, fo. 58, 70. King's Chaplain; R. Meonstoke; Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster; Windsor; Tamworth; Newton-in-Kedevern; Llansanvan
- 1481 THOMAS BARKER, D.D. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 17 b, 78. *Swayne*, 730
THOMAS WELLS
- 1517 JOHN ASLABY, D.D. 1506. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxviii b. *A.O. Fasti* ii, 17
- 1520 JOHN YOUNG. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. c. *Swayne*, 715. Cons. to Calliopolis. DEAN
- 1526 JOHN EDMUNDS, D.D. *Reg.* 69 b. *Swayne*, 729
- 1526 THOMAS ADISHEAD. *Reg.* 67 b, 68
- 1530 WILLIAM HOWE al. Hughes al. Howes, D.D. *Reg.* 71, 72. *Swayne*, 730. Chaplain to the king; V. Eastbourne, 1527; cons. Aurensis (Orense). *A.O. Fasti* iv, 6, 35
- 1537 ROGER DYNGLE, D.D. *Swayne*, 718, 720. Residentiary, 1538
- 1538 JAMES TUBERVILLE. *Swayne*, 719. Residentiary
JOHN TUCHENOR
- 1555 GEORGE BEAUMONT, B.D. *Reg.* fo. 106 b. Residentiary
- 1559 AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE. CHANCELLOR
- 1567 FRANCIS COX. *Act Book*, fo. 12. Residentiary, 1570
- 1573 HENRY BLAXTON, A.M. CHANCELLOR
- 1606 ROGER ANDREWES. CHANCELLOR
- 1609 JEROME BEALE, B.D. *Reg. G.* fo. 44 b
- 1628 WILLIAM HICKS. *Cal. State Paper*, fo. 257
AQUILA CRUSOE, B.D. R. Sutton
- 1660 DANIEL WHITBY, M.A. Brasenose, Oxf.; R. Preston Bisset, 1663; Theydon German; Præc. of Salisbury, 1572
- 1666 JAMES HERRING, M.A.
- 1673 GILES COLLYER, M.A. *Reg. Gunning*
- 1673 WILLIAM WATSON, LL.D. *Reg. Gunning*
- 1689 CONYERS RICHARDSON, M.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxf.; V. West Dean

Woodhorne, or Erlington.

Parl. Surv. £190. *Swayne.* K.B. £20:13:4.(Præbenda de facto unita sive annexa Cancellariæ. *Storey's Reg.* fo. 6.)

GILES DE AUDENARDO. V. Croydon, 1282; R. Charing; Preb. of Ripon; Canon of Dover



- 1305 JOHN al. Jordan MORAUNT. *Pa. Ro.* 33 *Edw. I.* p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6958, fo. 88 b. Envoy to France and Scotland; Constable of Bordeaux
PETER DE LUDESLEY. *Swayne*, 239
- 1353 JOHN DE BROUDERIA al. Bonaura. *Pa. Ro.* 26 *Edw. III.* p. i. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 1 b
- 1354 ADAM DE HILTON. *Pa. Ro.* 35 *Edw. III.* p. i. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 47 b
WILLIAM DE GUNTHORP. *Pa. Ro.* 45 *Edw. III.* p. ii. *MS. Harl.* 6960, fo. 111. Treasurer of Calais
- 1394 JOHN HASSELE. *Reg. Rede*, fo. xxix. *Pa. Ro.* 16 *Rich. II.* *MS. Harl.* 6961, fo. 97 b. DEAN. R. St. Michael's, Cornhill
- 1409 JOHN IXWORTH, LL.D. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 160, cviii b. Preb. of St. Paul's, 1418; Archd. of Worcester. Also A.D. 1441. *Reg. Praty*, fo. 74. Preb. of St. Paul's, 1431
- 1478 JOHN RIVERS. *Reg. Praty ad Calc.* *Reg. Storey*, fo. 3
- 1481 EDMUND Lychfield. *Reg. Storey*, fo. 68 b. CHANCELLOR
WILLIAM FLESHMONGER. DEAN
- 1518 EDWARD FYNCH, M.D. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxix, xxxii
- 1520 RICHARD RAWSON, D.C.L. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. xxxi. *Swayne*, 715
- 1538 THOMAS GRESHAM. *Swayne*, 719
- 1558 THOMAS STAPLETON, D.D. *Reg. D. et C. Cant.* fo. 42 b. F. of New Coll., Oxf.; the learned jesuit; dean of Hillverbeck; Prof. of Theol. Louvaine and Douai
- 1559 MILO BENDES
- 1563 WILLIAM OVERTON. TREASURER
- 1581 WILLIAM LEWEN, LL.D.
- 1598 MICHAEL GARDINER, A.M.
- 1601 HUMPHREY BOOTH, A.M. *Reg.* fo. 16. Residentiary, 1606
- 1616 THOMAS SERLE, A.M. *Reg.* fo. 70
- 1638 GEORGE AGLIONBY, D.D. Ch. Ch., Oxf., 1634; educated at Westminster; Master of Westminster School; Tutor to George Duke of Buckingham; Preb. of Westminster, 1638; Dean of Canterbury, 1642; d. 1643; bur. in Ch. Ch., Oxf. *Hasted iv*, 494
- 1660 WALTER JONES, D.D.
- 1667 HENRY THURMAN
- 1669 AUGUSTINE MEDCALFE
- 1672 WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D. F. St. John's, Camb., 1693; educ. at Oakham School; V. Ealing, 1640; St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1672; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1672; Canterbury, 1684; Archd. of Colchester, 1681; cons. to St. Asaph, 1704; d. 1707; bur. in St. Peter's, Cornhill. *Wood E. iii*, fo. 271. *A.O. iv*, 310-1

WICCAMICAL PREBENDS.

Bursalis de Wilmington.

Swayne, £3 : 16 : 8.

(Prebenda conferatur uni qui tunc erit vel aliquando fuit de Coll. B. M. Winton in Oxon. vel Winton. *Ordin.* fo. xvii b.)

- 1521 EDWARD MORE. Archd. of Lewes, 1527
- 1528 THOMAS SHELLEY. *Reg.* fo. 70
WILLIAM NORBURY. Archd. of Chichester, 1512
- 1529 GEORGE CROFT. *Reg. Fo.* 71, 72 b. *Swayne*, 729. CHANCELLOR
- 1531 WILLIAM LANGLEY, M.A. F.N.C., 1514; F.W.C., 1522. *Swayne*, 718.
R. Itchen Worthy; Arreton

- 1531 JOHN COLENS. *Reg. fo. 73 b. Swayne*, 718
 1536 JOHN RUGGES
 1539 WILLIAM HAYNS, B.D. *Swayne*, 719
 1550 THOMAS SAUNDERS, M.A. F.N.C. 1531. V. Heckfield
 1550 JOHN HARPSFIELD, D.C.L. F.N.C., 1534; Prince. of Whitehall, Oxford, 1544; *Reg. Prof. of Greek*, 1546; R. Langdon: Preb. of St. Paul's, 1554; Chanc. of Winchester dioc., 1553; Archd. of Canterbury, 1554; Official of the Arches, 1558; author of *Eccles. Hist. of the Church*
 1556 JOHN DALE, M.A.
 1568 WILLIAM HARWARD, M.A.
 1568 WILLIAM LONGFORD, M.A. F.N.C. 1520
 1568 JOHN BARKER, M.A.
 DANIEL GARDINER, M.A. Head Master, Bedford School; Residentiary, 1575; R. E. Wittering, 1585
 1593 HENRY BALL, D.D. F.N.C., 1573. PRÆCENTOR
 1603 WILLIAM THORNE, D.D. *Reg. H. fo. 21. DEAN*, 1603
 1604 AMBROSE SACHEVERELL, B.C.L. F.N.C. 1591. *Reg. H. 24 b. Walker ii, p. 14. R. Radcliffe, Todmarton; d. 1646*
 1660 WILLIAM PARSONS, D.C.L. F.N.C. 1622. *Walker ii, 420. A.O. iv, 231. R. Birchanger; V. Dunmow; R. Lambourne, 1661; d. 1671*
 1671 EDMUND COLES. F.N.C. 1636. *Wood E, iii, 271. R. Storrington and Preston*
 1692 WEELY CALE, M.A. F.N.C. 1678. *Reg. Grove, fo. 5. MS. Add. ii, 822. R. Storrington; Broughton; West Horsley, 1707*

Wyndham.

Clarke, £200. K.B. £9:16:8.

- 1521 THOMAS SPYRE. *Swayne*, 715
 1524 JOHN KENNEL
 1526 ANDREW SWYNAVE. *Reg. fo. 69 b*
 1527 ANDREW BURY
 1529 JOHN FOX. *Reg. fo. 71*
 1529 JOHN COLYNS. *Reg. fo. 71*
 1529 LAURENCE WOODCOCK, M.A. F.N.C. 1510. *Book B, fo. 39. Swayne, 729. Eastbourne, 1524; V. Boxgrove; V. Westdean, 1558; R. Sherinbury*
 JOHN HARPSFIELD
 1553 JOHN DURSTON, B.D. *Reg. fo. 95 b*
 WILLIAM HAYNS
 1555 THOMAS SAUNDERS, M.A. *Reg. fo. 59*
 1555 JOHN HORSEY, B.D. *Reg. fo. 61*
 1560 MILO MAY
 1577 RALPH EARLE
 1611 GABRIEL TEYNTOR, M.A. F.N.C. 1604. *Reg. G, fo. 61. Rymer viii, ii, fo. 248. R. Barlavington, 1627; N. Marden, 1610*
 NATHAN FIELD. F.N.C. 1619. R. Stanton, Co. Glouc.
 1666 HENRY COMPTON
 1670 JONATHAN COOK, B.C.L. F.N.C. 1662. R. Week; d. 1674
 1674 JOHN COX al. Cock. R. Pulborough, 1696; d. 1698
 1676 JOHN HARRISON, D.C.L., son of Sir Rich. Harrison. *Reg. fo. 12. Add. MS. 11822. F.N.C. 1669; R. Pulborough; Condale. A.O. iv, 551. Reg. Brid. fo. 14*
 1698 JOHN REYNELL, M.A. F.N.C. 1679. *Reg. fo. 5. V. Chesterton; Huntingdon*

Exceit.

Clarke, £200. *K.B.*

- 1521 LAURENCE WOODCOCK, D.C.L. *Reg. Sherb.* xxxiii. *Swayne*, 715
JOHN YONG
- 1525 JOHN EDMUNDS. *Reg.* fo. 68
- 1526 WILLIAM HOW. *Swayne*, 729
- 1527 JOHN CHAMPION. *Reg. D. et C.* fo. 11 b. *Reg.* fo. 69 b
- 1526 JOHN REDMAN. *Reg.* fo. 69 b
- 1523 WILLIAM LANGLEY, M.A. *Swayne*, 721. *Reg.* fo. 69 b
- 1532 WILLIAM FRIEND. *Swayne*, 719. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. 73 b. *Reg.* fo. 63 b
- 1555 THOMAS GRANT. *Reg. B.* fo. 101 b
- 1555 JOHN BOWYER, B.C.L. *Reg.* fo. 60 b
- 1556 WILLIAM DEVENYSHE, M.A. Merton; Prov. Queen's Coll. *Reg.* fo. 108 b. Oxf., 1534; R. Mildenhall, 1548; Canon of Windsor; d. 1558
- 1560 RALPH DEWEL
- 1567 THOMAS MAKYNG
- 1569 WILLIAM SKELTON
- 1573 ROBERT BEECHING
- 1578 EDWARD CULPEPPER, M.A. Preb. of Lincoln, 1580
- 1587 GEORGE SCOTT, M.A.
- 1611 ROBERT MOORE, D.D. *Reg. H.* fo. 62 b. R. W. Meon; Canon, Winchester
- 1639 EDWARD STANLEY, D.D. F.N.C. 1618. *Walker* ii, 15. Head Master, Winchester; R. Hinton, Mottisfont; Canon, Winchester, 1639
- 1662 LEONARD ALEXANDER, B.C.L. F.N.C. 1628; V. Barton Stacey, 1632; V. Collingbourne
- 1663 ROBERT MATHEW, D.C.L. F.N.C. 1649. R. Meonstoke
- 1696 JOHN THISTLETHWAYTE, M.A. F.N.C. 1679; F.W.C. *Reg.* fo. 14
R. Bradford Peverell

Bargham.

£70. *Clarke MS.*

- 1524 JOHN SWYNDELL
- 1525 THOMAS PYCKENHAM
- 1524 THOMAS GARETT. *Reg. Sherb.* ii, 98. *Swayne*, 729
- 1531 JOHN SWYNDALE. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. 73. *Swayne*, 717
- 1532 WILLIAM PYCKENHAM. *Reg. Sherb.* fo. 74; *Book B.* fo. 39. Master of St. James's Hosp., Seaford
- 1535 GEORGE SUTTON, B.D. F.N.C. 1514. *Reg.* 74 b. *Swayne*, 718
- 1562 JOHN RICHARDSON, B.A.
- 1588 JOHN PACKHARD, B.C.L. F.N.C. 1547; Dean of South Malling; Pagham; Terring. (*Stype's Parker* c, viii)
- 1612 HUGH BARKER, D.C.L.
- 1640 CHRISTOPHER TESDALE, M.A. F.N.C. 1612. *Walker* ii, 15. Preb. of Wells; R. Rolstone; Hurstbourne Tarrant
- 1660 JOHN RICHARDS, B.D. F.N.C. 1633; F.W.C.; V. Ashe; Wyke
- 1669 MOUNTJOY CRADOCK, B.A. F.N.C. 1631
- 1670 RICHARD GLYDD, B.C.L. *Reg. Brid.* fo. 12. *Wood E.* iii, 271. *Reg.* fo. 12 b
- 1692 SAMUEL PALMER, B.C.L. *Reg. Grove*, fo. 8. *Add. MS.* ii, 822. R. Trotton, 1694; Wickham

(Index to Names, see end of this volume.)

ON THE DEPOSIT OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

BY W. WHINCOPP, ESQ.

It is nearly seventy years since the discovery of flint implements at Hoxne, in Suffolk, by Mr. Frere, in connexion with geological deposits which gave to the discovery a novel and peculiar interest. The implements were found just below a stratum mixed with shells (which have since been ascertained to be derived from fresh water), about twelve feet from the surface, at the rate of five or six in the square yard; and were so numerous, that the man who carried on the works, before he was aware of their being objects of curiosity, had emptied basketsful into the ruts of the adjoining road. A full description of this singular deposit (with plates) will be found in the thirteenth volume of the *Archæologia* (p. 104). Hoxne is situated on the river Waveney, where a shifting of the locality of the stream has taken place. They are similar in type, rude workmanship, and material, to those found in the valley of the Somme, at Amiens, Abbeville, and St. Acheul, where also the site of the river's bed has been changed, and fresh water shells turned up.

That these implements were fluvatile deposits, I think there can be no doubt; and thus placed in safety below the waters, the very early tribes or inhabitants having no proper dépôt, or secure mode of disposing of them, when taken in conquest. The similarity of form and fabric is so exact in the specimens belonging to France and England, as to confirm belief in the historical accounts which represent that our first settlers crossed the sea from Gaul.

In 1841 M. Boucher de Perthes first began to collect flint implements. His volume of *Antiquités Celtiques* was published in 1847, and in 1858 Mr. Prestwich with Mr. Evans first explored the geology of the Somme valley. In these investigations, in which Sir Charles Lyell afterwards took part, upwards of a thousand flints have been obtained, not a few of which had their edges worn by being rolled in the river's bed. During all these excavations there has been an absence of human bones. In 1862 the Rev. Thomas Wilt-

shire communicated to the Geologists' Association the collecting of flints in the wolds of Yorkshire in considerable numbers; some from an ancient entrenchment at Fimber. These are undoubtedly of the same early age and fabric as those before mentioned, and have been ploughed up and found on the surface. Similar flints have been discovered in the Valley of the Ouse, near Bedford; and in the Valley of the Lark, Icklingham, Suffolk. Antiquities of all periods, as well as these early implements, have been found at and near Icklingham, Roman, Saxon, and mediæval. All these early implements are of the simplest make, being chipped and formed by some other stone. In the hands of an experienced workman a number would soon be produced. In the absence of other tools they were used for many domestic purposes.

"We have," says Sir Richard C. Hoare, "undoubted proofs from history, and from existing remains, that the earliest habitations were pits, or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees or sods of turf."¹ These dwellings usually formed villages, conveniently situated near streams or rivers, the habitations of the lords of the soil before the Roman occupation. Amongst the moorlands and wolds of Yorkshire, in spots where the spade and plough have not been in operation, upwards of forty British villages were described and inspected by Dr. Young of Whitby. Many early dwellings are likewise to be met with in other parts of England; some sunk in the chalk, where cultivation has not entirely obliterated them, which is the case in the eastern counties. The large tumuli and barrows which still remain, pertain to a much later era of our history; generally to the Roman and Saxon periods, when the use of bronze and iron became known.

At the Congress of the British Archæological Association, in 1864, at Ipswich, several of the flints discovered at Hoxne, more recently than the last century, were kindly lent by Lady C. Kerrison, and exhibited with some from St. Acheul presented to me by Mr. Prestwich, all apparently of the same age and form as those from Fimber. In 1843 some celts, or flint implements, were exhibited from my collection at the Archæological Institute meeting in London. These

¹ Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*.

were more carefully wrought, and several of them polished, but are of a later period of the flint age. They were found in Suffolk, on the surface, or turned up by the plough. Arrow-heads, likewise mentioned by Mr. Wiltshire, are more rarely to be met with. Mr. Fitch of Norwich possesses some fine specimens, exhibited at Ipswich, of this later Celtic period, which precedes that of bronze and iron.

Great geographical changes are admitted to have taken place on the earth's crust, from geological causes. How far the geological conditions may justify the opinion that these islands formed a part of the Continent since the habitation of man, is not easily determined. Our crag very much resembles that on the opposite side; but there it is unwashed and undisturbed. Our fossils correspond with those turned up at and near Antwerp, collected by Professor Van Beneden,—cetacean remains, large shark's teeth, and the tusks of the *trichecodon Huxlei*, of which my own collection furnishes also a specimen. The submergence of the land is shewn by the fossil remains of the *elephas primigenus*; and other extinct land quadrupeds are frequently dredged up many miles out at sea, off Norfolk and Suffolk. Some interesting specimens may be seen at the Sailors' Home, and many others are in private collections at Yarmouth. Again, the sea has retired from the land, as suggested in this passage:¹ "It is certain that an arm of the sea, which formerly overflowed the marshes between Yarmouth and Norwich, must have reached Burgh Castle, an extensive Roman fortification; and this may account for the anchors, etc., being found near it." The city of Dunwich with its numerous churches, and a great part of the town of Aldeburgh, stretched a considerable distance into the sea three hundred years since. Thus we have abundant evidence of processes in continual progress which would considerably diminish our contiguity to the Continent.

The fossils of the Suffolk crags are a singular mixture, derived from the breaking up of several strata. Extending inland upwards of ten miles, and along the coast from Aldeburgh to Harwich, are in abundance found those singular petrified nodules called "coprolites." They are covered by vegetable soil, sand, and gravel, varying in depth from three to nearly thirty feet. The crag in which they are de-

¹ Excursions in Norfolk and Suffolk.

posited presents an appearance very compact, and apparently undisturbed; partly composed of small portions of numerous shells, mingled in the sand and gravel with fossils washed from the London clay, which is immediately beneath, as well as from the chalk, only known to be in deposit at some miles distant; from the green sand, coralline crag, and other strata. The mystery of their accumulation is far more marvellous and sensational than the commingling of the bones of extinct animals with the flints in the drift of the post-pliocene period. These Suffolk fossils are more or less water-worn and polished by the action of the sea, and perfectly different in appearance from petrifications found in undisturbed beds. Immediately above this water-worn *débris* are numerous marine shells, most fragile and yet perfect; from which it may be inferred that the land where the crag exists was submerged for a considerable time, during which period it received this shell-deposit; and a subsequent upheaval has placed it in its present high position, long posterior to the grand submersion of the island beneath the waters of the glacial sea, mentioned by Sir Charles Lyell.¹

I have collected from and investigated these crags from the commencement of the diggings in 1845, and having lost no opportunity of obtaining specimens of the numerous and singular objects that have presented themselves, I have come to the conclusion that no human remains of any kind have been or will be found associated with them as geological deposits.

The diggings have, however, been the means of the discovery of several interments of the ancient Britons, which are usually found above the crag, consisting of the skulls of the ox and the boar, the horns and head of the deer, with calcined remains, trophies of the chase, with the ashes of the dead. No other animal bones but of the head are found, and these appear to be of now extinct species.

In January 1864 I forwarded to Mr. Prestwich some fossils from the crag. Of this gentleman Sir C. Lyell observes, that no one in England deserves to have more weight in regard to the antiquity of the implements which have given rise to my observations. In February of that year, in a lecture at the Royal Institution, Mr. Prestwich concluded in

¹ Antiquity of Man, chap. xiii.

these terms : “ He expressed his own conviction that we are not yet in possession of sufficient data to speak definitely of the age of these flint implements, and stated that he was almost satisfied that the evidence we have does not warrant the extreme length of time so frequently supposed.”

Soon after this declaration Sir Charles Lyell, who has expressed to me the interest he takes in the geology of the crag, in his address on the opening of the Congress of the British Association, as President, at Bath in 1864, observed : “ Archæologists are satisfied that in central Europe the age of bronze weapons preceded the Roman invasion of Switzerland; and prior to the Swiss lake-dwellings of the bronze age, were those in which stone weapons alone were used. The Danish kitchen-middens seem to have been about the same date; but what M. Lartet has called the reindeer period of the south of France was probably anterior, and connected with a somewhat colder climate. Of still higher antiquity was the age of ruder implements of stone, such as were buried in the fluviatile drift of Amiens and Abbeville, and which are mingled in the same gravel with the bones of extinct quadrupeds, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, bear, tiger, and hyæna. Between the present era and that of these earliest vestiges of our race yet discovered, valleys have been deepened and widened; the course of subterranean rivers, which flowed through caverns, has been changed; and many species of wild quadrupeds have disappeared. The bed of the sea, moreover, has in the same ages been lifted up, in many places hundreds of feet above its former level, and the outlines of many a coast entirely altered.”

ON ANTIQUITIES IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

BY THE LATE T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

(Read in 1865.)

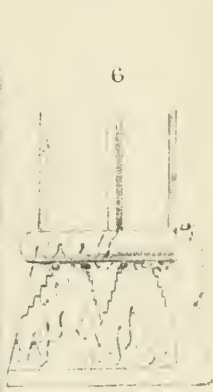
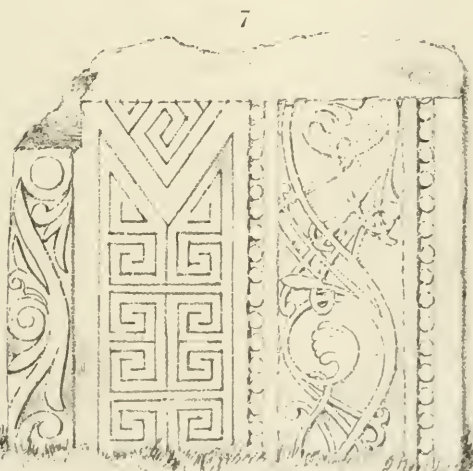
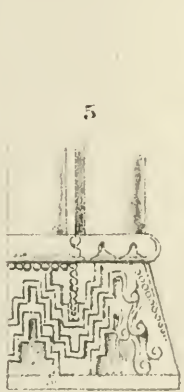
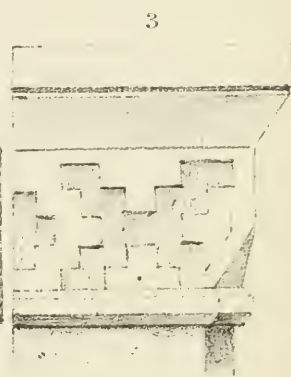
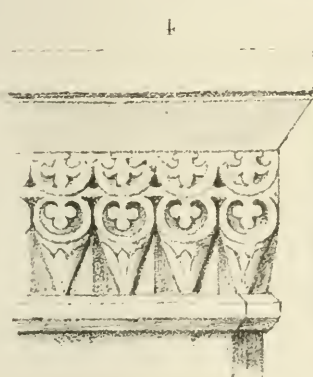
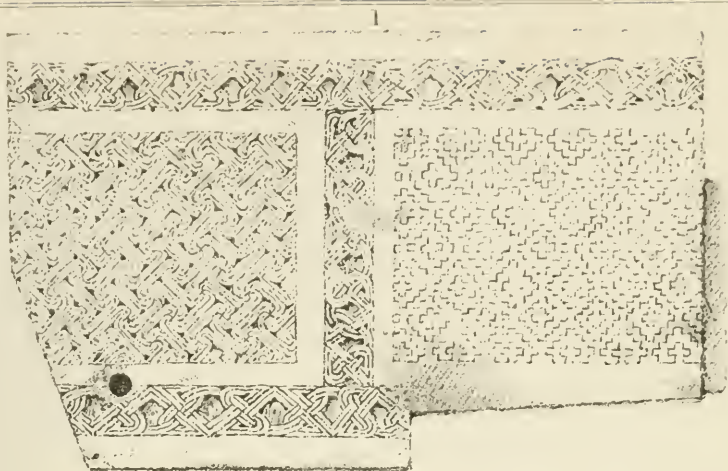
IN February 1865 our associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine, made to us a communication of some interest in regard to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, which seems to me to demand more extensive notice than that which has hitherto been paid to it; and I venture, therefore, to call the attention of the Association more immediately to the subject. It is a church more interesting from its antiquity probably than for its architectural beauties.

At our Annual Congress held at Salisbury in 1858, it was our good fortune to have the attendance of the Rev. William Hay Jones, M.A., the vicar of the church; and I had indulged a hope, from what passed on that occasion, that long ere this we should have been favoured with a paper from the learned gentleman on the subject. It has, however, been put upon record in the pages of the *Wiltshire Magazine*,¹ and well merits further publicity,

It would not be astonishing that in a neighbourhood where so many Roman antiquities have been discovered, Bradford should also furnish some memorials of the kind; but little has, however, been brought to light. It is true that some coins have been found in the upper part of the town called Badbury, which are of a late period, ranging from *Tetricus* to *Constantinus Junior*, as well as the *Urbs Roma*, thus bringing us down to the latter part of the fourth century. The name of Bradford is, however, pure Anglo-Saxon, simply signifying "broad-ford," i.e., over the Avon.

Bradford Church is situated on the northern side of Wiltshire, and exhibits many varied and distinct styles. It appears that, for a period of five hundred years, the manor of Bradford appertained to a religious house; and we have the authority of William of Malmesbury that a monastery was founded by Aldhelm at Bradford as well as at Malmesbury and at Frome, and that it was dedicated to St. Law-

¹ Vol. v, pp. 1-88, 210-255, 342-390.



From the collection of the Rev. J. C. Smith

On stone by W. C. Smith

Scale One Inch to the Foot.



rence. Mr. Jones conjectures its site to have been probably at the north end of the present church,—a spot still called the Abbey Yard. Stone coffins have been discovered here, giving conclusive evidence as to sepulture; and there are remains of early, if not pre-Norman, work exhibited in an arch which has been figured by Mr. Jones. A church is known to have been built at Bradford about the middle of the twelfth century, of which the present constitutes only a remain. The strong Norman features are nigh obliterated; yet Mr. Jones can see in the buttresses on the south side of the building, and in the outlines of the old windows in the chancel, and also in one part of the south wall of the nave, though long since blocked up with masonry, sufficient indications of the probable age of the church.¹

In the Rev. Mr. Jones's laborious researches in collecting materials for a history of Bradford, to which I have referred, he especially traces, from the close of the thirteenth century to the period of the Reformation, its gradually increasing prosperity, and connects it with what he calls the era of the Halls of Bradford; that is, of a family of that name of great wealth, and consequent influence, down to the commencement of the eighteenth century, when John Hall died. Of this family I gave some account at the Salisbury Congress, when we had the opportunity of visiting the remains of their curious mansion. I was fortunate enough also to obtain a drawing of another wall of the same description of architecture, now entirely demolished, and therefore living only by the engraving we have given in the *Journal*.²

In the reign of Henry III one Agnes, relict of Reginald de Aula, paid to Mary, abbess of Shaftesbury, the sum of twenty-five marks as a consideration for the rights of wardship and marriage over their children.³ The abbess Mary presided over the monastery from 1247 to 1252, which corresponds with the 30th to 36th of the reign of Henry III. The MS. whence this knowledge is obtained, is of the time of Henry VII, and is among a collection all written in the same hand, the originals being probably preserved some-

¹ P. 27.

² Vol. xv, p. 21.

³ "Charta concessionis quitclaim. et confirmacionis per Mariam Abbatiss. Shaston, facta Agneti relictæ Reginaldi de Aulâ et heredibus suis de custodia et maritagio heredum Reginaldi de Aulâ in manerio de Bradford." The sum mentioned as the consideration in the deed is thus stated: "Pro hac concessione predicta Agnes nobis dedit viginti quinque marcas sterlingor."

where for safe custody,—all relating to the possessions of the Hall family.

In the reign of Edward I, Bradford was distinguished by many large buildings; among others a large barn, known as Barton Barn, and figured in the *Wiltshire Magazine*,¹ conspicuous for the beauty of the Early English roof with which it is adorned. Aubrey fancied that he could trace out upon a part of this building, in 1670, a portion of the crest of the Halls in one of the gables, namely a hand and battle-axe.² Subsequent observers, however, have failed to confirm his conjecture. Whatever may have been the part taken in the erection of this edifice by the Halls, is not of much consequence beyond connecting with the same period the lengthening of the chancel of the present church of Bradford; the insertion of the large east window, the tracery of which has been restored; and two recessed tombs, one on the north and the other on the south side,—the former containing the figure of a female, the latter that of a cross-legged knight. Of whom they are effigies is quite uncertain. A Reginald Halle in 1420 (7th Henry VII) provided for the endowment of a chaplain to serve at the altar of St. Nicholas in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Bradford.

But to return more particularly to the church itself. It now consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, a tower at the west end, a small chantry chapel at the south-east corner of the nave, and a south porch. Mr. Jones thinks the chancel was lengthened, and the east and north-east windows inserted, in the fourteenth century, as in this portion we have characteristics of Decorated architecture. The tracery of the window and other features of the structure, probably the addition of the present tower to the church, must be assigned to the next century; at the end of which also, or early in the sixteenth, the north aisle may have been added. Shortly after a chantry chapel was built, known as the "Kingston aisle,"³ and conjectured by Mr. Jones to have been at the expense of some of the members of the Hall

¹ Vol. v, p. 32.

² The arms of Hall are, *sable*, three battle-axes *argent*.

³ The "Kingston aisle" is a small chapel measuring only sixteen feet in length by twelve feet and a half in width. It is built at the south-east angle of the nave. The name owes its derivation to the Duke of Kingston's family, of whom the Halls were the maternal ancestors. It is, at this day, kept in repair by the owner of Kingston House. It does not appear to have ever been used as a mortuary chapel.

family, they having been the proprietors of the mansion house called by that name at this period.

The evidence of Norman date is most distinctly observable in the chancel, both exteriorly and interiorly. A plain flat buttress, scarcely more than the thickening of the walls, gradually ending in a gentle slope below the parapet, is conspicuous. The semicircular-headed windows also retain Norman features, and two appear to have been on each side. Traces of illumination have been found on the walls, with scrolls bearing different inscriptions. Portions of the creed could be made out: "Credo in Deo Patrem Omnipotentem," etc. The stone work, which was in great decay, has been restored, various paintings in oil on wooden panelling removed, and painted glass, executed by the Messrs. O'Connor, has been placed in some of the windows.

The chancel is about forty-eight feet in length and twenty in breadth, and here were numerous monumental memorials. The two recessed tombs with effigies, before mentioned, are in the body of the wall. In one case the ornamental work had been destroyed, and the recess filled up, so that the mason could attach a slab to the wall. On this is presented a female effigy in a costume regarded as of the time of Edward I, between 1280 and 1300. The head of another female, of similar costume, remarkable by the wimple, was discovered by the workmen in the wall of the porch. This is the figure referred to and drawn by Mr. Irvine (see plate 9, fig. 2), but there exists no means of completely establishing the identity of the individual. Fortunately, however, Mr. Jones comes to our aid by his conjectures. He shows that, as early as the thirteenth century, the Hall family were important persons at Bradford, and rendering great services to the locality. Residing there, it would indeed be remarkable should there not be found some memorial in the church relating to them. Now the costume of the figure which Mr. Irvine has drawn is of the middle of the thirteenth century, and it is at that time, 1247 to 1252, that we hear of Agnes, relict of Reginald de Aulâ, making consideration to the Abbess Mary to cede the rights of wardship. It is hence a fair probability that this is the effigy of Agnes de Aulâ.

We are equally in the dark in regard to the cross-legged knight, for the effigy is sadly mutilated, and but for the

remains of costume and some details of the canopy, we could not even hint at a time to which it pertained. This, however, must be taken as of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The name of Sir John de Holte occurs frequently in deeds of this time, and it is probable that the effigy belongs to this man of authority, who served the office of Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1314.

Great restorations and renovations have at different times been made in the church, and, in removing some of the panelling which covered the wall, two small recesses were discovered on the south side near the east end of the chancel; one of these is conceived to have been an aumbry, the other a piscina. It is, however, not easy to determine these points. These I have no intention to discuss. My object has been to shew the probability of the effigy drawn by Mr. Irvine to be that of Agnes de Aulâ, and to put it forth as a very interesting specimen of the sculpture and costume of the latter part of the thirteenth century. It remains only to say that it had been turned with the face in the wall, from which position it has been removed, and is now inserted into the wall, where it is well seen.

Another object from the same church, to which Mr. Irvine draws attention, is the fragment of a stone slab about three feet seven and a-half inches long by two feet four inches wide (fig. 1, plate 9), found built into the south wall of the church as a lintel to the perpendicular door which opens into the south porch. Upon the face of the stone, about two inches from the edge, is a band of ornament, three inches wide, along both sides, and which no doubt, if the stone were complete, would have been found in a like form across its ends. A similar band crosses the stone, dividing it into two panels. The panels are filled with carved ornaments of a separate design for each. The ornament of the margin is of interlaced work, corresponding with what is so commonly found on the early Cornish, Welsh, and Irish crosses. The panels are carved with two kinds of fret work, and Mr. Gordon Hills feels pretty certain that the stone in question is a part of a flat tombstone, or of the top of an altar tomb of the Norman era, and that the panel, which has a round hole in its side margin, was the centre of the stone, one end panel being wholly destroyed. The fretted ornaments of the panels are less common than the interlaced work. That

which occurs in the panel suggested to be the centre one is an elaboration of a simple incised fret, much like what occurs on the stone (fig. 7), or on the capital from the church of the Nunnery at Clonmacnois, in Ireland, a work finished in 1167.¹ The fret in the end panel occurs very curiously on the side of the half pillar, or respond, at the west end of the north arcade of the church belonging to the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass, in Ireland, founded in 1151, and whose buildings were erected immediately afterwards (fig. 3). The front of the same capital (fig. 4) is given to show with what a very different class of ornament it was associated. A slightly more elaborate fret of the same kind occurs on a part of the base of the chancel arch to the church of St. Saviour at Glendalough (fig. 5), erected, as is almost certain, by St. Laurence O'Toole, Abbot of Glendalough, before his promotion to the see of Dublin in 1166. Another example from the same church is given at fig. 6. These examples seem to fix the date of the Bradford stone very satisfactorily in the twelfth century. We must, however, not fail to remember that Mr. Hills has shown that in Ireland the interlaced work, though originating in very early times, continued to be used down to a very late period. The late examples, he tells us, are generally in small pieces, and applied in a capricious manner, as the two panels cut on the inside jamb of the tower door of the Augustine priory at Cahir, in Tipperary. Corbels in the chancel of Holy Cross abbey have a similar ornament, and fantastic scraps of it are cut on the tower piers at Hore abbey, Cashel, and the font at Clonard; all these being of the fifteenth century.

The stone, fig. 7, is from the churchyard of the ruined church of Ardpatrick, in the county of Limerick. Its ornaments are all formed by slightly sinking away the surface of the stone between them. It is now applied as the head-stone to a grave. It is two feet four inches wide, one foot five inches thick, and one foot ten inches out of the ground. The original purpose of it is obscure. All the figures on plate 9 are drawn to the scale of one inch to a foot.

¹ A cut of this capital, from a drawing by Mr. G. M. Hills, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ROMAN ARMS IN BRITAIN,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSITION OF THE
NORTHERN FRONTIERS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

BY J. HODGSON HINDE, ESQ.

THE meeting of the British Archæological Association at Durham, within the ancient territory of the great British tribe, the Brigantes, who occupied so important a position in the early history of the island, appears to me to afford an appropriate opportunity for considering the question of the boundary between the Roman province and those Caledonian tribes which never acknowledged the imperial authority. To this point I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to confine myself; but I have found it difficult to make my subject intelligible without prefacing my remarks with a slight sketch of the progress of the Roman arms from the first invasion of Britain to the advance of the legions under Agricola beyond the Brigantian territory.

The British tribes with which Julius Cæsar came into hostile collision during his two brief campaigns in the island, were—*first*, the inhabitants of the “maritime tract,” which he defines as lying between the sea (that is the British Channel) and the Thames; and *secondly*, the subjects of Cassibellaunus. The occupants of this “maritime tract” are described as colonists from Belgic Gaul; the people of the interior as indigenous. Some writers have assumed that the Belgæ had dispossessed the original population of all, or the greater part, of the sea-board of the island; but this hypothesis is not countenanced by Cæsar, who expressly limits his definition of the “maritime tract” to the portion of the coast here indicated; which was, indeed, all of which he had any personal knowledge.¹ From Ptolemy we learn that there were in this district four tribes, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Belgæ; and this exactly corresponds with the number of kings who are mentioned by the imperial writer,

¹ “Summa imperii bellicue administrandi communi consilio permisse Cassibellauno cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod adpellatur Thamesis a mari circiter millia posuum LXXX.”

—not, as many commentators have alleged, in Cantium, but in the maritime regions of which Cantium was a part.¹ Cantium seems to have been nearly identical with the modern county of Kent, but extending a little further westward, as we find Londinium enumerated amongst its towns; situated, no doubt, near to the site of our present capital, but on the Kentish, or, as we should now say, the Surrey side of the Thames. The subjects of Cassibellaunus, situated on the north of the Thames, at a point where that river is eighty miles from the sea, answer precisely as to position to the *Καττευχλανοι* of Ptolemy, the *Κατουελλανοι* of Dion Cassius. The first campaign was limited to a very small district of Kent, adjacent to the landing-place where the invading fleet lay; but the opposing army was furnished by several states, whose chieftains (*principes*) are described as seeking Cæsar's protection after his first success, and turning against him after the disaster which disabled his transports. The league probably extended to all the Belgic states; but was not joined by Cassibellaunus, so far as we are informed, till the second campaign, when he was chosen commander-in-chief of the British forces. Up to this time he had been engaged in continual wars with his new allies.

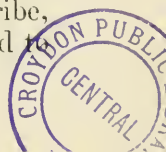
In the second campaign Cæsar traversed the whole length of Kent and a portion of the territories of the Atrebates and Regni, crossing the Thames at the point where that river first becomes fordable, into the country of the Catuellani, whose capital he assaulted and took. To the eastward of this people lay the Trinobantes, who had been subdued by Cassibellaunus; their king, Idumantius, slain; and his son, Mandubricius, driven into exile. This young prince fled to Gaul to seek the protection of the Roman commander, whom he accompanied to Britain. The defeat of Cassibellaunus opened the way for the elevation of Mandubricius to the throne; and when the former tendered his submission, Cæsar commanded him to refrain from molesting Mandubricius or the Trinobantes. How long this mandate was respected after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, it is impossible to say; but there is no doubt that in the reign of Augustus the Catuellani and Trinobantes were under the same sovereign. That the former were the dominant people may be

¹ "Dum hæc in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad *Cantium*, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerunt."

inferred from the fact that the Dobuni, who adjoined them to the west, are described in the next age as subject to the Catuellani, not to the Trinobantes. We are told that after the defeat of Cassibellaunus, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi sent ambassadors, and offered submission to Cæsar. If these are the names of distinct tribes, all of them have escaped the notice of Ptolemy; unless, indeed, the Cenimagni are identical with the Simeni or Icenii, who lay to the north and east of the Trinobantes and Catuellani. It is probable that the others were only the inhabitants of provinces, towns, or villages of the Trinobantes, of whose submission, in the absence of more important results, Cæsar can hardly be blamed for making the most. That none of them could reside at any great distance from his head-quarters, is evident when we consider how short a time there must necessarily have been for the despatch and arrival of the ambassadors. The little that we know of the affairs of Britain during the reigns of Augustus and his two immediate successors, points to the conclusion that the four maritime states had, through their connexion with the Gaulish provinces, become submissive allies of Rome; whilst the Catuellani had maintained their independence, and increased their power; dominating not only over the Trinobantes, but the Dobuni, and probably other states, as Cunobellinus, whom we know from numismatic evidence to have reigned in these parts, is dignified by Tacitus with the title of king of the Britons. Caligula also founded a claim to the sovereignty of the island, on an alleged cession made to him by Adminius, a fugitive son of this potentate.

In the succeeding reign of Claudius the ambitious project of the first Cæsar, for the subjugation of Britain, was renewed under more favourable auspices, and with ultimate success. The expedition, under the command of Aulus Plautius, sailed from Boulogne; but does not appear to have taken the direct route to the opposite coast, but to have made for one of the more western ports, which the intercourse of more than half a century had doubtless made familiar to the Roman mariners; for we are told that the troops, harassed by contrary winds, were reassured by the appearance of a meteor which traversed the heavens from east to west, in the direction of their voyage. It is not, indeed, surprising that the Roman officers should have preferred to

disembark their troops in one of the sheltered havens of Hampshire, rather than on the open beach at Deal or Dover, although it involved what appeared to them a tedious coasting voyage. The line of march through the country of the Dobuni, towards Camulodunum, as described by Dion Cassius (our only authority for the details of the expedition), is strongly confirmatory of this view; and although it has been objected to him, that he wrote two centuries after the events he records, his narrative seems to have been derived from authentic materials, and even his errors to be of a kind into which an eye-witness might readily have fallen. We cannot, indeed, believe that the Britons escaped pursuit by fording the estuary of the Thames; but we can readily understand that the invading army may have mistaken for the Thames the vast expanse of water which lay between them and Camulodunum at high tide, known at this day as the Blackwater, and yet that the natives had no difficulty in fording it at the ebb. No doubt this involves the assumption that the legions must already have crossed the Thames without knowing it,—a supposition quite untenable if they had followed in the footsteps of Julius Cæsar through the district of Kent, but which admits of easy explanation if their starting-point was on the margin of the Southampton water. From hence their course would be through the territories of the Dobuni, some miles to the east of their capital, Corinium, the modern Cirencester. On this route they would have to cross—and, in fact, we are informed they did cross—a river of formidable dimensions, and, when swollen, impassable except by swimming. The name of this river is not mentioned by our historian; but if in this particular district it was known then, as now, under the title of the Isis, it is not extraordinary that his informant failed to identify it with the Thames, and supposed that the latter still lay between him and Camulodunum. This, at all events, is more probable than the solution offered by Horsley, that the army had strayed so far from its course as to approach the Severn, and actually crossed that river only to retrace its steps to the banks of the Thames. On this assumption also it is easy to understand that the section of the Dobuni, who entered into terms with the Romans, were those on the south bank of the Isis; whilst the remainder of the tribe, secure, as they supposed, beyond the rapid flood, adhered to



the Catuellani in a resolute defiance of the invader. In the new campaign (A.D. 44), under the Emperor Claudius in person, Camulodunum, the chief town of the Trinobantes (adopted by Cunobellinus as the capital of his extended dominions) was taken; and the country, which had been overrun in this and the previous year, was formed into a Roman province, and entrusted to the charge of Plautius, with orders to complete the conquest of the island.

The information which we derive from Dion Cassius respecting the affairs of Britain, closes with the triumph of Claudius, and an unfortunate hiatus in the annals of Tacitus extends over the next five years. In this interval, as we read nearly in the same words in Suetonius and Eutropius, the future Emperor Vespasian, who held a command under Claudius himself, and afterwards under Plautius, subdued two of the most powerful nations in Britain, together with the Isle of Wight. These conquered tribes, from the way in which they are mentioned in juxtaposition with that island, would appear to be the Durotriges and Dumnonii, who occupied the south-western promontory from the limits of Hampshire to the extremity of Cornwall, and lay to the west of the Belgic tribes, as the Isle of Wight did to the south. This conquest virtually extended the Roman power over all the south of Britain, from the Severn on the west to the Wash on the east, with the exception of the territory of the Simeni, who occupied the present counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and this people entered into a voluntary alliance with the Romans. A similar treaty must already have existed with the Brigantes, under the provisions of which the domestic dissensions of that people were, as we afterwards learn, made matter of imperial concern. Between the Brigantes and the line indicated above as the boundary of the Roman power, lay a considerable tract of country inhabited by two tribes, the Cornavii and Coritani, of whose relations with the invaders we have no information, and of whom historians make no mention; unless, indeed, as we may conjecture from their geographical position, the Cornavii of Ptolemy are the Cangi of Tacitus. Under the guidance of the latter we recover the lost thread of our history, A.D. 50. A new governor, Ostorius Scapula, had recently succeeded to Plautius, who found affairs in the greatest confusion, the states in alliance with the Romans having been

overrun by hostile tribes, whilst the fidelity of some of those who had previously submitted was little to be relied on. Having cut to pieces or dispersed all those who were actually in arms, he determined effectually to restrain those of whose loyalty he was suspicious. With this view he erected a chain of fortified posts from the Severn to the river Antona, which I cannot but identify with the *Tris-Antona Fluvius* of Ptolemy, the river Test, which discharges itself into the Southampton Water. Such a barrier would completely command the recent conquests of Vespasian, the Durotriges and Dumnonii; restraining their invasions into the Belgic territory, and at the same time isolating them from their kindred tribes in other parts of Britain. It is not extraordinary that this proceeding excited the hostility and alarm of the Iceni, themselves the inhabitants of a district which afforded facilities for even more complete isolation. In league with the adjacent tribes, amongst whom we must necessarily include their immediate neighbours, the Cornavii and Coritani, they raised the standard of revolt, only to add another to the triumphs of the Roman arms. The Iceni were, however, allowed to retain a domestic government under their own king for a few years longer, till the death of Prasutagus, and were not finally incorporated with the Roman province till the suppression of the rebellion headed by his widow, the celebrated Boadicea.

Ostorius in the meantime led his army against the Cangi, whose position towards the Irish Sea suggests their identity with the Cornavii. His progress, however, in this direction was arrested by the intelligence of disturbances amongst the Brigantes, which were vigorously and speedily suppressed, and an intimate alliance established with that people. So long as this lasted, the great extent of the Brigantian territory, extending as it did from sea to sea, afforded a secure boundary to the Roman province to the north, but the country to the west, which afterwards constituted the principality of Wales, was yet unconquered. This was possessed by three tribes, the Ordovices, Silures, and Demeti, of whom the Silures were especially distinguished by the intrepid resolution with which they repelled all attempts to subdue them. At their head was Caractacus, the last surviving son of Cunobellinus, and so formidable was his power that before risking a conflict with

him, Ostorius thought it necessary to take effective measures to secure the territory already acquired, that it might be a means of strength, rather than a source of anxiety during his absence. Of this territory he formed a part only into a Roman province; another portion he erected into a tributary kingdom, over which he placed a native prince on whose fidelity he had reason to rely, and whose subsequent conduct justified his selection. This prince was Cogidumnus, the occurrence of whose name, although in a somewhat mutilated state, in the celebrated Chichester inscription seems to point out Regnum as the capital of his kingdom, and the Regni as a portion of his subjects, amongst whom were probably included the three other Belgic states. Such an arrangement would imply an acknowledgment of the claims which this people had established on the forbearance of the invaders. However hostile the Belgæ had shown themselves at the time of Julius Cæsar's expedition, we have no reason to suppose that they offered any opposition to the ambitious projects of Claudius, but may rather infer that he found them submissive allies, and it would have been an ungracious act to have forcibly deprived them of their nominal independence, by uniting them under the immediate government of the empire, with the neighbouring tribes, whose persevering resistance, or, as the Romans might consider it, obstinate malignancy, had cost so much bloodshed, and caused so much trouble and anxiety. At the same time the object of Ostorius was as well served by the establishment of one strong government in the place of four petty states, under a leader on whose fidelity he could rely, whether he ruled with the title of king or of lieutenant. Nor did very many years elapse before the ostensible kingdom was merged under the common authority of the empire; for though Tacitus mentions the reign of Cogidumnus as within his own memory, he speaks of the expedient of ruling through the agency of a native prince as belonging to the past, and we may infer that the dynasty of Cogidumnus began and ended with himself. The former dominions of Cunobellinus formed the nucleus of the new province, and the capital Camulodunum was converted into a colony, the settlers in which were *emeriti* of the Roman legions, who cheerfully undertook the defence of their adopted country. Having thus

provided for the maintenance of tranquillity behind him, Ostorius marched against Caractacus. The resistance of the Silures and their allies was worthy of their reputation, but ultimately Roman strategy prevailed, and Caractacus, utterly routed, sought refuge with Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, who surrendered him to his conquerors. Neither the capture of Caractacus, however, nor the alliance of the Brigantes was productive of permanent peace. The Silures renewed their aggressions with equal audacity and greater success than before, whilst the Romans had to sustain a bloody war to protect Cartismandua from a revolt of her own subjects, whose feelings she had outraged by her reckless and abandoned conduct. Meanwhile the disastrous insurrection of Boadicea took place, in which the colony of Camulodunum was destroyed, and the cities of London and Verulam sacked and pillaged; and when this outbreak was put down, the insubordination of the Silures and the dissensions of the Brigantes still retarded the establishment of tranquillity. The Silures were finally subdued by Julius Frontinus in the reign of Vespasian. His predecessor Petilius Cerealis had been engaged in sanguinary conflicts with the Brigantes, over whom, as far as we can collect from the somewhat obscure expressions of Tacitus, he gained repeated victories, but failed to bring the war to a termination. Frontinus, as we have seen, was occupied elsewhere, and the subjugation of this powerful tribe was incomplete, when the reigns of government passed into the hands of the renowned Agricola. His attention, however, was first directed to a formidable insurrection of the Ordovices, which he promptly put down, and severely punished the offenders. His next exploit was the conquest of the isle of Anglesea, undertaken some years before by Suetonius Paulinus, under whom Agricola was then serving, but relinquished on the outbreak of the great rebellion of the Iceni. The entire island up to the frontiers of the Brigantes was now by conquest or arrangement under the control of the Romans, and the next year was devoted to the reduction of this tribe, and probably the Parisi, who dwelt amongst them, and thus all Britain so far as it was known to the invaders, now acknowledged their supremacy. The biographer of Agricola correctly represents the next campaign as opening out new nations. The victorious general

carried out his devastations as far northward as the Tay, although the district actually secured and added to the Roman province in this and the succeeding season was bounded somewhat more to the south by the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and the intervening isthmus which he fortified with a chain of forts. The succeeding campaigns of Agricola have been illustrated by much able research, and had it been otherwise it is not within the limits which I have assigned to myself in this paper to follow this illustrious commander in his triumphs further north. Had his government been continued for a few years longer, it is probable that he would have completed the subjugation of the island to its furthest extremity, and even have realised his day-dream of the conquest of Hibernia, which he looked upon with longing eyes from the Epidian promontory opposite. His biographer, indeed, claims for him the complete conquest of Britain, and tells us that he handed over his province in peace to his successor; but this can only be understood as regards its effective occupation of the country within the line of forts. That this frontier was maintained up to the time of Hadrian, there is no reason to doubt; for although historians make no special mention of the affairs of Britain during the intervening period, we have the express testimony of Tacitus, who wrote in the immediately preceding reign of Trajan, that in no instance up to that time had any fortress erected by Agricola, even when it stood solitary and unsupported, been taken, surrendered, or abandoned. Least of all are we to assume an exception in the case of a series of forts, planned and carried out on a system of mutual co-operation and protection. Neither do I think it certain that Hadrian himself surrendered any territory when he erected his great rampart nearly one hundred miles further south from the Tyne to the Solway. To form a correct judgment on this question, it may be well to consider the exact position of the five states which occupied the intermediate country, respecting whose relations with the imperial government considerable light is thrown by a passage in Pausanias, to which we shall have further occasion to refer under the next reign. From this author we learn that neither these five states, nor even their southern neighbours, the Brigantes, although subject and tributary, were incorporated in the Roman province.

On the contrary, the several tribes not only regulated their own domestic affairs, but even raised troops and carried on wars with each other. The disturbances which brought Hadrian to Britain do not appear to have originated with the barbarians beyond the Friths, but with those subject states, who "refused any longer to be kept in subjection." To restrain these, fortresses, built at their very extremity and liable to be cut off from supplies and communication with the south, would be of comparatively little avail. If indeed the emperor had withdrawn his garrisons altogether from the country beyond the southern wall, it would have looked like an abandonment of territory, but such was far from being the case, for whether the forts across the further isthmus were maintained or not, we know that there were strongly fortified outposts twenty miles beyond the southern rampart. Such were the stations of Bremenium on the great eastern road and Blatum Bulgium on the western, both of which we learn from the evidence of inscriptions were occupied during the reign of Hadrian. The testimony of these unerring witnesses is so very much stronger, in consequence of recent discoveries, than it was in the time of Horsley, that I cannot but think that if it had been presented to his eye in its present completeness,¹ it would have modified his views in several particulars; especially if he had seen the precise conformity of the frontier forts as they existed in the reign of Hadrian, and the commencement of that of Antoninus Pius, with those exhibited in the Antonine Itinerary, he would not have hesitated to attribute the compilation of this most important document to the early years of the latter emperor, previous to the fortification of the northern isthmus by Lollius Urbicus, rather than to the reign of Caracalla. The true date of the Itinerary is a matter of such deep interest to the student of Romano-British history that I should have been glad to have gone a little further into the evidence bearing upon this question, but that I am constrained, in order to avoid too great prolixity, to confine myself rigidly to the immediate subject of my paper. Pausanias, a contemporary historian, to whose narrative reference has already been made, informs us, that under Antoninus Pius the Brigantes were

¹ See Dr. Bruce's paper on Bremenium in the *Archæological Journal*, and the Roman chapter of Wilson's *Prehistoric Antiquities of Scotland*.

deprived of a portion of their territory, as a punishment for a hostile incursion into the country of the Genuni, who were tributary to the Romans. The true motive probably was a desire permanently to annex to the Roman province the important city of Eboracum, of which they already had military possession, and which formed the key to the communication between southern Britain and the northern frontier, as well by the eastern as the western route. No such tribe as the *Genuni* is noticed either by Ptolemy or any other authority, and there is little doubt that the word is a mistranscript of *Gadeni*, the name of a people immediately adjoining the Brigantes to the north, and occupants with the Otadeni, Selgrove, Novantes, and Damnonii of the tract of country which lies between the wall of Hadrian and the forts of Agricola. In this reign the northern isthmus was again fortified by Lollius Urbicus, not merely, as before, by a chain of military posts, but by a continuous earthwork, with garrisoned stations at short intervals. As the abandonment of the forts in this line, if indeed they were abandoned by Hadrian, did not necessarily involve the relinquishment of territory, neither are we necessarily to infer that the strengthening of the outer defences implied an extension of the limits of the empire, especially when we remember what Eutropius, writing in this reign, says of his imperial master, that "he was more studious to defend than to enlarge his dominions." Neither does the evidence in our possession, as far as it goes, justify us in asserting that the northern defences were in substitution, but rather in addition to those already existing, for we have traces of Lollius Urbicus at Bremenium; and inscriptions of Antoninus Pius in more than one of the mural stations of Hadrian. The more I consider the subject the more I am inclined to concur in the matured conclusion enunciated by Dr. Bruce, "that the Antonine vallum was but an outwork of the greater effort of Hadrian." The former, indeed, however impregnable it might be made throughout its entire length, was totally inefficient against an enemy in possession of a few boats in which to transport themselves across the Frith at either extremity, and who, unless checked by a second barrier, might carry their devastations into the very heart of the province. Agricola had provided against this contingency by stationing a fleet in either

estuary, but we have no reason to believe his successors adopted any such precaution. During the two following reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, there was much fighting in Britain. In the former the enemy "was overcome after much labour and toil." In the latter the Caledonians appear not only to have passed the rampart of Antoninus, but to have broken through that of Hadrian also, but they were ultimately driven back by Marcellus Ulpius, and leisure was afforded to the troops, to engage in domestic seditions, which continued through the reigns of Pertinax and Julian, till the great contest for the empire, in which Severus was ultimately successful, and Clodius Albinus, the general commanding in Britain, was his most formidable competitor. The forces which supported the latter were in a great measure drawn from this island, and a temptation was offered in their absence to the northern hordes to renew their incursions, which became ultimately so formidable, that Severus himself, accompanied by his two sons, and an immense military force, came over to Britain. He not only drove the enemy beyond the rampart of Antoninus, but overran all the country to the extremity of the island, and yet after all his labours and with all the experience which he had gained, he found it his true policy rather to strengthen the barrier of Hadrian than to restore the defences of his successor.

The chastisement, however, which he had inflicted on the barbarians, appears, so far as we can gather from the silence of historians, to have deterred them for many years from a renewal of their incursions. Meanwhile additional security was attained by a politic movement of the Emperor Probus, who, having defeated the Vandals and Burgundians, transported a large body of them as settlers to Britain, thus converting the inveterate enemies of the empire in one quarter into its defenders in another. At length, after the lapse of ninety years from the death of Severus, we hear of renewed invasions of the Caledonians, of the imminent peril of the province, and of its deliverance by the emperor in person. There is a striking coincidence between the career of Constantius in Britain, and that of Severus. The former was accompanied by his son Constantine, as the latter had been by Caracalla and Geta. Both emperors came over to suppress outbreaks, both were eminently successful, and were

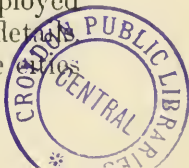
hailed as deliverers; and both ended their days, not only in the island, but in the same Brigantian city of Eboracum; both by a peaceful death. After surviving many perils and hardships of war, Constantine again left the island soon after his accession to the throne, as Caracalla had done on the death of Severus.

Neither in this reign nor in the two following have we any evidence of a contracted frontier, although both under Constans and Constantius we have general statements of incursions of the Picts and Scots. Up to this time the balance of testimony and probability is certainly in favour of the assumption that the frontier of Agricola had never been deliberately abandoned by the Romans; nor had any territory to the south of it been held continuously by the Caledonians, although their desultory ravages had on many occasions extended far within it. In the reign of Valentinian, however, the Roman power in Britain suffered reverses unparalleled by any which had been sustained since the rebellion of Boadicea. A combined and sudden incursion was made by three native tribes, the Dicaledones, Vecturiones, and Attacotti, in alliance with the Scots from the neighbouring coast of Ireland, who succeeded in surprising the two principal military officers, and cutting them off, with the greater part of their forces. Overpowering all opposition, they marched to the very gates of London, which, if not already regarded as the capital of Britain, is described as a very ancient city, which had been honoured with the appellation of Augusta. This city was saved by the arrival of Theodosius, the greatest general of his age, who was despatched in haste by the emperor, after the failure of two other commanders who had been sent over in succession, to resist the progress of the barbarians. Having organized a considerable force, he took the field; and having in various conflicts defeated and dispersed the enemy, he compelled them to evacuate the country which they had overrun.

I will now give Horsley's summary of the events which followed, and the deduction which he draws as to the limits of the Roman power, which is unfavourable to the view that I have taken, and will then examine the original authority from which he derives his facts; and which, I think, hardly bears out either his statement or his inference. "Theodosius," he says, "marches afterwards from London with a

great army against the people; and, having driven them before him, he recovered the provincial cities and forts, which had been much damaged by the enemy. After this he repairs the cities and *prætenturæ*, and erects some new forts, and calls the province Valentia in honour of Valentinian.” “The learned Dr. Gale,” he adds, “thinks that this passage refers to the garrisons and forts that were between Glota and Bodotria; but I cannot say the matter is so clear to me, and am more inclined to think that our wall in the north of England, and the forts upon it, were the *prætenturæ* referred to. The *Notitia*, however, takes no notice of any forts on the north side of our wall in England, though it is well known the stations along the line of it are particularly mentioned there. In all probability it was owing to the success of Theodosius that the Romans were fully possessed of the wall, and all the stations upon it, at the time when the *Notitia* was written. I am very much of opinion that Severus’ Wall was the most usual boundary of the Roman province, because in the stations upon it and near it we find inscriptions belonging to several emperors, both higher and lower, which does not hold good with regard to the wall in Scotland. Sometimes the Caledonians even broke through this wall, and invaded the Roman provinces; at other times the Romans gained upon them, and had their stations further advanced than the wall; and sometimes they even recovered the northern wall. This hypothesis, in my opinion, suits best with the several accounts of the historians, and with the inscriptions and medals which have been discovered.”

No one who is acquainted with Horsley’s great work will accuse him, in any case, with the wilful misquotation of an authority, but in this instance he has certainly confused the statement of Ammianus Marcellinus so as to mystify both himself and his readers. In support of this assertion I will cite, as literally as I am able to translate them, the very words of Ammianus, so far as they have any bearing upon this question: “Having scattered and put to flight the invaders, Theodosius restored in their integrity the cities and forts which had suffered great damage, but which were constructed for permanent defence. Whilst thus employed a dire conspiracy was matured,” etc., etc. I omit the details. “The danger being entirely averted, he plenished the



and garrisoned forts, as we have said, and secured the frontier with guards and *prætenturæ*, and thus restored the recovered province, which had been reduced under the power of the enemy, to its former state; so that at his instance it should both receive a legitimate ruler, and finally be called Valentia by command of the prince, who thus celebrated a sort of ovation." Now, so far as Horsley's argument is founded on this narrative, it rests on the assumption that Ammianus asserts that certain fortresses which were restored were on the frontier; in which case he proceeds to shew that the frontier of Vespasian must have been the rampart of Hadrian, and not that of Antoninus, inasmuch as we have no evidence of the existence of any forts at this period on the latter line, or, indeed, at all in advance of the other. A reference to the extracts above will shew that "the cities and garrisoned forts," upon the restoration of which Theodosius was employed both when the conspiracy was discovered, and after its suppression, and which were no doubt the *Notitia* stations, are not described as being on the frontier; but he did secure the frontier by guards (*vigiliis*) *ex prætenturis*. If *prætenturæ* signify fortifications of any kind, then undoubtedly such fortifications are stated to have existed on the frontier at this period, and the basis of Horsley's argument is sound, but not otherwise. It must not be disguised that Camden as well as Horsley adopts this interpretation of the word, and that their authority has been accepted by succeeding antiquaries. It is clear, however, that the question must be decided, not on antiquarian but on etymological grounds. The word *prætenturæ*, as far as I am aware, occurs in no other Latin author; but Camden derives it from the verb *prætendo* (to stretch forth); and if he is correct in this, his interpretation, "an advanced work or barrier," is consistent enough. There seems, however, something forced in the etymology, as it is not easy to account for the mutation of *d* in *prætendo* into *t* in *prætenturæ*; and our natural misgiving is not diminished when we find that another verb actually exists, *prætento*, the adoption of which as the root removes all difficulty. Now *prætento* means "to try or feel in advance, to grope, to explore"; and its derivative, *prætenturæ*, would naturally mean "explorers," identical with those *exploratores* whom we meet with in the *Notitia*. I should have felt some diffidence in

opposing my own interpretation of this word to one which had been so long accepted, and which had the sanction of such eminent names, had I not found my views supported by an authority which, on a question of this kind, possesses greater weight than that of either Camden or Horsley. I mean Robert Ainsworth, in whose dictionary the word *præ-tenturæ* is explained as "outguards of soldiers abroad, on the frontier, or in an enemy's country; to pickeen, and keep off alarms and inroads." Such were the *prætenturæ* stationed on the frontier by Theodosius; nor need we doubt that they patrolled the very line of the Antonine Vallum, although they have left behind them no remains of fortifications either of earth or stone. It is remarkable that we possess a list of the provinces of Roman Britain in the work of Sextus Rufus, written immediately before this great inroad of the barbarians, and another in the *Notitia*, some years after it, which corroborate the statement of Ammianus as to the erection of Valentia into a province at this particular period, and shew that it was a new erection, and not a mere change of name; for all the provinces enumerated by Sextus Rufus occur also in the *Notitia*, and Valentia in addition; confirming also the inference which we have drawn from the intimation of Pausanias, that up to this period the district between the barriers of Hadrian and Antoninus, though subject and tributary to Rome, had not assumed the form of a Roman province. Now, for the first time, it was entrusted to the charge of a civil governor; and such continued to be its position when the latest record of the imperial power in Britain, the *Notitia*, was compiled.

Such are the facts, so far as they can be gathered from historians and inscriptions, which bear upon the question of the northern boundary of the Roman power in Britain. But one ground remains to be stated, which seems to me to afford more conclusive proof than all the rest, that the five tribes immediately to the north of Hadrian's Wall continued in the long run, through every vicissitude, to be attached to their conquerors by the ties of civilization, rather than to the Caledonians by the ties of kindred; and it is thus that, after the final withdrawal of the imperial legions, the recognized line of demarcation between the unreclaimed Picts and the Romanized Britons was not in the latitude of the Tyne and Solway, but of the Forth and Clyde.

ON A ROMAN ALTAR DISCOVERED IN RESTORING THE PARISH CHURCH OF GAINFORD IN 1864.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A., PREBENDARY OF WELLS, ETC.

IN restoring the parish church of Gainford, in the summer of 1864, a Roman altar was found, which had been built into the south-east pier of the tower arch, and formed part of the capital. A portion of one side had been cut away so as to form the arc of the circular portion of the capital; but the other side of the altar remained untouched, and contained the figure of an eagle, in high relief, with a wreath in the beak, on the portion of the side between the capital and the base of the altar. The capital of the altar is fluted, and upon the front surface, immediately below the capital, are the letters I. O. M. (the o being the most distinct) in the centre of the first line. Unfortunately a portion of the surface on the right hand side, as well as on the left, has had the chisel applied to it to fit the stone into position in the column, and thus some letters in each line of the inscription have been effaced. Immediately under the letters I. O. M., which form the first line, comes the word DOLYCHEN, with the first portion of the N, and renders the reading of the word "Dolychenus" (or rather "Dolycheno) certain.

We have, therefore, here an altar dedicated to "Jupiter Dolychenus," of which many examples exist; some found in this kingdom, and especially in the north of England. In the next line (the third) the first letter is cut away; but this is followed by a v, and what appears to be an L; and the word most probably is IVL., a contraction for Julius; which is followed by the word VALENTIN, the last letter, the N, having enough left to ascertain that it is an N; and the whole word, therefore, would be "Valentinus": and this third line contains the name of the dedicator, Julius Valentinus. In the fourth line the letters ORD are distinct, also CERISV. The fifth line presents no difficulty in the reading, and is clearly EX IVSSV IPSIVS, a form of expression which is found to prevail upon altars dedicated to the Dolychene Jupiter. The sixth line has the words POSVIT PRO SE ET, and the seventh commences with the word SVIS, followed

by some portions of letters which are illegible. The cutting of the stone has effaced the first letters of the eighth or last line; but the word (PR)AESENT may, I think, be read, and probably also an ET and RVFINO; but the remainder, I fear, is irrecoverable.

We have, therefore, here an inscription to the Dolychene Jupiter, consisting of eight lines, the greater part of which is clear, and beyond doubt; the remainder must be filled up on the authority of similar dedications, and so we shall arrive at the correct, or very nearly correct, reading of the whole. The first difficulty which the inscription presents is in the fourth line, where the letters ORD are read. As the stone is cut away on this side, a letter may have preceded the o. The Rev. Dr. M'Caul,¹ in whose hands I placed a copy of this inscription, seems to think the word may be ORDO, in the sense of "centurion," or *ordinarius*, or *ordinatus*. Thus we have (Henzen, N. 6773), ORDINATVS > IN LEG. IIII ("ordinatus centurio in legione quarta"). We find the letters ORD also in the inscription given by Dr. Bruce (*Roman Wall*, p. 196, 2nd edit.). The next letters, CERISV, may be interpreted in a variety of ways; but all that can be said with safety, appears to be that, together with the foregoing letters, they describe the rank or official position, or perhaps the native place, of Valentinus. Upon close examination of the inscription there seems to be a point or stop after OR, and another after D; in which case two words would be represented by these letters. Also in the word CERISV additional length is given to the upright stroke of the R; and the letter between the R and S, supposed to be an I, is doubtful, and may be an E. Dr. M'Caul conjectures the word to be a misspelling of the word CERASVNTIS, genitive of CERASVS, a town of Pontus, whence the cherry-tree was introduced into Italy; and that the reading may be ORTVS² (or ORIVNDVS) DOMO CERASVNTIS (E in the word CERESVNTIS being put for A); also on the stone the transverse stroke of the N seems visible after the v. This reading has, however, been doubted; and it is proposed to read CER as a contraction for CEREALIVM, and ISV for ISVRIVM; and the reading would then be OR(dinis) D(ecurionum) C(erealium)

¹ See *Brit. Rom. Inscript.*, p. 248, by Rev. J. M'Caul, LL.D. Toronto: H. Rousell. London: Longman, Green, & Co., 1863.

² Gruter, 410, i.

isv(rium). We have some authority for this reading, as Orelli¹ records three inscriptions found at Beneventum, in which he says, “memoratur dignitas municipalis alias inusitata.” In one is found PR. CER. LVRID.; in another, PR. CER. I. D. QQ; in a third, PRIMO. CER. I. D. QQ; and then lower,

HIC PRIMIS OB HONOREM CEREAL.

TESSERIS SPARSIS IN QVIBVS AVRVM,

etc. In a fourth inscription (3995) at Rome we find COH. VI. PR. CER. Orelli thinks this must have been a provincial office founded on the analogy of Cæsar’s *ædiles Cereales* at Rome; also that PRIMIS CEREALIS must be the title of the officer, as in all the four cases the person is different. A learned scholar, to whom I am indebted for this interpretation, suggests that Isurium might have had some office of the kind, which the present inscription records.

I am inclined to think that the first of these interpretations, which is the simplest, is nearest the truth, and the line, with least recourse to conjecture, may be read—

O. ORDINARIVS, OR ORDINATVS, CERESVNTIS.²

The next line contains an expression or formulary very common on altars dedicated to Jupiter Dolychenus. Montfaucon remarks this in giving examples of these altars, (vol. i, p. 49, 50, Paris edit. A.D. 1722): EX IVSSV IPSIVS. “By command of the God himself.” (See an insc. given by Gruter, p. xx, 6), where the expression is IVSSV DEI, FECIT. And another (see Orelli, Henzen’s Suppl., 6753.)

IVSSV IOVIS DOLICHENI.

Again, EX IVSSVE JVS. (See Muratori, vol. i, p. ix, 11.)

On the subject of such expressions as EX IVSSV, EX VISV, and the like, which frequently occur in Roman inscriptions, I find the following comment in Muratori:—

“Scilicet hic in somnis Jovem videre sibi visus est, qui aliquod petierat, puta vas, aut donarium quidpiam simile, templo offerendum. Idem significant formulæ aliæ in tabellis votivis occurrentes. ‘Ex jussa, ex imperio, ex precepto, ex monitis, visu monitus, etc., hoc est Dei alicujus. Quod si bonæ gentis phantasia ad ejusmodi somnia, et mandata se pigram ineptamque se prodibat sacerdotes

¹ 3992.

² See Henzen, N. 6773; also Gruter, *Suppl.* xv, p. 34, where the expression is “cento frumentarius.”

eorum miserti pro ipsis somniabant quæ Dii excuperent, ita ut vellet nollet populus ad oblationes impellerentur. Propterea in usu etiam fuit formula, ‘Pontificum monitis voto suscepto.’”

PRO SE ET SVIS, for himself and his family or dependants, or his soldiers under him, will need no comment, it being common to find offerings made by a person for himself and those with whom he was connected, and as some more letters may be (though without any certainty) traced on the stone, we may fill up the formula with DE. S. P., and perhaps an L, which would mean that the altar was erected at the *cost of* *Valentinus*, and of his own free will.

The last line seems to contain the name P(R)ÆSENS, the P and R, and part of the A being cut away; but if this reading is correct, which I think it is, and Dr. M'Caul reads these letters in the same manner, we have some clue to the date of the erection of the altar. I cannot do better than quote Dr. M'Caul's words, who has bestowed much pains on this inscription, of which I first sent him a careful copy, and then a photograph. He says, “I am inclined to think the last line of the stone must be read PRAESENTE ET RVFINO COS, which would fix the date to A.D. 153,” and adds, “if this be correct Rufino seems to have been cut RVFINO, or perchance RVF¹_NO. If, however, it is to be read PRAESENTE II ET, supply CONDIANO, who was his colleague, but which word cannot be traced, it would fix the date of the erection to A.D. 180.” The first, however, appears to be the most preferable reading.

It is necessary now to say something of the divinity to whom the altar is dedicated, and the name under which the dedication is made. A remarkable inscription is given in Gruter (Supp. xv, p. 34), and is as follows:—

IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
DOLYCHENO
VBI FERRVM NASCITVR
C. SEMPRONIVS
RECTVS. CENT. > FRV
MENTARIVS
D. D.

The peculiarity of which is the expression—

VBI FERRVM NASCITVR,

“where iron is produced.”

Doliche was a town of Epirus or Macedonia, a rough mountainous country, according to Strabo, and abounding in iron mines; but for a more particular account of this I must refer to the note of Gruter himself, wherein the places remarkable for iron are enumerated.¹

The next inscription of note to this same divinity is that found at Caerleon in South Wales, and on the borders of a country abounding in iron stone. This altar is mentioned in Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 118; Gale, *Itin. Anton.*, p. 126; and in Mr. Lee's *Isca Silurum*, p. 104. The inscription is as follows:—

IOVI. O. M. DOLICHV
 IONIO AEMILIANVS
 CALPVRNIVS
 RVFILIANVS EC
 AVGVSTORVM
 MONITV.

The name is here written Dolichvionio, or short, as I suspect DOLICHY, and followed by the word IONIO, *i.e.*, to Jupiter, the best and greatest, the Dolichene, the Ionian; and the inscription ends by ascribing the erection not to the command of the god himself, but to the command of the emperor, and I think we must therefore assign a late date to this altar, when the respect and reverence originally paid to the gods was transferred to the emperors.

Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea*, No. 1, has published inscriptions to Jupiter Dolychenus. See also Mr. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 259.

Dr. Bruce, in his work on the Roman wall, records two altars to this deity; one of them found at Benwell, the other at Risingham, both of which are given in Horsley and Hodgson. "Another," he says, "recently discovered at Bewcastle, by the Rev. J. Maughan," and it is engraved in Dr. Bruce's work (see p. 378, 2nd edit.) The altar has been cut away (like the present altar) by some mason to suit

¹ "Locus Δολιχη opidum Epiri seu Macedoniae; quam τραχεῖαν οἶσαν καὶ ὄρων πληρή. (Strabo, l. vii.) Metalla ferraria et σιδηρουργεία, uti Noricum quoque cāre et olim ex hodie nobile, itemque terra Aser, in qua Sarepta testimonio Mosis, Deut. xxxiii, 25 (ferrum enim et æs, inquit, sub calceo, h. e., sub pede, in potestate et possessione ejus) habuisse mirum non est. Etsi autem ferri Macedonici (hoc autem Dolichenum istud est) perinde quam modò dicti Noricorum, Cappadocum, Serum, Parthorum, apud Plin. l. xxxiv, c. iv, Hispaniæ, l. iv. c. 20. Iivæ et Sardiniae insularum, Biturigum, quæ genera commendat Rutilius (*Itiner.*, l. i). Extet apud antiquos mentio quippe in sacris Ezechielis prophætæ vaticiniis (c. xxvii. v. 12-19).

his purposes; "but enough remains to show that the occasion of its dedication was the rebuilding of a temple from the ground—"templum a solo"—and that it concludes with the common phrase, "pro se et suis." The present altar, therefore, makes the fifth discovered in this island; three on the line of the wall, one at Caerleon, and the last at Gainford.

Dr. Bruce observes that iron ore occurs in the north of England associated with the coal measures, and is particularly abundant at Risingham and Bewcastle, where altars to Jupiter Dolychenus were found. We have noticed already that Caerleon, where another was found, is on the verge of the mineral district of South Wales, and this at Gainford is on the border of the Cleveland mineral district. The furnaces at Darlington, which glow so brilliantly at night, bear testimony to this, and I am informed that iron-stone is found at Piers Bridge, near to Gainford. We have, therefore, another link to connect the name "Dolichenus" with the production of iron, and to verify the expression, "ubi ferrum nascitur," as well as to ascribe to Jupiter Dolychenus the title "Jove of metallurgy." And this opens the question, if the name Dolichenus will not admit of another derivation as well as that from Doliche in Macedonia. It has been suggested that the name may be derived from *Δολικο-καιων*, "far-burning," or *Δολφ-καιων*, "burning by art, or artistically." This will apply to Vulcan, a name which seems to be equivalent to Jupiter Dolichenus.

We come now to consider the *place* where this altar was found—Gainford, on the River Tees, about two miles west of Piers Bridge, supposed by Horsley and Hodgson to be the "Magis" of the *notitia* on the line of the Watling street. It has been thought that this altar may have been brought from that station when the church of Gainford was built, as we know that mediæval architects made free use of the materials derived from Roman stations; but, as stone is to be had near at hand, it seems improbable that they would have gone two miles for it.¹

A stone with the mark of the LEG. VI. V. has also been

¹ Mr. Cade, in a paper in the *Archæologia* (vol. ix), supposes Barford, on the Yorkshire side of the river Tees, and nearly opposite Gainford, to be the site of the Roman station "Ad Tisam." He says: "If any altars or inscriptions were found at the station near Barford, it is to be presumed they have been applied towards erecting an old church or chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence still remaining close by the place, but long deserted." How singular that the truth

found in Gainford church, and another with the figure of a horseman carrying a hare or rabbit, and the head of the horse at his side, probably part of a Roman tomb. At Gainford, also, a road crosses the Tees, and may be traced for some distance running south towards Stanwick and Richmond.¹

That the Romans had complete possession of this locality is evident from the inscriptions which have been found in this neighbourhood, as well as from the camps and roads. Thus an inscription was found at Cliffe, on the Yorkshire side of the Tees (see *Gen. Mag.*, 1844, p. 24), and another at Coniscliffe, see Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 359 ; both of these are funereal.²

Many Roman remains have been found at Piers Bridge : altars, coins, a statuette of Mercury,³ and a bronze of a Roman ploughman. "No altars that I could hear of" (says Mr. Cade) "but what have been already noticed by Horsley and others, except some that have felt the force of the pickaxe and hammer, have been found. One is almost buried in the road near the village at a place called Whitecross, but woe to the person that dares remove it, for the superstitious vulgar used to rest the corpse upon it on their of this remark should be verified, not in the chapel of St. Laurence, but Gainford Church !

¹ See *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vi, p. 224, and Mr. M'Lauchlan's map.

² Roman inscription found at Cliffe, Yorkshire side of the river Tees, within a mile of the camp at Piercebridge :

M
RACI II
GINATO
MAVSUPER
XXII. AVRELIA
(FLAV)ILLA CON
(JVG)I FACIENO
VM CVRAVIT.

The AV in the fourth line and VR in the fifth line are ligatures, and the IA at the end of the fifth line are small letters within the L. (See *Gent. Mag.*, 1844, p. 24.)

Inscription found at Coniscliffe, co. Durham, above the river Tees, not far from the Roman road :

D. M.
CONDATI
ATTONIVS
QVINTIANVS
MEN. EXCCIMP
EX IVS SOLA.

Second line from bottom, read "Ex charissimæ conjugis impensis," or "contubernaliū"; and last line, "Ex jussu susceptum solvit libenti animo." (See Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 359.)

³ The statuette of Mercury is drawn in the *Archæol.*, vol. ix ; the ploughman and his team of two oxen, in Mr. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.

way towards interment at Gainford. A little without the station is Carlbury, which perhaps formerly included what is now called the 'Tofts,' a repository of many of the antiquities which have been found at this station. Many Roman coins were ploughed up at Thornton Hall, near Darlington, deposited in an urn, amounting to some hundreds, mostly of Constantine and his sons."

A fragment of what appears to have been a Roman milestone was found within the camp at Piers Bridge with the letters M.D.O. M.P. C.C. The M.P. is the abbreviation of Millepassus, and the C.C. marks the number, but this is incomplete.

I have already mentioned that the probable date of the Gainford altar was A.D. 153 or A.D. 180. The former seems most likely; and if so, this altar was set up in the time of Antoninus Pius.¹

We have at least three inscriptions found in this island which bear the name of the consuls at the conclusion, and so fix the date: one to Jupiter Tanarus, found at Chester, which in the form of the dedication very much resembles the one found at Gainford, having

1. The name of the deity.
2. That of the dedicator and the city to which he belonged.
3. His legion and its titles.
4. The consuls under whom he erected his votive offering. The date of this altar, A.D. 154.

Another found at Brough Hall, Yorkshire, also has the names of the consuls, and the date is A.D. 191; and a third of the same date, found at Bankshead, Cumberland.

During this period the Romans appear to have had complete and undisturbed possession of the island, except in A.D. 162, when disturbances were threatened in Britain, and Calphurnius Agricola was sent by the Emperor M. Antoninus to quell them. An insurrection happened A.D. 181, when some of the northern nations passed the northern barrier, and the Emperor Commodus sent Ulpius Marcellus against them, who grievously routed the barbarians. (See Niphiline, lib. lxxii, s. 8.)

We have, then, in this altar an inscription which carries

¹ A coin of Antoninus Pius, large brass, was exhibited at the meeting of the Archaeological Association when it visited Chester-le-Street, having been found at that station, Aug. 1865.



us back about 1700 years. We learn from it that the "Dolichene Jupiter" was worshipped at or near Gainford, and the altar most probably was set up in consequence of the discovery of that very mineral which now forms the chief wealth of a large part of this district, viz., the iron-stone. The Romans appear to have known of it, and been sensible of its value, and I have little doubt, if investigation was made, traces of ancient Roman iron workings would be found in this locality. We find that wherever the Roman set his foot he was not slow to perceive and to develop the resources of the country. We learn, also, from another inscribed stone found in the church at Gainford that it was some portion of the sixth legion that was stationed here, the head quarters being at York, and to this legion was entrusted the defence of the country against the northern tribes.

This altar is a token of the gratitude, however mistaken and perverted, that existed in the mind of a Roman officer towards a superintending power. The Roman centurions were generally (as we may infer from the inscriptions which we find) men of serious mind and deep religious impressions. They were not unbelievers, but, while brave and persevering, depended on a higher power than themselves. This, I think, is most perceptible in the earlier inscriptions. The fact is remarkable that



this altar, having first served the purposes of an act of heathen adoration, should afterwards have been preserved in the fabric of a Christian church. For six or seven centuries it has formed part of a Christian temple, and having first had its uses as a memorial of heathen gratitude, and next its office as a stone in the temple of the one true God, it has come out again to instruct us in past history, and open to us an insight into the changes that have passed in the lapse of time—to tell us how great those changes are, both physically and morally; but it goes further than this—it confirms the truth of written history, and tells us we have not been misled in the pictures given us of the boldness, the perseverance, the wisdom and greatness of the Roman power.

ON A ROMAN CONGIUS.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

BöCKH, in his learned work, *Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse, und Masse des Alterthums in ihrem Zusammenhange*, says: "The ancients, as we gather from the short metrological writings of the times of the emperors that have come down to us, have determined the weight, not only of such commodities as were measured by dry measure, but more especially those of liquids, such as water, wine, oil, honey, and vinegar. The determination for liquids was generally referred to the Italian or Roman amphora (κεράμιον) and its subdivisions, estimated in Roman weight"; and Friedrich Hultsch, in his *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, tells us that there are "three ways of determining the Roman measures of capacity: 1st, the computation of the amphora as the cube of the Roman foot; 2nd, the actual measurement of existing Roman measures; 3rd, the determination by means of Roman weight. Now the weight of the amphora of wine is always given as eighty pounds Roman. The ratio of oil to wine is 9 : 10; of wine to honey, 20 : 27. According to these proportions the weights of the different measures are fixed. The Roman *congius* is the same as the Attic χοῦς, viz., the eighth of the amphora; the *sextarius*, or ξέστης, is the sixth of the *congius*; and the *hemina*, or κοτύλη, is the half of the *sextarius*. Thus the respective weight of each is,—the amphora, seventy-two pounds oil, eighty wine, one hundred and eight honey; *congius* (χοῦς), nine pounds oil, ten wine, thirteen and a half honey; *sextarius* (ξέστης), eighteen ounces oil, twenty ounces wine, twenty-seven ounces honey; *hemina* (κοτύλη), nine ounces oil, ten ounces wine, thirteen and a half ounces honey.

Various ancient authors, such as Galen, Priscian, Dioscorides, and others, who have discussed these weights and measures, are agreed as to their respective value; except the two latter, who give one hundred and twenty pounds of honey instead of one hundred and eight to the amphora.

The above weight of wine is that prescribed by the Silian Plebiscite, as quoted by Festus in his treatise, *De Verborum Significatione*; and in accordance with this standard the

present *congius* contains, as I am assured by our Treasurer, who has tested it, six pints *minus* 6.622 cubic inches of water; the weight of the water being eight pounds five ounces and a quarter avoirdupois; and its entire contents equivalent to ten pounds Roman. We may therefore, I think, take it for granted that this *congius*, inasmuch as, unlike our publicans' quart bottles and our costermongers' pounds, it really does contain the weight and the measure which it professes to contain, and which it should contain, is, if not a genuine one, at least a genuine copy, as it states, *exactæ mensuræ*, i.e., according to the standard, or imperial measure, set up in the Capitol by Vespasian. The inscription which it bears, "*Imperatore Cesare Vespasiano sextum, Tito Cesare Augusti filio quartum, consulibus*," fixes the date of the standard as that of A.D. 75, since it was in that year that Vespasian and his son Titus were consuls respectively for the sixth and fourth times.

Now it is not my intention to enter into anything like a regular disquisition upon this or any other *congius*, inasmuch as there are so many sources of information upon the subject that any one who chooses may learn all that has been written upon it for himself. I would, therefore, only refer those who are anxious to pursue the matter further, to consult such works as Lucas Pata's *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (folio, Venice, 1573); the *Excursus*, "De Romanis, Græcis, Hebraicisque Ponderibus atque Numismatis," in the third volume of John Baptist Villalpande's *Explanationes in Ezechielem* (folio, Roma, 1596-1604), where, at p. 501, will be found a large engraving both of the inside and outside of two *congii* which the author saw at Rome, and himself measured and copied, and to which I shall have occasion to refer presently. Pierre Gassendi, the biographer of the learned Nicolas Claude Fabri de Periese, who visited Rome, and saw there the Farnese *congius*, in 1600, has given an account of it, and of his own experiments with it. In 1639 it was seen at Rome by John Greaves, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and afterwards of Astronomy in the University of Oxford; and an account of it was given by him in his *Discourse of the Roman Foot and Denarius*, published in 1647. Gruter, in his *Corpus Inscriptionum* (as also does Fabretti in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, Rome, 1699), figures the same *congius* as one of those described by

Villalpandi; and in a letter in Gorius's *Symbola Litteraria*, dated Rome, 10 Nov. 1750, the author says: "My Lord Essengel (Effingham?) molto intelligente e studioso dell' antichità, mi ha data copia di un insigne monumento che ha avuto la sorte di vedere a Portici . . . viz., un quartario misura di vino, del qual liquore teneva libbre dieci, che è di bronze di figura simile a i congi a lei noti, ripostati dal celebre P. Montfaucon. In questo insigne monumento l'iscrizione seguente e incisa nel collo"; and then follows the inscription; and in 1824 Dr. H. Hase published an account of it in the *Transactions* of the same Academy, followed by a treatise *On the Calculation of the Roman Foot by means of the Congius*, by G. W. Beigel, which Theodore Mommsen has also copied in his *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, published at Leipsic in 1852. In 1812-13 Ideler discussed the Farnese *congius* in his treatises on the length and surface measures of the ancients, read before the Berlin Academy; both of these essays being reprinted with additional illustrative remarks in Hase's *Palæologus* (Leipsic, 1837). The Rev. Robert Hussey has also discussed the same *congius* in his *Essay on the ancient Weights and Money, and the Roman and Greek liquid Measures*, published at Oxford in 1836; and in 1838 August Böckh has treated of it in his *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, which has been already mentioned. Don V. Vasquez Queipo has also handled the subject in a most elaborate manner in the second volume of his erudite *Essai sur les Systèmes metriques et monetaires des anciens Peuples* (Paris, 1859); and lastly, Friedrich Halstock, in his most valuable work upon Greek and Roman metrology (published at Berlin in 1862), has brought all the information collected upon the subject down to the latest date. Thus we are in possession of the appearance and measurements of various *congi*, from the time of Tacitus, who lived in the beginning of the second century, to our own times.

With regard to the *congius* now before us, it may, I think, be demonstrated almost to a certainty that it was not the original one placed by the Emperor Vespasian in the Capitol; and similarly, that it is not the Farnese *congius*; and thirdly, that it cannot be positively proved that even the Farnese and the Vespasian *congius* were identical, although there are certain grounds for believing that they were the same. The

indirect evidence that there existed in the Capitol a *ponderarium*, or standard weighing machine (probably in connexion with the mint), has been discussed so often, and so fully, especially by Wernsdorff in his fourteenth *Excursus* to his edition of the minor Latin poets, that the repetition of it would be superfluous. The most direct testimony in favour of it is that of an inscription quoted by Fabretti and Orellius, where the words are, "*mensuræ ad exemplum earum quæ in Capitolio sunt auctore sanctissimo Augusto N(umeriano) nobilissimo Cæsare.*" Now these words can hardly be older than the second half of the third century of our era; for although the phrase, "*nobilissimus Cæsar*," is found earlier, the epithet "*sanctissimus*" does not appear till the time of Probus, who reigned A.D. 276-282.

The quantity of passages and documents in which measures tested by the Capitoline standard are mentioned, leave no doubt that the Capitol was the depository of the standard of measure; and this, which as Böckh tells us in his *Public Economy of Athens*, was one of the institutions of the Athenians, was probably borrowed from them by the Romans. None of the vessels, however, that have hitherto been discovered and examined, prove by the inscription upon them that any one of them was *de facto* the very vessel which served as the standard; but only, as in the case of the *congius* before us, that they were "*exactæ mensuræ in Capitolio*," i.e., contained the imperial measure prescribed by the Capitoline standard. Wernsdorff hazards a supposition which at first sight appears plausible enough, that the Capitoline measures could only have occurred after the restoration by Vespasian of the twice burned Capitol; but this is negatived by an inscription on a weight mentioned in the *Catalogo de' Monumenti d' Ercolano*, and belonging to the third consulate of Tiberius Claudius, which was A.D. 46; as well as by a balance also noticed in the same catalogue, and having on it the legend, "*mensura exacta in Capitolio curâ Edilium*," and belonging to the same year of the Emperor Claudius.

Now Lucas Pätas, who was the first writer that asserted that the *congius* which he saw at Rome, and described in 1573, was the standard vessel of the Capitol, has not brought forward one single argument for his statement.

The history of the Farnese *congius*, then, would appear to

be this. Justinianus, in his *Novellæ*, informs us that in his time the popes and senate transferred many of the public treasures and movables to the churches and sacred buildings for safe custody. Among them was probably this *congius*, and possibly the original Capitolian standard. I say possibly, because, when I come to describe another, we shall, I think, form the conclusion that it, and not the Farnese *congius*, or this, is most likely to have been the original. However that may be, the Farnese *congius* remained in safe ecclesiastical custody till the papacy of Alexander Farnese, who reigned, as Paul III, from 1534-49. He was the founder of the Farnese Palace, which was finished by his nephew, the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, under the direction of Michel Angelo, in 1525. About this period the *congius* was probably transferred from a church by the Cardinal, who was invested with the highest powers and dignities, to his own collection; and from thence it passed into the possession of his grand-nephew, Odoardo or Recordo Farnese, by whom, as we learn from Villalpandi, it was lent to him to copy for his work on the Temple of Jerusalem, in 1604. Now on Pütas's drawing of the *congius* there is a sort of crown, or garland-like decoration, which does not appear on that of Villalpandi, although he maintains that the one he had was the same as that seen by Pütas; and it is, therefore, probable that there were two *congiæ* at Rome with the same inscription, especially as Villalpandus speaks of his own drawing as made "*ad exemplum duorum quos Romæ habuimus*"; and by one the *congius* is described as of brass, and by the other as of bronze. Now the Farnese *congius*, which is the bronze one, appears to have remained in the possession of the Farnese family till the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. At any rate we know that it was in Rome in 1639, as it was then seen by Greaves; and this is the last we hear of it so as to trace it with any certainty, for all traces of it at Rome now vanish. But we know that the coins and some other portions of the Farnese collection were transferred, not long after this time, to Parma; and it is not improbable that this *congius* was among them, and that it is now, together with a *sextarius*, which was also in the Farnese Palace, in the royal collection at Dresden: for an entry in the books of the chamberlain shew that a *congius* and a *sextarius*, both corre-

sponding with the drawings and descriptions of those of the Farnese collection, were brought to Dresden from Italy by a monk called father Salerni, and presented by him to the Emperor Augustus. 2nd. These vessels are still, as we are told by Halstock, in the Dresden collection, the *congius* being numbered 397 in the tenth chamber; and we are further told by the same author that it is of brass, with evident traces of gilding; and the leather cases (which are still preserved) are very massive and highly ornamented,—a fact which proves that it was considered as a *regium donum*, and a very “dainty dish to set before the king.”

Thus, then, all the best modern authorities agree that the Farnese *congius* is now at Dresden; but they also hold, and correctly, as it appears to me, that even that is by no means proved to be the standard *congius* of Vespasian any more than the one before us. What, indeed, has become of that is more than any one can say with any degree of certainty. We know that a great many vessels, *ad exactam mensuram*, have been made; and while no arguments can be brought forward to prove that any one of them is the original standard *congius*, a great many reasons are, as I have stated, produced by the numerous learned authors whom I have quoted, to shew that they are not. The vessel which seems to possess the greatest claims to be the original, is that found at Fodi by Cardinal P. Cesi. It is described by Gruter in his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, vol. i, p. 223; and the reason why it is believed to have been the original, is that its inscription is in silver letters. This one, however, seems to have disappeared; or, at any rate, no writer upon the subject has been able to trace it: therefore, with regard to the original, *adhuc sub judice lis est*. The whole matter, however, is full of interest; and should any of our members, in the course of their wanderings, meet with a *congius*, let him remember to examine it well, and, in the words of Captain Cuttle, “when found make a note of.”

THE CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERY OF ST. CUTHBERT AT DURHAM.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., TREASURER.

FOR the architectural history of this cathedral and monastery we possess materials so complete and authentic, as to make it wonderful that such a history should still be wanting. The ancient historians of the see and city, whose works are still preserved, are Turgot, the second abbot of the monastery, whose narrative extends from the foundation down to A.D. 1096 ; Simeon, a monk and precentor of Durham, copied Turgot, and continued the work down to A.D. 1153. Galfrid, the sacrist of the monastery of Coldingham, commences with Bishop William de St. Barbara, whose death he records in 1152, and terminates with events immediately preceding the election to the See of Richard de Marisco in 1214. From this date the tale is taken up by another monk of Durham, Robert de Graystones, a man of so much eminence that he was in 1333 elected to the bishopric from being sub-prior of the monastery. The king, designing to place a still more eminent man, Richard de Bury, in the see, refused to recognise this election, notwithstanding which refusal the bishop elect was consecrated at York by the Archbishops of York and Armagh and the Bishop of Carlisle. Finally, to avoid strife, Robert renounced his claim, and seems immediately afterwards to have occupied himself with his history, which he tells us was written in 1336. The next historian commences with the account of the successful claimant of the see, Richard de Bury, and continues down to Cuthbert Tunstall, who was deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This latter history was probably commenced, as Dr. Raine suggests, by one William de Chambre, of whom no more is known, and was carried on by subsequent hands. Just after the period of the suppression of the monastery, was written a valuable description of the condition in which its buildings and furniture, its services and ceremonies were maintained immediately before the event took place. The name of the writer is unknown, but his work (dated 1593) affords the means for giving a completeness to the architectural history such as

can rarely be achieved. All these works may still be consulted in ancient MSS. and in modern times have also, with different degrees of accuracy, been put into print.¹ Dr. Raine, the latest, the most copious, and the most accurate of the editors, has besides produced from the archives of the dean and chapter, in his exhaustive account of St. Cuthbert, in the appendix to his *Tres Scriptores*, and in other books which he printed under the auspices of the Surtees Society, numerous documents which give authentic particulars, supplying many a gap, the solution to many a difficulty at which Hutchinson, Englefield, and Billings have stumbled. Hutchinson's valuable *County History of Durham*, published in 1787, preceded the modern study of mediæval architecture, and it is therefore only what would be expected that his application of the ancient histories to the architectural monuments has ceased to be of any value. The magnificent work of Surtees is incomplete. He had reserved the cathedral for special treatment, and was furnished with some admirable illustrations, but did not live to have his intention completed. The Society of Antiquaries engraved Durham Cathedral from John Carter's drawings in their superb folio series of English Cathedrals in 1801, under the superintendence of Sir H. Englefield. Carter was then far in advance of any other in a critical acquaintance with the styles and series of mediæval architecture, but still at a great disadvantage compared with the students of to-day; the result is, that the history given by them is infinitely of less account than their illustrations, which, so far as the cathedral is concerned, are of great excellence and beauty. Another valuable book of illustrations of the cathedral is that published by Billings in 1842 in a more portable form than the great work of the Society of Antiquaries, but, like theirs, it is almost confined, with the exception of the ground plan, to the cathedral itself, and is more reliable in its illustrations than in its text. It is thus left not only for others to make a correct application of the ancient histories and of Dr. Raine's materials, to the cathedral, but the important buildings of the monastery in its domestic

¹ Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*; Raine, *Historia Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*; Davies, *Rites and Monuments of Durham*, 1672; and Dr. Raine's edition, 1844.

parts have yet to be treated of almost for the first time. It is the intention, therefore, of the following pages to attempt, in some degree, to supply these deficiencies.

How Durham came to be a city, and to hold the revered relics of St. Cuthbert, and whence this reverence grew, is pithily related by the Rev. H. Blane, M.A., in his account of Chester-le-Street, at p. 25 of this volume, and will be further treated of in a future part by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., whilst it is dealt with in Dr. Raine's *ST. CUTHBERT* in the fullest practicable manner. We therefore start with the arrival of the body of St. Cuthbert on the woody rocks of Dunholm in A.D. 995. The aptitude for defence of this resting-place will be well understood by reference to the plan of the modern condition of the city given previously.¹

A temporary church of wood was first provided and used whilst a more permanent structure was in progress. This structure, which it took three years to raise, obtained the name of the White Church, and was the work of Bishop Aldhun. Simeon of Durham, or rather Turgot, thus describes it: "*Aldhunus non parvam de lapide postea ecclesiam erexit,*" and "*ecclesiam honesto nec parvo opere inchoavit et ad perficiendam omni studio intendit.*" That the White Church was for the time an important structure cannot be doubted, and the words above given are those of the prior who near a hundred years after assisted to remove it to make way for a yet nobler church. Reginald, a monk of Durham, who flourished three-quarters of a century after Prior Turgot, and was a highly enthusiastic and imaginative writer, thus describes this church,² and relates how a certain one foretold the greater excellence of its successor: "*Erant siquidem in Albâ Ecclesiâ in quâ primitus requieverat duæ turres lapideæ, sicut qui videre nobis retulere altius per aera prominentes, altera eorum continens, alia vero in fine ecclesiæ occidentali subsistens quæ miræ magnitudinis ærea pinnacula in supremo erecta gestaverant; quæ omnium tam stuporem quam admirandi quantitatem excesserant: unde putabant consimilis opus structuram nusquam posse fieri; eo quod in finibus finitimis proximæ regionis omnia necessaria in loco uno consimiliter nequaquam poterant reperiri. Ille vero voces admirantium*

¹ P. 56 *ante*.

² Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus, c. xvi.

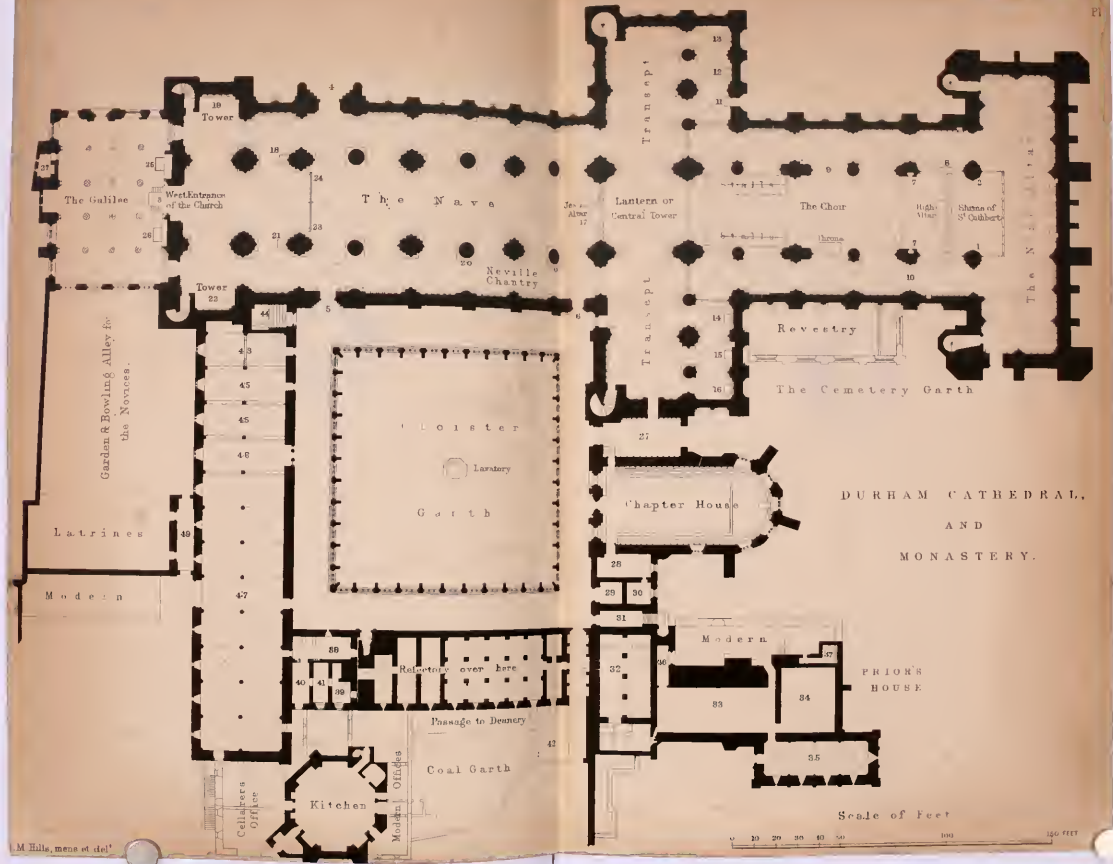
compescuit et posteris temporibus multo venustioris operis edificia ibidem in honorem Beati Cuthberti prædixit."

No fragment of the White Church is known to exist at the present moment. It was erected in the last days of St. Dunstan of Canterbury, but in this northern province it would seem that his zeal for the introduction of the Benedictine order of monks was not sufficiently influential to bring them into favour. The secular canons, who had removed from Chester-le-Street, were installed in the church and remained in charge of the relics of St. Cuthbert; their residences would be detached houses in the neighbourhood of the church, and, in fact, no monastery for a long while after existed at Durham. This state of things lasted under six successive bishops, till William de Carilef, who Prior Turgot tells us had been of the clergy of Bayeux in Normandy, resolved to bring in the Benedictines. Accordingly, the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth were transferred to Durham, and the canons were offered the alternative of becoming monks, an offer accepted by only one of the number. It must be admitted that the superior organisation of the monks at this period ensured to them much greater facilities for study and for the practice of the quiet virtues than the canons could claim, and hence the change was a real addition to the dignity and usefulness of the cathedral. This is a very ample justification of the resolution taken by the bishop without loading the memory of the canons with the obloquy which subsequent monkish writers have used in comparing them with their successors.

The Benedictine monks under their first abbot, Aldwin, took possession of the church in 1083. The necessity for proper monastic offices must have been felt at once, and although we have no account of the erection of this work, yet there still remain some very interesting portions which I have no hesitation in ascribing to this period. Unfortunately these parts are not very easy of access; they are the substructure of the present deanery (fig. 32, plate 10) and of the library, formerly the refectory, on the south side of the cloister. To a description of these works I shall return hereafter, the present purpose being to trace the works of the cathedral, now become a monastic church.

For eleven years the White Church was used by the





monastery. I have a suspicion that it stood where now the chapter house is, stretching, of course, slightly to the east of it, and far to the west, enclosing a much smaller cloister than the present one, of which the proportions may be imagined from the small scale upon which the old buildings just mentioned were designed. In the ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the White Church, Bishop William de Carilef resolved to take it down, and in the next year (1093) he laid the foundations, and began to construct a much larger and nobler church, as Prior Turgot says. The monks, it was arranged, should build their own offices, and the bishop would bear the cost of the church, but he could have made but little progress in it when he died in 1096. In the difficulties which befel his last days, and in the succeeding years, whilst the see was vacant, the monks abandoned their own works, pushed forward the church, and completed it up to the nave.¹ A new bishop came to the see in 1099, but it was not till 1104² that the part in which it was intended to place the body of St. Cuthbert was ready to receive his shrine. This part was the apse at the east end behind the high altar, and the shrine was now deposited there on a raised stone slab supported by nine pillars.

Ralph Flambard, the successor of Carilef in the see, proceeded sometimes with earnestness, and at other times with laxity, as he was able to meet the expenses. The works attributed to him by the chronicler are, the construction of the nave walls up to the vaulting, and he moreover supplied to the church priests and altar vestments and ornaments. He died in 1128. Under his successors, Galfrid Rufus and William de St. Barbara, the church must have been completed to a form of which a very good idea is given in a sketch by E. R. Robson, Esq., published in the *Ecclesiologist* of 1862. It is true that the chronicler does not attribute any part of the church to these two prelates, but we know enough to show that the next bishop found the church finished, and the architecture bears record to this fact.

The work of the cathedral, corresponding to the history thus traced, from A.D. 1093 to about A.D. 1150. extends from the two piers next west of the high altar to the west

¹ Simeon of Durham.

² Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 75, ex Bollandus.

end of the church, which it includes, embracing also the lateral projections of the transepts and of the two western towers. So much of the church as lies eastward of the point indicated belongs to a subsequent period, and the original form of the east end can be conjectured only from analogy. According to the custom of the Normans, the east end of the choir would be in the form of a semicircle in plan, the chord of which must have been between the points 1, 2. Probably, like the great church of Bury St. Edmunds (see plate 1, vol. xxi), in progress at the same time, the aisles were carried round the apse with chapels attached. Recent investigations have shown that such was the nature of the eastern termination of the fine church of the Benedictine Priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. Norwich Cathedral, and other examples in point could be quoted; but other forms of the apse, or chevet, have been supposed as applicable to Durham, and not without reason, which I willingly leave it to their advocates to discuss.

On the spot where the shrine of St. Cuthbert was deposited on its removal into this church, in 1104, we know it to have rested to the last, and this spot by tradition, and by incontrovertible evidence, was behind the high altar. It stood within the apse, therefore just as the corresponding shrine stood at Bury St. Edmunds, and that of Edward the Confessor still stands at Westminster Abbey. This part and the existing choir forms the work of the life-time of William de Carilef, and after his death the monks proceeded with it, the substructure of the central tower, and with the transepts. The work, as it advanced, is marked by the growing love for enrichment which characterised the period, for although from east to west the evidence of one design continually adhered to is conspicuous, the departure of the western work from the severity of the eastern is striking. The great circular columns which alternate all through with the clustered piers are in the choir ornamented with a simple spiral flute, and all the mouldings are plain. In the transepts both the cylindrical columns of the north limb are spirally fluted; in one of them the flute is filled with a bead; in the south limb one of the columns is left plain, the other covered with a chevron ornament. In the nave all the cylindrical columns are enriched on the surface with a sort of lozenge diaper (see

plate 12), and a chevron or a perpendicular flute. These ornaments in the nave are so arranged as to have the chevron opposite the diaper columns. The mouldings of the nave arches and triforium are elaborately enriched with chevron and fret carvings.

The original Norman vaulting of the choir was probably taken down when the east end of the church was subsequently altered. Of its existence, one proof is the story related by William of Malmsbury of the miraculous removal of the centering under it at the translation of the saint in 1104; and a stronger one is, that just below the present vaulting the marks of it are very palpable (though, so far as I know, hitherto unnoticed) over the north clerestory windows, and easily seen on both sides when viewed from the triforium. The Norman vaulting at present, therefore, begins with the transepts. It is semicircular in form with groined ribs, those of the north limb with plain mouldings, and those of the south with chevron ornaments, indicating, perhaps, the sequence of their execution. Like the aisles of the transepts and choir, the two eastern bays of the nave aisles have plain moulded ribs to their groins, but all the rest westward have ribs with the chevron ornament. The great vault of the nave differs from all the rest in being groined with pointed arches, but in its mouldings enriched with chevrons, it agrees with the rest of the vaulting, and harmonises in date with the ornaments of the triforium and arches beneath it. Hutchinson, finding that Abbot Melsonby constructed "*nova fabrica ecclesie*," by an error, pardonable at his time, considered the new fabric, or new work, to be the vaulting of the nave. A still stronger authority was the anonymous author of the *Rites and Monuments*, who tells us that the church was not finished till 1242, "when Bishop Fernham and Prior Thomas Melscombe did arch it over." Modern judges, well informed on mediæval architecture, have down to the present time been content to follow these statements, which are nevertheless erroneous. In the absence of all contemporary record as to its construction, the form of the nave vault seems to show that it was the latest of the Norman work, and there is no need to suppose, as some have done, that it was preceded by a flat wooden ceiling. In the south transept there are some caprices of arrangement in small open-

ings formed near the top of the walls, and in some slender wall shafts, now serving no purpose, whose intention is not easily explained ; but the mode in which the vaulting shafts throughout are combined with the original design, from the very floor of the buildings, establishes the fact that a vault over the entire church was always contemplated.

I know not how adequately to convey to those who have not seen it a just idea of the solemn magnificence which the peculiarly massive, yet well balanced proportions of the interior impress upon us. The governing principle of the design is not often found in practice. Usually a range of columns all alike divides the building longitudinally into bays of one arch to each, but at Durham, the choir, nave and transepts are divided into bays of two arches each by clustered piers with intermediate circular columns. The ponderous character of the work is shown by the view on plate 12, which exhibits the two arches of the nave next to the central tower on the north side. The cylindrical columns, one of which appears in this view, are twenty-three feet six inches in circumference. The intersecting arcading seen on the aisle wall continued all round the Norman parts of the church, and has not been much interfered with down to the present time.

The four Norman entrances to the nave yet remain (figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, plate 10). They are treated with the most delicate and sumptuous enrichments of the chisel. The north door (fig. 4) has suffered externally from attempts at repair in the last century. The west door was mutilated early in the history of the church. The two south, or cloister, doors, especially the eastern of them (fig. 6) it would be difficult to outrival in elaboration and beauty. Good plates of them may be seen in the books of Sir H. Englefield, Surtees, and Billings.

The exterior of the church presents a much greater appearance of alteration from its first design than the interior, yet the subsequent works are to so great an extent additions made exactly where the earlier works left off, that the complete character of the original design is almost every where palpable. In the west front (plate 11) the great traceried window, of course, supersedes the original Norman windows of the nave, and the Galilee which projects beneath it conceals the west doorway. The Norman work of the

western towers rises no higher than the corbel table, level with the foot of the highly enriched Norman arcade, which stretches across the end of the nave above the principal west window. The gable over this arcade, and the whole of the towers above the corbel table referred to are of a later period. The towers, no doubt, were at first finished with low pyramidal roofs springing from this corbelling. Mr. Robson discovered in the walls at this level a piece of timber which he believes to be a part of the wall plates of these roofs.

Very much of the exterior of the church has suffered from the paring away of the face of the stone work effected towards the end of the last century; indeed, at the east end of the church, this injudicious treatment was so destructively carried on as to have utterly destroyed the mouldings and panellings of that part. The magnificent situation of the church, and the grandeur of its masses, give to it a majesty of aspect which even this ill-treatment could not destroy, but it leaves to us only to realise in imagination the picturesque richness and beauty which the tufts of mosses and lichens, and the harmonising effects of time had added to the work. It was to me affecting in the highest degree to listen to the glowing description of how much we have lost in this respect from the lips of the venerated Bishop of Exeter, one of the very few now living who can speak of his own knowledge of what it was. I execute a duty with which his lordship charged me, when I place it upon record that this most competent witness condemns as an act of ignorance or wantonness, and of gross disfigurement, the work then done. In the progress of some later repairs on the south side of the church, Professor Willis is reported to have discovered some marks which indicate that the parapets to the aisles were not originally straight as at present, but gabled over each bay for a series of roofs carried transversely across the aisles. This idea is exhibited in Mr. Robson's view in the *Ecclesiologist* before referred to. It would, however, be extremely difficult now to discover anything to justify the notion, and I rather fancy that we must consider the evidence, whatever it was, as destroyed.¹ Over the north entrance there have been very

¹ One must feel great diffidence in differing from an authority so acute on these subjects; but an examination of the building suggests many evidences opposed to the theory.

considerable alterations in modern times. Dugdale's and other views show that the porch had been raised after Norman times to a structure of the height of the aisle, but it is now reduced, in the awkward manner we might expect of the last century work, to probably its original height.

Hugh Pudsey, elected to the see in 1153, had to prosecute a journey to Rome to establish his election, and returned to take possession in May 1154. He governed till his death in March 1194. Galfrid of Coldingham, in relating his works, incidentally tells us that this bishop found the cathedral in a complete state, and becomingly furnished: "Antecessorum studia, qui ecclesiam construxerant, et multa ad decorem et munimentum illic contulerant, abprobans, diligentiam æmulari studuit." In this mind he set about a new work at the east end of the church. About this time, we learn from one of the anecdotes related by Reginald the monk,¹ St. Cuthbert's law excluded women wholly from the church, and there was a fixed boundary in the churchyard which they were not allowed to pass. The chroniclers evidently believe that the execution of the bishop's new work would have led to an infringement of this law. The bishop, they relate, raised his work to a considerable altitude, and procured from beyond the seas marble columns and bases for its adornment; but it shewed repeatedly such signs of weakness, in rents and cracks, that he desisted, considering his offering thus marked as displeasing to God and the saint. He then commenced at the west end to erect a building which women might enter, to derive some comfort from a contemplation of the holy places where their corporal presence was forbidden. The custom of erecting large Lady Chapels eastwards of the church was now just beginning; and this, it may be assumed, the bishop had in view. Some misconstruction, as now-a-days we should say, threatened his work with ruin, and he resolved to transfer the Lady Chapel to the unusual position of the west end of the church. It is true that Pudsay's building did not obtain the title of "The Lady Chapel," and I do not know of the altar of the Virgin Mary, which stood there, being mentioned earlier than the death of Bishop Langley, who was buried before it in 1437;² but clearly it was then an old arrangement. Mr. Longstaffe has shewn that, from the days of the founder

¹ Reginald, cap. 74.

² *Chambre's Chronicle.*

himself, it was called the Galilee;¹ and subsequently many passages might be quoted from ancient documents concerning the place, "qui dicitur le Galileye."² The intention of this designation it is not easy to determine. It was applied to much less important structures at the west end of Ely and at the south transept of Lincoln, and Mr. Walbran speaks of a Galilee at Byland Abbey.³ The Galilee at Durham is divided into five avenues by slender shafts, originally built in pairs, but to which Bishop Langley, when he new roofed the building, and inserted windows of his own age, added in each case two more, making them clusters of four. This was very ingeniously done; and as the original caps, with their square abaci, were made of great breadth in the upper part, a very little and unobtrusive alteration was needed to bring the caps into a sort of cruciform plan for the four shafts. Even this alteration was omitted to be made in three capitals in the two northern ranges; and this really slight omission it is which, when once observed, tells the tale as to the exact nature of Langley's work, recorded in general terms by the chronicler. Moreover, Langley's shafts are not of the same material as the older. At the time of the Congress of the British Archæological Association the entire north wall of the Galilee had just been renewed; and the public are challenged to criticise the accuracy of the restoration by the reerection of its principal ancient feature, the door, a few feet distant, opposite to the restored one. This door, whether we speak of the greatly weather-worn old door, or the modern renewal of it, is a magnificent work rich with Norman sculpture. Great good feeling unquestionably is shewn in this attempt to preserve what yet remains of the old portal; but may it not puzzle some future archæologist by setting up the idea that Pudsey's buildings have extended where we know they never did? The four arcades of the Galilee are throughout enriched in a most effective manner with the Norman chevron ornament, the latest use of that feature in this cathedral. That Pudsey would not be deterred from building by any trifling difficulty, we may be sure from the greatness of those which

¹ Charter of the Lady Ranulph de Dyttneshall to Bishop Pudsey, referred to by Mr. Longstaffe in the *Ecclesiologist*, 1862, p. 257.

² *Monasticon*, temp. Ed. I, 1296.

³ Papers of the Yorkshire, etc., Architectural Society, vol. vii, p. 228.

he had to overcome for his western work. In the external view (plate 11) it will be seen that the great west front of the building was already so near to the crest of the precipice that his further projection westward had to be carried a great many feet down the face of it, giving to the exterior of its west wall very much more than double the height of its interior; and upon this great substructure he hesitated not to bestow a considerable enrichment in the two tiers of Norman paneling to be seen in the view, though partly obliterated by later work.

No record has yet been discovered of the construction of the upper part of the two western towers. The battlements were modernised in 1795,¹ and the towers underwent a so-called repair; but otherwise, from the Norman corbel table upwards, they are a uniform and splendid specimen of early pointed work, the earliest of that kind at Durham. Hugh Pudsey's successor, Philip, lived at continual strife with the monks, and was regarded with the utmost aversion by them. A vacancy of five years followed, and then, in 1217, Richard de Marisco came to the see, of whom we have but a very scanty notice. In all probability the work should be placed within his ten years of government.

Of the next addition, the unrivalled work of the Nine Altars at the east end of the church, we have a clear account. In 1241, says Robert de Graystones, Nicholas de Farnham was elected to the see; and in 1242 Thomas Melsonby, the prior, began the new fabric of the church about the feast of St. Michael, the bishop aiding, and giving the church of Bedlington for the work. It is this passage which has been erroneously made to signify the construction of the nave-vault. Dr. Raine found and published the documents² which correct the error. The co-founder of the nine altars with Prior Melsonby, was really Bishop Richard Poor, who before he came to Durham had signalised himself by the leading part which he took in the erection of Salisbury Cathedral. Seven years before the time named by Robert de Graystones for its commencement, and in the episcopate of Richard Poor, the work was in contemplation. The bishop of Ely, in 1235, granted an indulgence to obtain funds for it, in which we are told that above the sepulchre of St. Cuthbert

¹ Sir H. Englefield.

² Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, 1828. Appendix, pp. 7, 8.

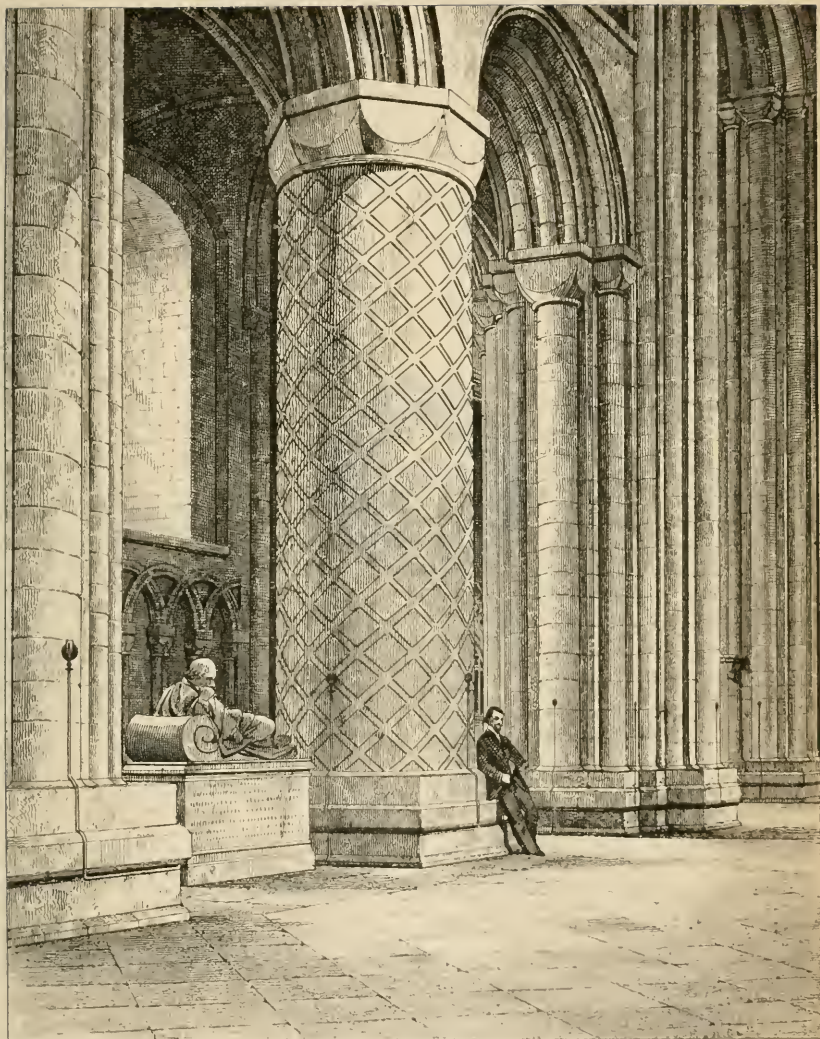


From a Photograph

J. Jobbins

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.
View from the West.





From a Photograph.

J. Robbins

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

Interior of East end of Nave



devout men of old erected a vaulted roof of stone, which had become so full of fissures and cracks that its fall seemed to be at hand, threatening a terrible and tremendous danger. This document attributes to Bishop Poor the purpose to reconstruct the east end of the church, and the endorsement describes the work intended as "The Nine Altars." Still two years earlier Prior Thomas de Melsonby had issued a recital of many indulgences granted "*ad fabricam ecclesie Dunelmensis*," in which he speaks of the fissures and cracks which threaten a terrible ruin to the east part of the church.

Thus, after ten years at least of preparation, the superb work of the Nine Altars was commenced, and the old east end taken down, but without any disturbance of the shrine of the saint. The fabric and design of the new east end was altogether singular. It was unlike the double transepts adopted at Salisbury, forming a second cross such as then already existed at Canterbury, and was followed at Lincoln; for Durham was simply a transverse wing without any longitudinal limb eastward; and to this wing was given a size and dignity of proportion which the secondary transepts referred to do not possess. The only example to be found like Durham is at Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire; and this one, differing as it does from its sister in all the details of the design, is yet so identical in style and dimensions that, as I pointed out at the visit of the Leeds Congress to Fountains, we may well believe the same architect to have contrived both.

The Nine Altars at Durham measures inside the walls, north to south, 130 feet 2 ins.; east to west, 34 feet 5 ins. The Nine Altars at Fountains measures inside the walls, north to south, 129 feet 7 ins.; east to west, 35 feet 6 ins. The abbot, John of Kent, was erecting the Fountains work at the same time that Melsonby was erecting his at Durham. Each building is divided externally into the same number of bays; but Fountains is divided internally by two pairs of cross-arches, unique in design, and of the most extraordinary beauty, into three bays, whilst Durham is in one magnificent area. At Durham the north end is filled by one immense window of unsurpassed beauty, singular in its qualities; for it has what is seldom met with, two distinct sets of mullions and tracery, one on the inner and the other on the outer face of the wall. At Fountains both ends of the building

were originally alike. Melsonby resigned his office at Durham in 1242. John of Kent quitted his by death in 1245. The new work at Durham required the removal of the old apse and one other bay of the Norman work. Westward the junction is both concealed and marked by the marble shaft up the inside face of the clustered piers just in advance of the high altar (at 7, 7, plate 10); but the cracked and fissured state in which the Norman vaulting was found over the shrine of the saint, led, it is clear, to the renewal of the entire Norman vault of the choir, and to the substitution of one which, in all its details, is the same as that of the nine altars. Bishop Fernham and Melsonby did, therefore, vault over the choir, but not the nave; unless, indeed, for a work which must have belonged to the completion of the Nine Altars we ought not rather to say the successors of both of them, viz., Bishop Kirkham, who began in 1249; and Prior Bertram, who began in 1244.

The next addition to the Cathedral was the raising upon the ancient Norman central tower by Prior Hugh de Darlington; whether before his first cession from his office in 1272, or in his second term, from 1280 to 1289, is unknown; but of the work, though removed, some knowledge is preserved. In the year 1429 the tower was struck by lightning¹ in the night before Corpus Christi. A frightful storm lasted from ten at night till seven the next morning; and so fearful was its violence whilst the monks were at matins, that they thought a great part of the church had fallen. In fact, however, at this moment (less than an hour after midnight), a flash of lightning set fire to the upper part of the great campanile, "sub tolo vocato anglice le poll."² The fire burnt unknown till seven o'clock; then, for five hours, it raged terribly, ten or twelve men labouring for its extinction amid the falling molten lead, the burning timbers, and the red hot bolts and bars and burning brands which were scattered by the fire, happily without hurt to them or to the rest of the building. So it was extinguished soon after one o'clock, the part burnt being estimated at twenty feet in length; and the rest preserved, it was thought, by nothing

¹ Raine's *Tres Scriptores*, Appendix, No. 193, a letter to the bishop, dated May 27, 1429, narrates the circumstance.

² "Tolns de cupro vel are continens in circumferencia ii uluas et iii quartarias." It fell with the other metal work.

less than a miracle. The prayers of the terrified crowd who pressed around were accordingly changed, and the burst of the *Te Deum laudamus* testified to their wonder and thankfulness. The account of this catastrophe apparently refers to a timber spire covered with lead, and with a brass or copper summit or finial. The repair of the campanile after this fire cost £233 : 6 : 8. Sixteen years after,¹ the prior again writes to the bishop, that from the effects of weather the timber-work and masonry of the campanile were in daily danger. Alarmed by what he knew, he had caused proper artificers to survey it, who found the masonry on three sides leaning over, and many of the arch-stones of the windows and quoins fallen from their places, broken and crushed, the timber very defective, and the whole condition one of the greatest danger. Some advised that the shaft of the tower must be taken down, whilst others thought it capable of repair; and thus, both for means and advice, the prior appeals to the bishop that the danger threatening the choir of the church and the shrine of the patron might be averted. William de Elcheſter had juſt then been elected prior. The evidence afforded by the architecture is, that ſhortly afterwards the greater work, viz., the entire re-conſtruction of the belfry, was determined upon; and Dr. Raine tells us of documents in the archives of the Dean and Chapter which ſpeak of materials procured for it. The central tower was taken down almoſt to the top of the four great Norman arches, and the new work commences with a projecting gallery all round the inside of the tower, and runs up above the roof of the church in two ſtages,—the firſt a very lofty one, open to the interior of the church, and conſtituting it a lantern tower of very noble effect and dimensions. The height from the floor of the church to the vaulting over the lantern, from Carter's drawing, is 148 feet, and to the ſummit of the tower 214 ft. Our weſtern view does not give due effect to the dignity of this fine central tower, which is nowhere better given than in the view in Surtees, taken a little more to the north. It was one of the worſt acts of the architect of 1795 that he cauſed the whole of this grand pile to be faced with cement, an indignity from which it has juſt been relieved under the hands of Mr. G. G. Scott. It had been ſo injured by the former architect, that he found it to

¹ Raine's *Tres Scriptores*, Appendix No. 250.

require a new facing of stone. To the deplorable destruction effected more than sixty years ago, in this part, the Bishop of Exeter alluded with the deepest expressions of regret. We who look with thankfulness on the honest stone face now substituted for the shabby cement, cannot easily realise the intensity of regret with which he remembers the time-worn and weather-tinted face of the old stone. Buildwas and Fountains and Furness, where similar sandstones have been used, retain a perfection of form, heightened by weather-tints, which tell us what we have lost at Durham. The central tower of Durham Cathedral is reputed the loftiest tower without a spire in England, but this is a mistake. The measurement already given, from the floor to the vault of the lantern story, is not higher than in the tower of Boston in Lincolnshire, and to the summit of that tower is 260 ft. All the work at Durham is massive and ponderous; four immense piers, having at their smallest section 105 ft. superficial of bearing space, carry each of them about 2,750 tons; the whole weight of the tower, and the abutments, so far as they rest on these piers, being about 11,000 tons. At Durham we see nothing of the intricate system of buttresses and braces, arches and counter-arches, iron ties and string-courses, which maintain the great tower and the spire of Salisbury Cathedral; nor do we see the shakes and cracks and rents which in the Norman piers at Chichester forboded the total destruction of that tower and spire.¹ There is a massive strength at Durham which makes superfluous the delicate and often mischievous contrivances which the Salisbury architects have from time to time been forced to adopt; and there is an appearance of soundness and durability which places at the remotest distance the possibility of such a calamity as that which befel Chichester Cathedral.

The only other addition made to Durham Cathedral was the revestry on the south side of the choir (see plate 10). This was erected by H. de Luceby, who for a time irregularly but not unworthily filled the place of Richard de Horton, the lawful prior, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. He obtained the name of "*H. walde be Prior*" (would be). His work was standing when John Carter drew

¹ It fell to the ground on the 21st February, 1861, at 1.30 p.m., and has been rebuilt, the capstone of the spire having been fixed the 28th day of this current month of June.

the cathedral for Sir H. Englefield, and has wholly disappeared during the present century.

Magnificent, as we admit is the effect of the Cathedral, we cannot but perceive throughout the interior the meanness of the drab wash of the walls, the coldness and bareness of the plain glass of the windows, relieved only by the patchwork of the eastern rose-window, where, with less of design than a kaleidoscope affords, some remnants of ancient glass are preserved. How different from the sumptuous enrichment of ancient days, when every window was made to beam with softened and jewelled rays, and to tell some story of religion ! All this, as it existed in the last days of the monastery, is minutely described in the *Rites and Monuments* to which I have so often referred ; and from this eyewitness I will endeavour to recover some points of the pictures which his descriptions bring before us, taking the opportunity to record the introduction of the later windows, which it was not convenient to notice in the former part of this paper. Most of the windows of the church were filled with tracery in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Every window of the Nine Altars was so filled, and in the south end it yet remains. Of modern destructions, the almost universal removal of this tracery is the least open to objection, for the original character of the work has not thereby been injured, but its true design made more apparent.

The shrine of St. Cuthbert stood, and marks of it may still be seen in the raised space between the back of the high altar and the nine altars. It had a base of marble and alabaster, erected at a cost of more than £200, in the year 1372, by John de Neville ; within the shrine, enclosed in coffin within coffin, was the body of the saint, the shrine or covering being of wainscot oak, elaborately carved, of a chest form, the roof-shaped top suspended from the vault of the church, that it might be raised by the feretrar or his officers at proper times. To the tabernacle work of the cover, and to the marble and alabaster, was added the glow of colour and gilding of the richest kind, with four pictures upon each side of the cover, the Saviour in judgment on the east end, and Our Lady with the infant Saviour on the west. The base was at least the height of a man, for in each side were four niches, or kneeling-places for pilgrims, and there was a small altar at its west end,

where mass was said on the anniversary of the saint. At the four angles of the shrine stood iron staves as guides to steady the cover by four rings fixed on its angles when it was raised, the raising being made known to the people by the sound of silver bells upon the suspending cords. Rich almeries of oak tabernacle work, and filled with relics, stood at the north and south sides of the feretory space, whilst behind the spectator, who would face the Nine Altars, was the existing gorgeous altar-screen, then rich with imagery and colour—all now gone. Before him, in the central space of the Nine Altars, stood three altars; to the left, dedicated to SS. Martin and Edmund, in the middle SS. Cuthbert and Bede, and to the right to SS. Oswald and Lawrence. In the south wing stood three more altars, the first of them dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury and S. Catherine, the next to S. John Baptist and S. Margaret, and the last to south to S. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene. In the north wing three more altars were dedicated respectively to SS. Peter and Paul, to S. Aidan and S. Helena, and the most northerly to S. Michael, the altars being divided from each other by oak tabernacled and enriched screens. The three windows immediately above the central altars were filled with painted glass, the story of St. Katherine being told in the south one of the three, whilst above them, in twenty-four divisions, probably not so much unlike the present, “verye finely and cunningly wrought and glazed,” was the rose window, called St. Katherine’s window. Of the painted glass which filled all the eastward windows, we have a full account in the Appendix to the *Rites and Monuments*. Among them was the history of St. Cuthbert “a most godly and fine storye to behould of that holy man.” At the north end the immense and beautiful window we now see was filled with “all the whole storye of Joseph most artificially wrought, very good and godly to the beholders thereof.” Of the great historical deeds of past ages some memorials were here preserved. The banner-staff of Lord Neville, the conqueror of the Scots at Neville’s Cross, was bound with iron to one of the northern pillars of St. Cuthbert’s shrine, and from these iron pillars, or staves, was stretched a cord secured to a hook under the rose window, so that from it, over the centre of the alley of the nine altars, hung the banner of the conquered

King of Scotland with other memorial "Banners and ancients."

The first interment that was permitted within the Nine Altars was that of Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, and his tomb stood until the Reformation opposite the screen between the two northernmost altars. It was at that time believed that the north wall had been broken at his interment in 1313, and it has since been repeated that the place where this was done could still be seen. If so, it was probably only the opening of an original door still walled up at the north-west corner of the nine altars; the corresponding door at the south-west corner opened to the song school—now all destroyed—and just within the door stood an almery where was served out to the singers after early mass a refreshment of bread and wine.

The Nine Altars was lighted at night by nine "very fine cressetts of earthen metall filled with tallow," set in an iron frame upon the east wall, immediately under the rose window, and the two eastern staves of the shrine were also made to carry tapers.

Of the choir, then as now, the principal ornament was the reredos, or altar-screen, erected by Prior John Fossor and Prior Robert Berrington, with the help of Lord Neville and of the monastery, and finished in the year 1380. It was made in French stone with images of alabaster—all now gone—packed in boxes and brought by sea to Newcastle, and it employed seven masons nearly a year in fixing it. The image which occupied the chief place was that of the Virgin Mary; St. Cuthbert stood in a niche to the right and St. Oswald to the left, all richly gilt, but every niche had besides its own image, making a great company and choir of saints. Above and upon the altar were hangings of red velvet embroidered, and at the sides of white silk, at that time a most costly furniture; but, nevertheless, exchanged at the principal feasts for yet more sumptuous white damask adorned with jewels. Above the altar the golden pix, "most curiously wrought," containing the sacrament, was suspended from a golden hook beneath a canopy of rich silks, finished at the top with the symbolical figure of a pelican, typical of the church fed by the blood of Christ. We are told in detail of the candle



sticks, the crosses, the chalices, the censers, and basins of silver; and jewelled and gilt ornaments in profusion used to convey to the people the highest conception of the sanctity of the high altar and its services. Three candles, in silver basins suspended before the altar, were always burning. But another great ornament, "estimated to be one of the rarest monuments in England," called the Pascal, made in latten metal, was set up before the high altar from Maundy Thursday till the Wednesday after Ascension Day. A thick plank was placed on the first step before the altar, on which was set the base of the pascal, having four dragons spreading out like feet, and images of the four evangelists upon them; and between them figures of armed horsemen and beasts, "curious antick work." Upwards, the pascal spread out nearly the width of the choir, forming six candlesticks as high up as the vault of the aisles. Above them rose the seventh candlestick, in the centre, to so great a height that it was lighted by a pole from a hole in the highest vault. When out of use the pascal was taken to pieces, and deposited in the north aisle, close by, where it was kept clean by the boys of the choir. A handsome brass lettern stood at the north end of the high altar, for the epistle and gospel; and another, with an eagle-desk, but less handsome, stood in the middle of the choir between the stalls. These stalls stood much as the present ones, but were all burnt for firewood by the Scotch prisoners from the battle of Dunbar, confined in the Cathedral by Sir Arthur Haselrig in 1650. The present stalls, though subject to some recent alterations, are the work of the pious Bishop Cosin soon after the Restoration. They are very curious and valuable, not equal to a work of the older times, but wonderfully good as an attempt at the revival of such work. The ancient bishop's throne, however, stands almost in perfection, on the south side of the choir (see plate 10). This was erected by Bishop Thomas de Hatfield, who died in 1381, to form a tomb for himself, and a throne for his successors. The description of the chronicler, that it was on the south side, "*juxta stallos monachorum*," and "*ex opposito ostii revesterii*," identifies this singular and beautiful work beyond question, and shews that the stalls of old were arranged (except the western part, of which they were a few years ago deprived) as they now stand. Above the western door

of the choir (screen and all now gone) stood a "pair of organs," as it was then called, the "fairest" of the three belonging to the choir; unequalled except at York and at St. Paul's, London. As early as the time of Bishop Robert de Stichill (1260 to 1274) we read of "the greater organs" which this bishop erected when the first addition to the central Norman tower was carried up. Another fine pair of organs, called the "cryers," stood on the north side of the choir, for use only on the days of SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome. The third pair, for daily use, has not its position explained. Of the splendid altar and priestly vestments of the church, some idea may yet be formed from the few copes and other vestments still preserved in the new library, and which were used in the services down to 1745. The marble monument and effigy of Lewis Beaumont, bishop from 1317 to 1333, which stood just before the steps of the high altar, has long perished, most likely with the ancient stalls.

Instead of the state of bare passages to which the choir-aisles are now reduced, there was once abundance of furniture and ornament. In the north aisle, close to the door of St. Cuthbert's feretory (fig. 8, plate 10), a light stair led up into a sort of gallery in the arch called a "porch," mistaken by many writers for an external appendage to the church. It was a rich piece of tabernacle-work containing a "merveillous faire roode," with pictures of Mary and John, was revered as the residence, at some time, of a holy ancho-rite, and became much resorted to by the priors for its convenient position for viewing the mass at the high altar and St. Cuthbert's shrine. Under it lay the pascal when out of use. Beneath the next bay of the aisle (at fig. 9, plate 10) stood the altar of St. Blaise; and against its western pillar Bishop Skirlaw's tomb was erected, of which the only memorial now left is the ornamental panelling then made on the stone bench, on the north wall of the aisle opposite, and still bearing his armorial ensigns. His tomb also disappeared in the seventeenth century. A screen closed the west end of this aisle with a loft called a "porch," in its upper part containing an altar, a rood, or picture of our Saviour, and sumptuous furniture. This aisle was also used at one time for the song-school, and before that the sacristan had his exchequer here. At the east end of the south aisle there

may yet be seen in the pillars (fig. 10, plate 10), the marks of the screen, against which stood an altar surmounted with a famous rood called "the black rood of Scotland," taken from David Bruce at the battle of Neville's Cross. In the revestry, which adjoined this aisle, was an altar used by the bishops for ordinations.

The whole Transept obtained the name of the "Lantern," from the great lantern tower in its centre. Standing at the east end of the nave, and facing eastward, the spectator had immediately before him the choir-screen made by Prior Washington (1416 to 1446) at a cost of £69 4s., decorated with thirty-four statues of royal English and Scotch benefactors of the church. The central space was kept vacant for the convenience of the bell-ringers; and just to the south of the choir-door stood a large stone, fixed on the great tower pillar, having in it twelve cressets for tallow, one of which was lighted every night. In the aisle of the north transept stood three altars (figs. 11, 12, 13, plate 10) dedicated to St. Benedict, to St. Gregory in the middle, and to SS. Nicholas and Giles to the north. Priors Washington, Berrington, and Fossor, had their tombs before these altars in the order mentioned. The great north window of the transept was made by Prior Fossor, who, we have seen, shared in the construction of the reredos of the high altar, and besides provided four new windows to the transept-aisle, and one on the west side. His great window cost £100 for the stone, and £52 for the glass. It was again repaired at a late period, and new glazed by Prior Castell, and had in the six upper lights St. Mary the Virgin and infant, Prior Castell himself kneeling beneath, with St. Cuthbert west of her; in the two eastern and western lights were figured the four doctors of the church (SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome), hence it was called the window of the four doctors. In the lower six lights, chiefly in ruby glass, were represented the events of the passion of Christ. This window is very peculiar, being outside in six long lights, with flowing tracery of Prior Fossor's period (he died 1374); shewing that we must not too fully accept the *dictum* of the writer of the *Rites and Monuments*, that Prior Castell wholly remade it. It is not difficult to distinguish what he really did, viz., on the inside he divided it by a transverse and internal mullion into two stages in height, and also new glazed it. In the south

transept stood three altars (figs. 14, 15, 16, plate 10); to the right, that called the altar of our Lady, or Howell's altar; in the middle, the altar of our Lady of Bolton; and to the south, the altar of St. Faith and St. Thomas the apostle. The middle altar had a famous rood and golden crucifix, greatly resorted to on Good Friday, and seems to have been endowed by the Nevilles. Before the altars lay the brasses of priors John Hemingborough, William and Robert Ebechester. The great south window was made in the fifteenth century, and filled with the glorious subject of the "Te Deum,"—a subject ably reproduced, in late years, for the corresponding window of the minster at Sherborne in Dorsetshire.

The nave was closed under the great tower arch at its east end by a wall which must have risen to near half the height of the great pillars. This wall formed a reredos to the Jesus altar (fig. 17, plate 10), placed in the east end of the nave. The reredos was thought to be "for the fairness of the wall, the straitlyness of the pictures, and the lyvelyhoode of the paynting, one of the goodliest monuments in that church." It was surmounted by "the most goodly and famous ROODE that was in all this land," with figures of St. John and St. Mary, attended by archangels. A cresting of stone, so finely wrought as to look like metal, and richly coloured, extended along the top of the wall. The figures of the twelve apostles ranged right across beneath it, and under them was pictured the passion of our Lord, in a folding case, or triptich, kept closed except at stated times. A strong but ornamental screen, breast-high, enclosed the altar, but permitted a door on each side through the reredos into the lantern, and here, at the back of the reredos, was a seat for worshippers to rest and pray; in a loft above, and facing the choir, was the clock. In the arch to the north of the altar was a small loft with a pair of organs, and to the south the necessary almeries for vestments and utensils. Jesus mass was sung here every Friday, and an anthem was sung before the altar every Friday night. Marks of the loft and screens of this altar may be seen against the pillars and their bases. At an arch going from the north door into the galilee (fig. 18, plate 10) stood the altar of our Lady of Pity, *i.e.*, having a picture of the Virgin and dead Saviour, and at 19, in the north Galilee tower, was Saint Saviour's altar. The Neville chantry, in the south aisle, occupied the two bays,

near the east end next the eastern cloister door (figs. 20, 20, plate 10), having a wall and altar at its east end, iron screens to the north, and a wall with iron cresting at the west end. In the space by the door behind this altar, a church-keeper was always stationed and slept, and all the aisle west of the chantry had a false ceiling of wainscot, richly panelled, tabernacled, and gilt. At fig. 21, plate 10, opposite the altar of our Lady of Pity, was the altar of the "Bound Rood," so called from Christ being represented with his hands tied. Against each of the pillars behind these two altars, west of the opposite north and south doors, was fixed a holy water stoup (figs. 23, 24, plate 10). The great west window was filled with the whole story of the Root of Jesse. In the south-west tower (fig. 22, plate 10) was the grating within which persons in sanctuary slept. The great brass ring, or knocker, of undoubted antiquity, still on the north door of the church, seems to be that which fugitives used to rouse the attendant, who slept in the porch above the door. The Norman age of this ring is indicated, not only by its appearance, but by the fact that it is mentioned by Reginald the monk¹ in the twelfth century. Across the nave, between the pillars where the holy water stoups were, is a band of marble (figs. 23, 24, plate 10), in the pavement marking off the whole nave, except its two western bays, and within this line eastward, women were not anciently allowed to pass. This mark existed before the year 1593, or one corresponding to it, but how much before I am not able to say. Reginald the monk in the twelfth century says that women were then excluded by a fixed boundary in the cemetery. Dean Whittingham (1563 to 1579) intended to have made away with the four bells in the north-west tower, but the suffragan Bishop, Dr. Sparke, forestalled him, and caused them to be transferred to the lantern tower. It was this dean who carried off the holy water stoups and used them in his kitchen.

Of the tombs once in the nave only two, sadly mutilated, remain. One stands in the eastern arch of the Neville chantry. It is of the fifteenth century, bears a male and female effigy reduced to mere trunks. It had eighteen statuettes round the dado in niches, and bears the Neville saltire on fourteen shields with the lion rampant on fourteen shields alternating with them. Lord Ralph Neville

¹ Reginaldi Monachi Libellus, cap. 50.

and Alicia his wife, had been interred in the church in 1367 and 1374, and a license to remove their bodies to the south side of the nave was obtained in 1416; over them, it is to be presumed, the tomb was then erected. The other tomb is apparently a patchwork affair, so mutilated that it would be unprofitable to dwell further upon it. It stands in the next bay eastward.

In the Galilee the centre avenue had the altar of the Virgin Mary at its east end before the old west door of the church, finely adorned with wainscot, colours, and gold. Against the door itself the almeries were placed. In the avenue to the left of this was an altar of our Lady of Pity (fig. 25, plate 10). Above the altar was painted on the wall a part of the history of our Saviour's passion. This is now defaced, but some painted decorations yet appear in the back and sides of the recess, which are of great antiquity. The corresponding avenue to the south had the altar of Saint Bede (fig. 26, plate 10). Before it stood his shrine, where still stands a tomb inscribed to him in modern days. The bones of Bede, originally brought by stealth about 1020, from Jarrow to the White Church at Durham, rested till 1104 in the same coffin with St. Cuthbert's body. A separate shrine by the side of St. Cuthbert's then held them for a time, and Bishop Pudsey, towards the close of the century, enshrined them afresh. According to the *Rites and Monuments* it was not till 1370 (in the time of Bishop Hatfield) that they were placed in the Galilee by Richard of Barnard Castle; but from a passage in Galfrid of Coldingham, which this writer does not overlook, it seems that it was Bishop Pudsey who put the shrine here in the twelfth century.

The Galilee was fitted up to receive congregations like a parish church, for in its south-west corner was placed a font, and under the central western window was a pulpit, and a pair of organs was likewise furnished. A little sacristy, or vestry, is formed at the end of one avenue, opposite the north altar (fig. 27, plate 10). Every Sunday the great bell of the north-west tower was tolled from noon for three-quarters of an hour, and then rung till one to summon men and women to the sermon, which was preached from one to three o'clock in the galilee. Bishop Langley filled all the windows with stained glass. That to the south

at the west end had the crucifixion in the middle, with the visit of the magi above ; to the right was the annunciation below, and the Father, as Creator, above ; to the left the Virgin and infant below, and the assumption of the Virgin into heaven above. In the next window St. Cuthbert occupied the middle light at top, with St. Bede to the north, and St. Aidan to the south, and beneath them Bishops Aldwin, Edmund, and Eata of Lindisfarne ; in the tracery Christ's nativity and miracles. The principal window opposite St. Mary's altar had the Virgin and child in the centre, with St. Oswald to the right, and "holie Kinge Henry" to the left. Bishop Langley himself was represented beneath St. Mary, St. Wilfrid to the right, and St. Chad to the left ; the tracery had the flight into Egypt. The fourth window had three royal benefactors above, viz., Alured, Guthred, and Elfrid, and three bishops of Lindisfarne beneath, viz., St. Godfrid, St. Ethelwold, and another ; in the tracery was depicted the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. Bishop Langley's tomb stands now in the centre avenue bereft of all its ornaments.

Before quitting the cathedral I must return to say a few words on the preservation of the body of St. Cuthbert incorruptible for so many ages, a fact or a fiction on which so mighty a fabric and so grand an establishment was raised and supported. I do not hesitate to adopt the fact, and Dr. Raine's suspicions of imposition are not aroused after about 1020, from which period, down to the Reformation, it would be unreasonable to doubt the preservation of the body. If it could be preserved for that five hundred years, why not for the three hundred and thirty-two years earlier, from A.D. 688, when the saint died ? Dr. Raine, in the fullest manner, traces all that is recorded of its preservation. Upon the death of St. Cuthbert the body was at once wrapped in cerecloth, enveloping evidently the whole head ; arrayed then in priestly garments, it was placed in a stone coffin, and buried on the right side of the altar in the church of Lindisfarne ; eleven years after, the monks, seeking his bones as relics, found the body entire, swathed it in a new garment, and kept it above ground. In 875 the ecclesiastics fled from Lindisfarne, taking with them the body in a wooden coffin, and in the same coffin the head of St. Oswald and bones of Aidan, and Bishops Eata, Elfrid, and Ethelwold ; their mi-

grations ended at their arrival at Chester-le-Street with their charge in 883. About A.D. 980, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, raised the lid of the coffin, and deposited on the body a pledge of his devotion. In 995 the body of St. Cuthbert was again removed, and migrated to various places, till, after a few months, it arrived at Durham, and rested for a time in a wooden church. In 999 it was transferred to the White Church. Within the next thirty years it is that Elfred, a canon of the church, was accustomed to handle the saint, even to *wrap* him in such robes as he *thought fit, to adjust his hair with an ivory comb, to cut the nails of his fingers* with scissiors he had made for the purpose. In 1069, in dread of William the Conqueror's army, the body was again carried to Lindisfarne, but in the following year restored to Durham. Doubts as to the identity and incorruptibility of the body are said to have been held by the king, and some of those less interested in its preservation than the monks at Durham. If there had been any known imposture, the secret could scarcely have been maintained in the ousting of the canons and substitution of the monks, and the jealousy engendered by this event in 1083 may have had something to do with the unfavourable rumours just then current. When the White Church was pulled down in 1093 a temporary tomb of stone and marble seems to have been made in the cloister garth for its reception, and in 1104 it was translated to its final resting-place in the present cathedral. To clear up all doubts as to the preservation of the body, an examination of its contents was made at this time. First, an outer chest was broken open with the aid of iron tools, disclosing another carefully covered on all sides with hides fastened on with iron nails; the prior and his attendant monks remove some iron bands, raise the lid of this second chest, and find a wooden coffin cased entirely in linen threefold, which those present believed to be the swathing added at Lindisfarne eleven years after his death. They now carried the coffin from behind the altar into the greater space in the middle of the choir, then unwound the linen, raised the lid, and observed an inner lid lower down in the coffin, resting on three bars, and upon the lid a copy of the Gospel of St. John, which they did not replace, but which was preserved in the church till the Reformation, and known to be in existence at Liege so late as 1769. The

inner lid had a ring at each end for lifting it, and its removal exposed a linen cloth laid over the contents. Beneath the cloth, in a small linen sack, they found bones and a head, which by old writers they knew to be relics of St. Oswald, Bede, Aidan, Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, with other relics, and the body of St. Cuthbert reclining on its side. After removing some of the relics, three monks lifted the body out, and laid it on a tapestry on the pavement; and when the coffin had been cleaned out, they replaced the body of St. Cuthbert in it, and carried it back to its place behind the altar. The next night the coffin was again brought out, and the body laid on the pavement, as before, and then returned to its place. Again, within a few days, the lid was taken off to afford to an incredulous abbot a proof of all that was asserted. It is clear that on these occasions the flesh was never seen; but the investigators were satisfied with feeling through the coverings, and lifting the weight of the body. At this time a new bottom, resting on four blocks of wood, was put inside the coffin, and the body laid upon it. Next the skin it was found wrapped in fine linen, entirely over the face and head; and so closely adhering that the finger-nail could nowhere be inserted to raise it, except at some part of the neck. A purple face-cloth was next laid upon the head; and the clothing was an alb, a tunic, and a dalmatic; beneath which, at the feet, the ends of the stole were visible; but none of this clothing did they disturb or explore. Outside the clothing were two wraps of sheets, and then the inner coffin itself in a wrap saturated with wax. These wraps were not again returned to it, but three new ones used,—first one of silk, then one of purple cloth, and then one of fine linen. There was in the coffin a small silver altar, a chalice and paten, a pair of scissors, and a nearly square ivory comb, which had a hole in the middle. From this date to the suppression of the monastery the body of St. Cuthbert was not again disturbed, except when the coffin may have been lifted for renovations of the shrine, such as occurred in 1372.

The commissioners for the suppression at length made their appearance at Durham, Dr. Lee, Dr. Henly, and Mr. Blithman. In November 1541 they destroyed the shrine, broke open the coffin, and broke and removed the body into the revestry; but within a few days, upon orders received

from London, or else by direction of Bishop Tunstal, they buried him "under the place where his shrine was exalted," behind the high altar, and where a large flagstone marked the interment. In May 1827, Dr. Raine, with three others of the cathedral clergy, and other witnesses, undertook to search for the body and relics at this spot. After the rough treatment it had received in 1541, it is wonderful how successful and convincing were the results of their search. For the details I must refer the reader to Dr. Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, where the discovery of the coffins and the bones is related so as effectually to establish their identity with the objects described in 1104. Some of these objects were removed to the cathedral library, where may now be seen the stole, the altar, the comb then spoken of. After the examination the bones of St. Cuthbert were placed in a new coffin; and this, resting in the old grave, on the fragments of the older coffins, was again interred.

The miracle of the preservation of the incorruptible body of St. Cuthbert, therefore, resolves itself into the fact that it was at first carefully sealed up in cerecloth, carefully clothed and swathed; and thus, in the soil of the church of Lindisfarne, protected from the weather, it lasted eleven years; being then still far more perfect than the monks expected, it was preserved under still more favourable circumstances, kept dry, and protected from the air, down to the dissolution of the monasteries; being then violently broken and buried, though in a protected soil, the more perishable parts decayed.

The exhumation of the body of Charles I in 1813, besides that of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset, who died in 1532;¹ and of Edward I, described by Sir J. Ayloffie;² and other instances which can be quoted, shew how feasible is such a case of preservation; but the discovery of the body of Bishop Lyndewode in 1852, in the crypt of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace, is perhaps the most satisfactory one. No coffin was used for him, but simply a swathing of cerecloth, folded, in some places, to ten layers, and in others to only two. Here he had lain interred since 1446, within the building, but under ground; and thus, after more than four hundred years, and with the simple precaution of a cerecloth

¹ See Burton's *Leicestershire*.
1866

² *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 281.
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wrapping, the body was discovered in a condition of flesh and bone, which in old times would certainly have been deemed miraculous.¹ In no case, and certainly not in St. Cuthbert's, do the facts bear out the belief that the preservation was so life-like as his devotees supposed; but it was quite sufficiently so to kindle imaginations far less aroused than those concerned in the examination of 1104.

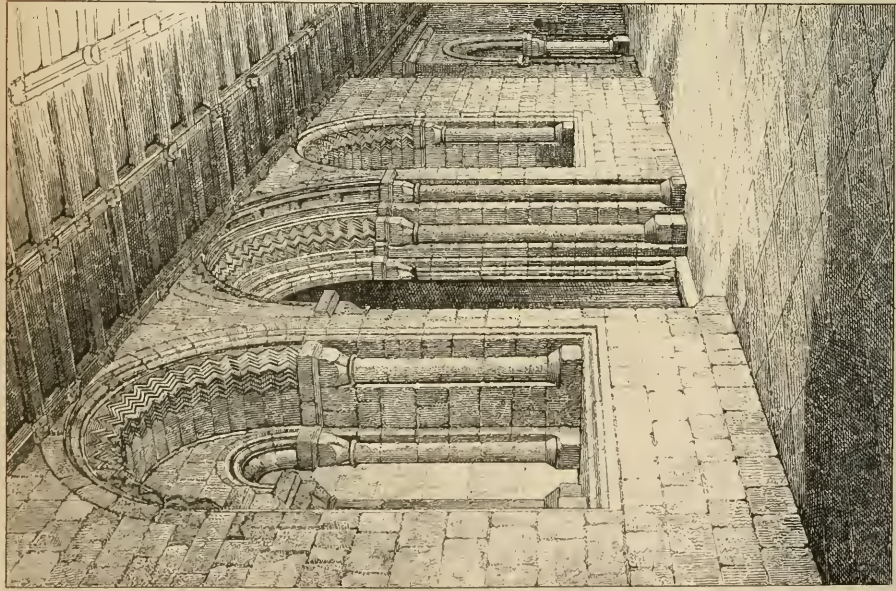
In turning now to the monastic buildings, it will be convenient to treat of them in the order they occupy around the Cloister-garth, or quadrangle, beginning on the eastern side. It should be premised that the ordinary disposition of a Benedictine monastery would require the apartments specially appropriated to the monks to occupy the east wing extending from the transept; those used by the domestics of the monastery formed the west wing, and the refectory and its appendages closed in the south side. The departure from this scheme at Durham, in several parts, is fully accounted for in what we have further to say. As to the actual use of the apartments, our best informant is the author of the *Rites and Monuments*.

Adjoining to the south transept (fig. 27, plate 10) is the original sacristy, probably disused when Luceby built the revestry at the beginning of the fourteenth century: thus, in the later days, it was called the Parlour, and was made into a passage-way into the cemetery-garth. To it were admitted "marchants to utter ther waires"; and through it the dead monks were carried to their burial, being brought from St. Andrew's Chapel, which lay in the great court away to the south of the Refectory. The Parlour is coeval with the Norman work, and is richly ornamented with arcades on both sides, covered with a plain barrel-vault, and has a rich Norman arch opening to the cloister. The east end is modern; but Sir H. Englefield's plan gives it an apse. The door leading into the church is modernised. The stair-turret at this angle of the church leads now to the roof and to the clerestory and triforium galleries or passages, but was intended originally also to give the monks a way from their dormitory down into the church for the night services. Over the parlour where is now the almost disused registry was the library, repaired and refitted in the fifteenth century, by Prior Washington, at a cost of £90 16s.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv, p. 406.



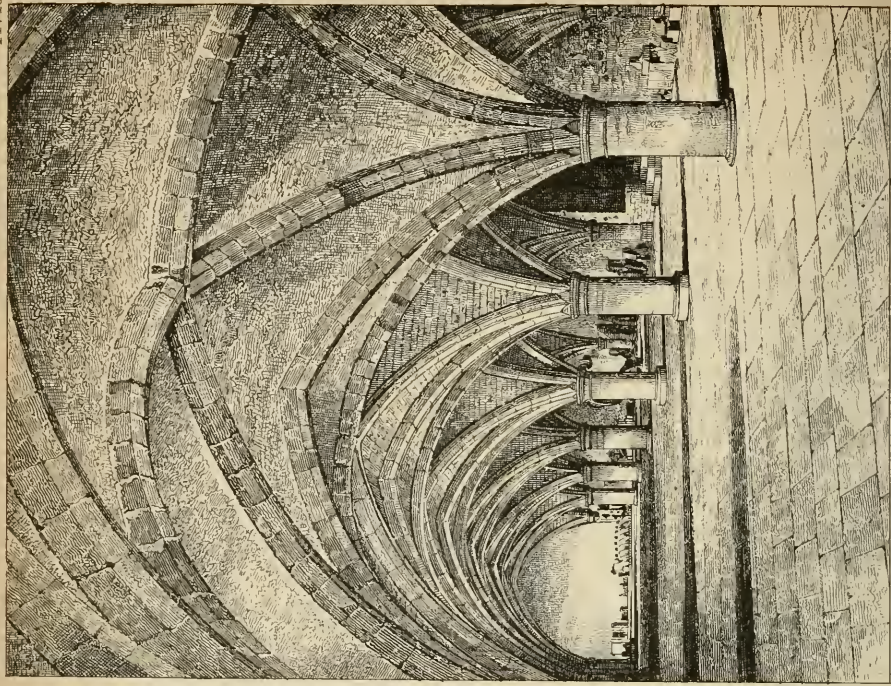
Fig. 1.



From a Photograph.

Entrance to the Chapter House, from the Cloister.

Fig. 2.



From a Photograph.

Interior of the Common Hall of the Monks.

The Chapter House, once one of the finest in the kingdom, was almost totally destroyed in 1795. The entire vaulting was then removed, and the eastern half pulled down; the western half of the walls was partly modernised, and it was formed into a square room. Its fine Norman arcade, towards the cloister, was not much interfered with (see plate 13). It has the usual features of the chapter house screen-wall, viz., an opening in the middle for access to the chapter house, not intended to receive any door, though one is now fitted; and a window, or open arcade, on each side, never glazed, but now in modern times walled up. Down to 1795, the tribune, where the bishops were installed, and the benches all round the walls, where the monks sat in daily conclave, were all preserved. The prior had a carved wooden seat alongside of the bishop's stall. In this Chapter House many of the early bishops and abbots were interred. It was begun and completed in the time of Bishop Galfrid Rufus, who was buried in it in 1140; but it is important to notice that Bishop Carilef at his death, and also Ralph Flambard, were buried in the chapter house which preceded it on this spot. It was seventy-five feet long and thirty-five wide, and spanned in one width by a groined Norman vault,—an evidence of great constructive skill. The height of the building permitted the insertion, in late mediæval times, of a window which was filled with the story of the root of Jesse in painted glass.

The view (plate 13) shews, beyond the chapter house arcade (fig. 29, plate 10), a Norman door which led from the cloister into the ancient registry or record room. It was Dean Matthew, who, towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, removed the contents of the registry to over the parlour already spoken of. It is now mere lost space, the door walled up, and the apartment inaccessible. Englefield's plan shews the space divided into three apartments, and I have done the same (figs. 28, 29, 30, plate 10). The original purpose of it was probably both for the entrance to the monks' common room and for a passage into the cemetery garth from the cloister; but this was superseded by the use of the parlour for a passage, and also by the door next to it, made in the fifteenth century (now leading into the Deanery), and which we are expressly told was called "the usher's door," and conducted also by a passage into the cemetery.

From hence, southward, extends what is of the most ancient work of the place (figs. 31, 32, plate 10). It forms the entry to the Deanery above mentioned, and the Dean's cellarage with his hall and dining-room over. All the upper story is as late as the fifteenth century, or else modern. The work of great antiquity is in the cellar. Here is an apartment 38 feet long, and 23 feet 6 inches wide, divided into two avenues by four semicircular arches without moulding, and carried on piers 2 feet 6 inches square, each avenue covered with a plain barrel-vault. A door once led through its west side into the low vaulted passage which forms the exit from the south-east angle of the cloister. In most ancient monasteries the principal roofs will be found to be of equal span. It is very usual for those of the nave, the transepts, the monks' wing, and the domestic wing, when coeval, to be alike in width. At Durham the wings are not coeval with each other, nor yet with the church, and hence the widths are different. In this most ancient part, built, I imagine, immediately on the introduction of the monks in 1083, we see the small scale on which their first building project was conceived. The space just described formed a part of their common room. The dean's entrance from the cloister, and other alterations, have deprived it of some of its length. The monks' original dormitory extended the whole length of this, and up to the chapter house in which Carilef was buried. The form of the buildings designates these purposes. In very early times, however, they were found, it may be imagined, too small, and became appropriated to the prior. It is likely that this change took place before 1140, when the lofty new Chapter House cut off the access of the monks from the dormitory to the church. However this may be, the prior had his residence here from very early times, and constructed various chambers to the east of the old Common Room and Dormitory (figs. 33, 34, 35, 36, plate 10); all these are, by their architecture, originally of the thirteenth century, with some alterations visibly of the fifteenth, but so transformed by post-reformation works, as to have almost concealed externally their ancient character. We know that Prior Fossor, in the middle of the fourteenth century, repaired both the upper and lower chamber of the prior, and glazed the windows, repaired the chapel, put a new window, at a cost of £40, in the south end of the

hall, and I think built a chamber with two latrines;¹ sixty years later Prior Washington repaired all the prior's house, at a cost of £429 : 10 : 3, and at his death the rooms enumerated are his chapel, wine cellar, upper chamber, lower chamber, hall, promptuarium, chamber under the vault, wardrobe, refectory, kitchen—(these two were the refectory and kitchen of the convent)—granary, bursary, and stable.

In 1333 Queen Philippa and King Edward were received as guests in the prior's house, and after supper the queen had gone to rest when a certain monk having told the king of St. Cuthbert's rule against the presence of women, she fled secretly in her night dress through the abbey gate and into the castle. It is not difficult to assign the names of the apartments to their proper places. The wine cellar and promptuarium (a buttery, or servants' apartment), were probably both in the ancient vaulted range (fig. 32, plate 10), and now form the wine cellar of the deanery; whilst over them—the original monks' dormitory—was the prior's hall, now the dining-room and hall, in whose south end Prior Fossor placed a new window. It seems to have been again renewed within a century of his time, for the window now there, though an ancient four-light perpendicular one, would hardly agree with the flowing tracery of the north transept window, which he made; it is more likely the work of Prior Washington. The requirements of successive deans have greatly modified and modernised the appearance of the work, but it is likely that the present hall ceiling of carved oak is also Washington's work. The priors' upper and lower chamber were unquestionably also the present drawing-room, and the present servants' apartments beneath (fig. 33, plate 10); on the exterior the turret stair which connected them is palpable. The lower chamber was connected with the cloister by a passage round the north end of the cellar to the usher's door (figs. 31, 36, plate 10), now in part walled up, and altered to lead to the upper floor. On the north side of these chambers is a wall apparently of great thickness, not less than nine feet; on the upper floor it has been hollowed out to form a passage-way, three feet three inches wide, down its whole length, a work which, whenever it was done, was,

¹ This latter work was perhaps, however, at his manor of Wyvystow. (See Raine's *Tres Scriptores*, App. 141.)

I have no doubt, facilitated by the previous existence in it of the narrow recesses and shafts of latrines which would descend into the principal sewer of the prior's house, and which sewer is in the foundation of this wall. Before the priors took possession here was the place of the latrines of the old common room and monks' dormitory, to which it is probable that this wall and sewer originally belonged. The upper chamber is modernised, except a small piece, about eight feet six inches of its length, shut off at the east end, where a good roof of fifteenth century work is visible. The prior's chaplain used the room at the east of this—now the library—and it is not unlikely that this was the chamber with two latrines built by Prior Fossor. The latrines have been pulled down in the upper part to form a room north of the library, but on the ground floor, by exploring what is called a dungeon in the present coal-cellar, the carefully constructed base and pit of two latrines will be clearly made out (fig. 37, plate 10), with a sewer running out on the east side of the pit, some seven or eight feet under ground. The pit has been used as an ice-house in modern times. Entered from the prior's upper chamber, close to the east end, was the chapel (fig. 35, pl. 10), now divided into three bed-rooms, and beneath it a long vaulted chamber, unquestionably the "camera in voltis" of the prior. This chamber, though its windows are blocked, and it is used merely for lumber and refuse, is substantially in very perfect condition and a good work, at least as early as Prior Melsonby and the Nine Altars; the chapel over has preserved parts of its western windows and eastern triplet; it was of equal age and excellence. In the modern bedroom north of the library an elaborate ceiling of oak has been put up, and must have been brought from some other part of the building; it was made in the latter part of the fourteenth or in the fifteenth century. In describing these rooms, I have repeatedly used the word modern, applying it to all the post-reformation alterations; for, in fact, within memory very little alteration has been made in the prior's house. Over the whole of it an upper floor exists, but which has no claim to antiquity. As the prior's house has not before been drawn or described we have to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. Waddington in facilitating the examination now made.

The south side of the cloister has also received but very

partial attention, and Sir Henry Englefield's plan (all later are copied from it) does not give it correctly. The old library, as it is now called, which occupies the principal floor for the entire length of this side, was built by Dean Sudbury immediately after the restoration of King Charles II, and within memory has had new windows inserted more in character with the old buildings than what Dean Sudbury made. In ancient times there were two apartments here, much as there are now two Library rooms; the entrance, being from the cloister into the greater one, is just as it was remodelled by Dean Sudbury. The large apartment was the Frater House, or Refectory, of which, from the period of its erection by the monks in Bishop Carilef's time to the end of the monastery, no work is recorded except that it was wainscotted by Prior Castell in 1518, and this wainscoting is described by the eye-witness of 1593 as two and a-half yards high on the north, south, and west sides. Close to the door after entering on the left hand, a large closet, or almerie, held most of the mazers and plate used on festival days; and another one, on the right hand against the west wall, held the table-cloths, salts, and mazers—(every monk had his own mazer cup of wood with silver gilt edges)—latten, ewer, and washing basin. The high table stood across the east end of the Refectory, and aside, in the hall, near the south end of the high table, was the table for the novices, and close by, against the south wall, was the pulpit where one of the novices read aloud during meals. The meals in the Frater House were served from the kitchen by hatches in the side near its west end. But all this was for state occasions and festivals, days when the prior and monks dined together. Ordinarily the monks, the sub-prior presiding, dined in what was called the Loft, a smaller room at the west end of the Frater House, and which was entered by a few steps up from that apartment. All this we gather from the *Rites and Monuments*; and what is still visible agrees fully with the old writer's description. Underneath the Frater House and Loft, although the ancient arrangements are perfect, they are not easily seen. The part under the Refectory has all its lights blocked up, is fastened up as a useless place, and abandoned to damp and wet, which keeps it full of ponds and puddles of water. Under the loft has been in use in the present century for cellars, and with the aid of a candle may be explored. Two doors at the west



end of the Frater House (figs. 38, 39, plate 10) led into the rooms under the loft; one of these was the Cellar where the beer and wine for use in the Loft and Refectory were kept and served out, and the other was the Pantry or Covey. The account of the way the Cellar door was at the foot of the steps going up to the Loft, and this stair foot hard against the Frater door, points to the apartment next the cloister as the Cellar, which is also probable from its having a door, now stopped up, into the great west wing at the other end, and with it may have been connected, probably then in one space, two of the other subdivisions (figs. 40, 41, plate 10). The fourth space, having a door opening into the Frater house, would then be the Pantry, or Covey, whose door, where the remains of the food from the monks' meals were taken in, was near to one of the hatches from the kitchen. The food was afterwards handed out through a little window to two children of the Almerie, who came daily for it for the use of the poor children of the Infirmary school. The marks of antiquity here are not older than the thirteenth century. Under the Refectory, or Fraternity, however, we have work of the greatest antiquity; undoubtedly that executed by the monks in erecting their refectory whilst their bishop, William de Carilef, was in exile from 1088 to 1091. It formed merely the basement to their work, and is vaulted or groined all over to carry the Refectory floor. At the western part some modifications in the vaulting have been made, but otherwise the whole is original, and the work very simple and solid. In the two eastern bays on the south are small mutilated Norman doors, with merely a bead moulding; on the outside of the jamb of the other bays in the south wall is a small Norman window, but every one of these openings is blocked up by the material on which the pavement of the long passage from the Kitchen to the Deanery is laid. These vaults were probably used for cellarage in monastic times, the usual cellarage being, as we shall see, applied to other purposes. It is probably to this building that Hutchinson alludes¹ when he says, "The whole square of the cloister is vaulted underneath, supported on short columns and totally dark in its various aisles, like a labyrinth;" for there is no reason to suppose that anything of the kind exists in the cloister square. Hegg also says

¹ Hutchinson, vol. ii, p. 264.

(1626), "The subterraneous passages under this church, as in other abbys are manie," which may very well be true of the sewers and water conduits in the south parts of the monastery. Just south of the doors at the east end of these vaults, and opposite the entrance to the prior's hall, stood a small chamber, the Bursar's Exchequer or office; he was the accountant of the monastery. A modern building, giving access to the basement of the Deanery, occupies the site. Between it and the Kitchen was the coal garth. The Kitchen remains in perfect condition. In its use it was common to the monks, the prior and the guest-hall. The present building, which resembles that of Glastonbury, and is very perfect, was built in the time of Prior Robert Berington, about 1368, Bishop Langley giving towards the work £180 18s. 7d. It is an octagonal room thirty-six feet six inches in diameter. The east and the west sides contained entrances. North and south had the principal fire-places. The south-east and south-west sides had smaller fire-places and a small pantry or closet contrived behind each one of them still perfect. The north-east side contains a closet and a turret stair, and the north-west a fire-place. The Kitchen is vaulted, and has a lantern or louvre in the middle of the roof. Billings gives a good view of the vault.

The west wing of the monastery ought, according to ordinary practice, to have contained the Cellary of the monastery on the ground floor, and the dormitory of the servants above, nor if the whole length of this wing had been so appropriated would it be of extraordinary size for the purpose. It is a hundred and ninety-three feet long within the walls, which is more than a hundred feet less than the corresponding building, which was actually so used, at Fountains Abbey. Of the first erection of this wing at Durham, we have no account; but that it was erected in Norman times corresponding in style of workmanship with the Chapter House on the opposite side of the cloister square, we may judge by the noble Norman door at its north end (fig. 44, plate 10), which leads to the dormitory, now the new library, and by some Norman fragments and a Norman door belonging to the upper story to be seen on the exterior about midway on its west side (fig. 49, plate 10). The architecture, however, shews that it was almost entirely reconstructed in the thirteenth century (see view of interior, fig. 2, plate 13);

and, then again, we know, both by the records and the architecture, that part of the lower walls and the entire upper story were once more rebuilt. Bishop Skirlaw gave three hundred and thirty marks towards this work. The contracts made with two masons for this last reconstruction of the building are still in existence.¹ In 1398 John Hemmingborough, prior, and the convent, agreed with John Middleton, mason, to execute the reconstruction of the entire wing within three years. He was to have £40 in silver when he began the work, ten marks for every rod of work measured superficially, and whenever six rods were completed, a further payment of £40; he was to find all labour and material, and to make and put in the masonry of windows, for which apparently he was paid merely by measuring over them as solid wall, for no other payment is specified. He undertook to maintain the old vault, which we see that he did as he undertook; he was to maintain also the old chimney of the Common house; but, although the writer of the *Rites and Monuments* mentions the fireplace as if it was there in his time (1593), I am not aware that it now exists. John Middleton was to take down the old east wall from the Church to the Refectory, the entire south wall and the entire west wall. The new side walls were to be sixty feet high, furnished with a battlement and krenellation. The old windows under the vault he was to make good, except that four of them were to be new, and five others of a new design or like one in the middle of the Common house were also to be made in the north part of the west side. In the Dormitory a window was to be made and arched over for every study or sleeping place of the monks, and over them above the studies was to be another range of windows less numerous, and this on both sides of the dormitory. For access to the dormitory a stair turret was to be made in form and strength like the Constable tower of Branspeth Castle; and there were to be four doors made in the west wall under the vaults. For some reason, however, after John Middleton had raised the cloister wall or east wall of the first story, had built the south end and a considerable portion of the south part of the west wall, in about two years a contract was made with Peter Dryng, another mason, in 1491, to complete his work on similar terms as to pay-

¹ Raine's *Tres Scriptores*, Appendix, Nos. 160, 164.

ment, and before the feast of All Saints in 1404. He was to pull down what was left of the old wall at its north end, to insert the five windows which we now see there on the ground story, and to carry up the upper story with its two ranges of windows both on the east and west sides. The stair turret after the fashion of the Constable tower at Branspeth Castle was now abandoned. He was to make a stair from the Dormitory into the Church in the south Galilee tower; but this stair also was never made, and it does not appear that the four entrances in the west wall were ever formed. As I have already pointed out, also, two pieces of the old Norman wall were still preserved. The author of the *Rites and Monuments* (1593), describes this wing as possessing the Treasury of the monastery where it now is, viz., occupying one bay of the vault next the church (fig. 43, plate 10). From the editors of this book we also learn that the next two bays were converted in the time of King Charles I into a song school, as they have ever since remained (figs. 45, 46, plate 10). The next bay has quite recently been formed into a vestry, but with these three bays taken off from it the Common House (see plate 13) yet remains, a hundred and twenty-six feet long and thirty-eight feet wide within the walls. This Common House was the day room of the monks. Their Dormitory occupied the whole wing over; there was a wide paved passage down the middle, and on either side a range of wainscot divisions or enclosures made a bed-place and study for each monk. The novices had those at the south end, on the west side where, by reason of the abutting of the refectory, the bed-places were without windows. At each end of the passage a large stone had twelve cressets in it to hold tallow to light the place. The cellarer's office adjoined this building at the south end, and also the kitchen. It was modernised and used as a house for one of the prebendaries, but has now been entirely pulled down and its extent is known only by Sir H. Englefield's plan. The Latrines for the use of the monks lay between the wing and the river. On the ground floor there was a passage between them and the wing, as will plainly be seen by the marks on the common house wall (fig. 49, plate 10), and from Sir H. Englefield's plan I am able to draw the other side of this passage though very little trace of its wall is now to be seen. The latrines are described as being

on an upper floor, borne on two large pillars. Each latrine enclosed with wainscot and having its own window, whilst three windows in the end towards the river, and one to the south lighted the whole apartment. The Bowling-green for the novices lay between the latrines and the Galilee. It is probable that when Hugh Pudsey built the Galilee, and thereby shut off all public approach to the west wing of the monastery, it was then decided that this position would be secluded enough for the monks, and that the east wing might be given up to the prior.

The Cloister is the last subject to be dealt with. Of the original design or construction of the cloister we have no information; for the present one the monks were mainly indebted to the munificence of Bishop Skirlaw, who gave and bequeathed £600 for its construction. Ten years after his death, Thomas Hindley, mason, in 1416, entered into a contract with Bishop Langley, Skirlaw's successor, to erect one-fourth part of the Cloister. Between 1408 and 1418 Skirlaw's donations were expended on the work, and Langley added £238 17s. Prior Washington, who was elected in 1416, expended £33 on the studies or carrels in the north walk of the cloister, and £43 15s. on those of the novices, and £26 5s. on the lavatory and closets for towels. As a study of antiquity the cloister has been deprived of its value by the modern reconstruction of its windows.

The Lavatory, whose basin still remains in its place in the middle of the Cloister Garth, was an octagon having a door towards the Refectory and seven windows; the monks could stand within it all round the basin, which had twenty-four brass cocks, and the time for using it was at 11 A.M. before going to the Refectory. It was roofed over, and above the roof a dovecote was formed. But the most remarkable object in the Cloister was a small chapel-like building, of which I believe no mark now exists, it stood in the east walk or probably just out of the east walk projecting into the garth opposite the Parlour door, and contained the tomb on which the shrine of St. Cuthbert rested when the White Church was pulled down, till in 1104 the present building was ready to receive it; then a stone effigy of St. Cuthbert was placed upon the tomb and there remained till Dean Horn destroyed the building and placed the effigy against the cloister wall close to the Parlour door. Dean

Whittingham soon after utterly destroyed the effigy. To me it seems probable that the site of this tomb was the place of the shrine as it stood in the White Church. The cloister windows along the entire eastern side were filled with the history of St. Cuthbert in stained glass. The wooden ceiling is not handsome, though of the original work of Langley's or Skirlaw's time. The north walk of the cloister was appropriated to the carrels or pews where the monks worked after dinner at their books, three oak carrels being set in each window; thirty-three carrels in all and all elaborately wrought. On the opposite side of the walk were oak almeries against the church wall in which the books were kept. In the west alley opposite the Treasury door was a stall for the novices at their studies, and the master of the novices had a handsome stall close to that door. The porter of the cloister had a seat at the door going out of the cloister close to the prior's usher door, and all along the south side nearly up to the Refectory door was a stone bench. Once a year, on Maundy Thursday, this bench was filled with children, to have their feet washed by the monks, and to have alms given to them; and from the parlour door to the church door a movable oak bench was placed at the same time, for a number of men, towards whom the monks performed the same office. A large almary, with perforated front, stood on each side of the Frater house door, to hold and dry the towels used by the monks. Every day, after dinner, the whole convent went by the usher's door into the Cemetery, to meditate over their departed brethren. We read of a song-school and a charnel chapel which once stood in this Cemetery.

And here I must conclude, my purpose having been to treat of the existing buildings, and particularly those of the monastic quadrangle. A very important building, the Guest House, is described as having had aisles like a church. It lay in the court to the south of the regular buildings, and so did the Infirmary; very little is to be seen of them. Yet besides Prior Castell's gateway, leading into the south bailey, there are other objects of interest in that court where the granary, barn, etc., stood, whose position would probably be found on a close examination.

Note.—At the bottom of the sixth page of this paper, one of the great cylindrical columns of the south transept is erroneously described as plain. It is spirally fluted.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 88.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23.

THE morning was spent in Durham. Immediately after the morning service in the Cathedral, the Association assembled in the New Library, where Mr. Gordon Hills was in readiness to conduct them over the Cathedral and conventual buildings. He exhibited plans of the monasteries of Bury St. Edmunds, Fountains, and Durham, in which the pre-eminent size of the former was made conspicuous; the striking similarity of the two latter was evident; and the general coincidence of the monastic arrangements, according to the Benedictine rule, was perceived. Notwithstanding its agreement with this rule, however, in the disposition of the buildings, there was a marked departure from it in the use of them; for from a very early period the monks at Durham occupied the west wing of the monastery, or that usually assigned to the lay brethren; whilst the east wing, usually occupied by the monks, was wholly given up to the use of the prior. The party proceeded to perambulate the buildings, first examining the Cathedral, and concluding in the grounds of the Deanery, where Archdeacon Prest proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer. Mr. Gordon Hills has since drawn up the description for press, and it is given at p. 197 *ante*, in the present number.

In the afternoon Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., took up the guidance of the Association at Finchale Priory. This ruin is about five miles distant from Durham. The river Wear sweeps round it on the east and north sides; and in the nook thus formed, the Priory grounds slope down to the stream; whilst the opposite bank rises precipitously to a great height, clothed with luxuriant woods. In this place lived St. Godric, a hermit, who died in 1170, and whose austerity conferred a sanctity upon it; so that a small monastery was immediately founded, and furnished with Benedictine monks from Durham. The erection of the edifices which remain began in 1242. Mr. Roberts' paper will be printed, with illustrations, in a future *Journal*.

At the evening meeting at Durham Castle, in Bishop Hatfield's Hall, a paper was read by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, "On the Progress of the Roman Arms in Britain, with special Reference to the Position of their northern Frontier." This paper is given *in extenso* at p. 166 *ante*. The successes and reverses of the Roman legions in the two expeditions of Caesar, the partial subjugation of the southern maritime districts, the expedition of the Emperor Claudius under Aulus Plautius half a century later, and the campaign under Claudius in person, which brought the central and eastern districts into subjection, were minutely traced. Then A.D. 50 followed the conquest of the south-west under Ostorius Scapula, followed by the subjugation of Wales. The Brigantes and tribes occupying from sea to sea the territories north of the Dee and the Wash, were subdued by Agricola, and he established the chain of forts between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. This boundary remained till Hadrian; and, it was argued, even much later; the difficulty being to understand the precise purpose, if it were so, of the wall of Hadrian from the Tyne to the Solway, erected so far within it. Under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, Lollius Urbicus renewed the northern boundary with a continuous vallum. The Emperor Severus drove the formidable hosts of the Caledonians, who had broken through both lines of fortification, far beyond the wall of Antoninus,—and, indeed, to the extremity of the island: nevertheless he strengthened the inner, and not the outer wall. Ninety years from his death the Emperor Constantius performed a similar exploit. The reign of Valentinian, however, saw all the barriers broken through, and the barbarians at the gates of London. Theodosius saved the city by his timely arrival, and re-established the Roman dominion to the wall of Hadrian; and even though he did not reerect forts beyond it, it would appear that his patrols held the country as far as the northern wall; and that Theodosius named the district between the two walls "Valentia," in honour of his master, Valentinian, it having never before been classed as a Roman province. When the imperial legions finally withdrew, the recognised boundary between the Britons and Caledonians, with the Picts, was the old north wall of Antonine.

Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., argued that such defences as the two Roman walls were intended rather to prevent the escape of predatory armies with their plundered herds of cattle, than to resist their inroads, since the country was always open to invasion by sea round the ends of the walls.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth read an interesting description of a Roman altar, found in 1864, converted to form the capital of a column in Gainford Church. This paper is also printed in full at p. 182 *ante*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

On Thursday morning a special train carried the excursionists to Barnard Castle, where Captain Robinson acted as guide. The Castle, now in ruins, was built by Bernard Balliol in the beginning of the twelfth century; and the most interesting of the remains are a circular Norman tower and a Norman gateway. The work was dismantled in 1630, and the internal arrangements have become almost totally obliterated. The sunny brightness of the morning displayed to the visitors the charming scenery of the Tees, on the banks of which river the Castle stands.

The next point in the progress of the party was Staindrop Church, where they were received by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, who drew attention to the architecture of the building, shewing how from a humble Norman edifice it had increased to the size and dignity required for a collegiate church.

Mr. Planché interested the visitors by his remarks on the sumptuous monuments of the Nevilles, which the church contains.

A short drive through Raby Park brought the Association to the princely seat of the President—Raby Castle. Here they were received with the most thorough hospitality; and in the upper hall, where about two hundred and sixty guests sat down, the Duke and Duchess, with the Marquis and Marchioness of Normanby, Lord Houghton, and other visitors, were unremitting in their attentions to the wants of the travellers. Mr. Planché, as a Vice-President of the Association, in a few apt words, acknowledged the hearty kindness of the noble entertainers, and the Duke of Cleveland warmly expressed the gratification which the presence of the Association afforded him.

In the lower hall a history of Raby Castle was then read by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, in which the industry, learning, and enthusiasm of that gentleman were conspicuous. Nothing could be more complete than his acquaintance with the subject which he undertook. The difficulty was to condense it into an illustration of the building suited to the time at disposal. The stately castle to which it refers, as it now stands, was erected soon after 1345, as proved by the licence to fortify it, extracted from the Close Rolls of Bishop Hatfield of Durham, and by the general coincidence of the architecture with that period. Passing through a fine gate-tower, the bailey of the castle is entered. The castle itself consists of a quadrangular mass of great dignity and splendour, with an open court in the centre. One side of the court or quadrangle opposite its entrance is occupied by the two halls, one above the other, of such stupendous proportions that carriages are admitted to drive across the quadrangle into the lower hall. The

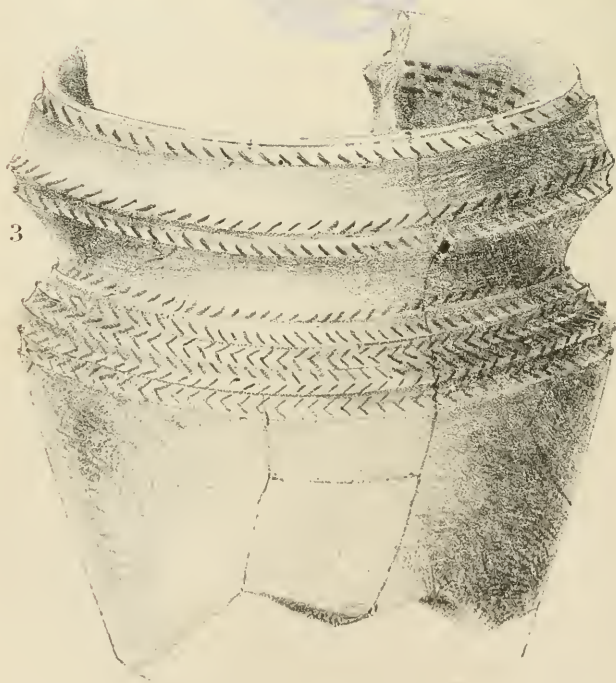




1



2



3

1 & 2 actual size — 3 one third actual size

sides of the quadrangle have the kitchen and offices springing from one end of the hall, and the principal chambers of the castle from the other, according to the usual distribution of the age.

At the evening meeting in the town hall at Durham an elaborate and excellent paper was read "On the Norman Ancestry of the Nevilles," by Mr. Planché, which will be printed in the next *Journal*. Mr. C. Carr furnished an interesting account of a supposed Anglo-Saxon inscription of considerable length found on an oak beam at Hexham Castle, but which, it was maintained by some present, was English of the fifteenth century. The evening was brought to a close by a short paper by Mr. T. W. King, *York Herald*, pointing out the MSS. relating to Durham in the Library of the College of Arms.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

FEBRUARY 28TH.

GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Frederick Peck, Esq., of Furnivals Inn, was elected a Member.

WE are now able to give an illustration (fig. 1, plate 14) of the pointed end of an ancient war-club of ash, measuring two inches and half across its widest part, and full one inch in thickness, exhumed from the Thames bank 1865, belonging to the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and exhibited at the meeting of January 10th; and Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced at the same time a war-club twenty-two and half inches in length, from the North-west Coast of North America, the end of which is of the precise form and size of the London weapon. Bone spear-ferules closely resembling those employed by the Esquimaux have been found in Moorfields. Here we have the remains of a British war-club apparently identical in fashion with one used by another American tribe; and Britannie clubs of stone like the *Meri* of New Zealand are described in our *Journal* (xv, 231). These facts shew what a valuable light may be shed on our national antiquities by a careful study of the works of foreign races.

On January the 24th Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a British urn referred to at page 107 *ante*, together with a flint arrow head. Both these objects are figured at 2 and 3, plate 14. The following is Mr. Brent's account of them:—Some time ago I was informed by the men engaged in digging gravel in a pit at Summer-hill, three miles from Canterbury, that they had often dug out old pots full of bones, but not being aware

that they were of any use, the boys had been allowed to destroy them. I found at the same time several pieces of ash-coloured Upchurch pottery, necks and handles of amphoras, one or two pieces of Samian ware and fragments of British urns, but nothing of sufficient size to be worth saving. On visiting the pit when at Canterbury in September last, I was informed by the foreman that he had got an urn for me at his house which had been dug out of the gravel, and which upon inspection I found to be an urn of ash-coloured pottery, with the usual crossed lined pattern about four inches in diameter and eight in height. The man promised to send it to me, but not receiving it, on inquiry respecting the reason, I was informed that a child had thrown it down and broken it to pieces. I suspected that it had been again sold, as I could not obtain any fragments of it. Whilst at the pit the workmen came upon a British urn. This was buried in an inverted position, about eight feet from the surface, but being very much decayed it crumbled away at the slightest touch. It contained burnt bones and the flint knife or arrow-head exhibited. The urn is nine inches in diameter, and about eight and half in height. In the bank close to the urn were several deposits of burnt bones about four inches in breadth and three in height, which seemed to have been originally placed in an urn now decayed, I searched very carefully but could not find any trace of pottery remaining *about* them.

J. B. Greenshields, Esq., of Lesmahago, Lanarkshire, sent for exhibition some articles brought by him from Egypt and also some from Canada. To four pieces of stone broken from the stairs of the vocal Memnon at Thebes were added by Mr. Syer Cuming, two other pieces formerly belonging to the late Sir Patrick Walker. The stone is of a pinkish tinge, varying much in depth of colour in the pieces produced, and is a sandstone composed of very pure quartz grains, the texture somewhat coarse though regular and compact, but so little cementitious matter present as to interfere but slightly with the transparency of the grains. The object of the exhibition was to inquire as to the possibility of such a material being resonant and capable of producing the sound attributed to it by Pausanias like the snapping of a harp-string. Strabo, who heard it, says the sound was like that of a moderate blow. A sound of this description would not be marvellous except for the regularity of its occurrence at sunrise, and for this occurrence no conclusive conjectures have yet been offered. The Chairman reprehended a practice of procuring relics which had here brought together no less than six fragments to the detriment of this renowned statue.

Mr. J. B. Greenshields also exhibited a disc-shaped cover with stopper of a vase, perforated so that a small brush or pin could be dipped into the vessel without the removal of the lid. It is of deep-green pot-stone neatly turned on the lathe, and measures nearly two

inches diameter, the aperture full half-an-inch diameter. Found at Thebes, January 16th, 1847.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Secretary, said,—The Vocal Memnon belonged to the time of Amenoph III (eighth monarch of the xviii dynasty) who reigned between B.C. 1692-1661, and reminded the meeting of Strabo's account. Strabo was evidently sceptical as to how the sound was produced. He says (lib. xvii):—"It is believed that once a day a sound, like that produced by a moderate blow, proceeds from that part of the statue which remains on the seat and the pedestal. I happened to be on the spot with Ælius Gallus, and many of his friends and soldiers, about the first hour, when I heard the sound; but whether it came from the base, or from the colossus, or was made by some one of those around the base, I cannot affirm. For as the cause was not visible one is inclined to adopt any conjecture rather than believe that the sound came out of the mass of stone." Pausanias (i, 42, 3) says of the Vocal Memnon that "it daily at sun rise produces a sound which you may best compare with the snapping of a harp or lute string." Hamilton (*Ægyptiaca*, p. 163) when speaking of the two colossal statues of Memnon at Thebes, states that "the stone of which they are formed is a hard reddish grès. From the action of the weather it is in many places discoloured, and often appears of a black, grey, brown, and whitish hue." Mr. Cuming produced an angular piece of the base of the Vocal Memnon of a pale brownish colour, and a fragment of the statue of a reddish-pink tint, which was formerly in the collection of the late Sir Patrick Walker.

Mr. Greenshields also forwarded some javelin and arrow blades of conchoidal hornstone obtained from the Sepulchral Mounds of Upper Canada—viz., a lanceolate blade, two and a quarter inches long; triangular ditto, one inch and five-eighths long; ditto ditto, two inches long, the sides near the base chipped away to receive the sinew where-with it was bound into the slit shaft; a javelin blade of the same form and similarly treated, three inches and seven-eighths long. These examples are interesting from their close resemblance in contour with blades found in Ireland. Mr. Greenshields states that "when one asks the Indians of the present day about the ancient mounds and their contents, they always reply, 'Who knows about them, we don't.'"

Mr. Greenshields further contributed a leaf-shaped sword of bronze, recovered from the Thames in 1859 or 60, and purchased by him at the sale of the effects of the late Stephen Williamson of Glasgow. Its present length is fifteen and a quarter inches; but as full half of the hilt is broken off, it must have originally measured some eighteen inches. It is of the type usually met with in the Britannie Islands, and closely resembles examples obtained from the Thames near Vauxhall and Battersea, engraved in this *Journal* (iii, 6, xiv, 328). It is worthy

of attention that brazen weapons have been found in the Thames from London Bridge up the river as far as Richmond and Kingston, but the greater bulk have occurred off Battersea, upon which subject see *Journal* (xiii, 237; xiv, 326).

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a sketch of the hilt of one of the largest leaf-shaped swords yet discovered near London, the original being in the Bateman collection at Youghgrave. Nearly two inches of the upper part is broken off but the weapon still measures twenty-six inches in length, and is two inches and five-eighths in breadth where the plate widens next the blade. It was found at Battersea in 1858, and mentioned in this *Journal* (xiv, 329).

Mr. G. Vere Irving exhibited a leaf-shaped sword of steel copied from an ancient one of bronze in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, and which his father wore at the beginning of the present century as a Captain of an Edinburgh Corps of Volunteer Artillery.

Mr. John Davidson exhibited a *congius*, of which he gave the following description:—It is twelve inches high, holding 120 ounces of water, and having the following inscription in seven lines:—

IMP . CAESARE
VESPAS . VI
T . CAES . AVG . F . IIII . COS
MENSURA
EXACTÆ . IN
CAPITOLIO
P . X

It is said to be Vespasian's *congius*, or measure for ten pounds, and was, I believe, bought in Paris about the year 1825, by the late Mr. John Davidson, the well-known African traveller, who always considered that this was the true and original *congius Romanus* once preserved in the Farnese Palace at Rome; but he having lost his life on a journey attempted into Central Africa, has left no account or note of where he obtained it.

This vase exhibited closely resembles that mentioned by John Greaves, in his *Discourse of the Roman Foot and Denarius* (London, 1647), in many places. At page 12, the inscription is given on a copper engraving of the vessel itself at page 88, but a very slight oval marking, which appears on his engraving close to the inscription is wanting on this vase. He says (p. 87):—"The last and best way to discover the weight of it (*the denarius*) is by the *congius Romanus*, whereof by a special providence, as Pœtus and Villapandus have well observed, the original standard of Vespasian is still extant in Rome." The *congius* which he engraves, it appears Greaves actually saw; for he says (Note, p. 91):—"This *congius* I had weighed, if I could have procured a balance of such exactness as was fitting for such a work." Greaves also speaks of a copy of it kept at Aix, procured by Peireskius.

He goes on (p. 92):—"At my being in Italy, there was found among the ruins at Rome a *semi-congius* in brass of the same figure, with this of Vespasian, the sides much consumed by rust. This I also measured, and found it to be half of Vespasian's congius."

The other notices of the congius in this book are concerning the various measurements and weighings of it, that Poetus, Villapandus, and others have taken.

It would be interesting to know—(1) What has become of the Aix copy of the congius? (2) In what metal that copy was made? (3) Whether the semi-congius is still preserved in Rome? And (4) Whether the Farnese Museum is still in existence, or was sold, or taken by the French.

This vase has been in Mr. Davidson's possession since 1836, and it is owing to his brother's unfortunate murder by Arabs that nothing more is known about where it was obtained. The questions proposed by Mr. Davidson were discussed by the meeting, and Mr. Levien, Hon. Sec., undertook to draw up a paper on the subject, which was read at the next meeting, and is printed at full (page 191, *ante*).

Mr. C. Faulkner exhibited two fine Saxon coins, the earliest a penny of Offa, turned up with a hoe, in a garden near Deddington Castle, within a few yards of the principal entrance. *Ob.* Bust to the right, OFFA . REX. *Rev.* Open cross-crosslet with a small cross in the centre. *Legend*, EA . D . HV . N, distributed in the four spaces between the limbs. This coin differs from any engraved in Ruding, and from those in the Brit. Mus. The second piece is a penny of Ethelred, found in a garden at Brackley, Northamptonshire. *Ob.* Bust to the left, + ÆDELRED REX ANG. *Rev.* Plain cross of parallel lines, the extremities placed upon trefoiled bases. *Legend*, + LEO . FRIC . MOL . VND, distributed in the four spaces between the limbs of the cross.

Mr. Faulkner also produced an impression of a vesica-shaped matrix given by Mrs. Richardson to the See of Durham, September 8th, 1858, and evidently made for one of its bishops; but it differs from all the seals engraved in Surtees's *Durham*, and in Raine's *History of Auckland Castle*. In the field is an effigy of the Virgin and Child, with a king on her right and a bishop on her left hand, all under a triple canopy. Beneath in a niche stands a bishop holding a crosier in his left hand, and which niche divides two shields, the sinister one charged with a cross between four lions passant-gardant (instead of rampant, as they ought to be, if these be the arms of Durham), the dexter one with a chevron between three lions rampant-gardant (they should be rampant, if this be the arms of Durham Priory). The legend is *Sigillum W. Dei Grat' Dunelmus Episc.* Mr. Faulkner remarked that the only two Williams of the period of this seal would be W. Dudley, 1476-1483, and W. Sever or Sivows, 1502-1505.



A further contribution from Mr. Faulkner was a mortuary trinket of Charles I, which had been in his family's possession beyond memory. It bears a nearly full-faced bust of the king, dividing the letters C. R, beautifully enameled on gold, and protected by a glass. On the reverse is a death's head, surrounded by the words *January 30, 1648*, in white on a field of black enamel. On either side the little oval miniature is a loop through which a ribbon has slid to permit the trinket to be worn round the neck or on the arm.

Mr. Welton exhibited a two-handled vase from the tombs of the Incas, Peru. It is about five inches high, and from its elegant contour might pass for a Grecian *Diotia*, whilst the paste and brown surface so closely resembles archaic wares of Cervetri, that it might at first sight be taken for an Italian fabric. It is noteworthy that Peruvian and Mexican vessels are not unfrequently decorated with the classic fret or so-called key-pattern.

An excellent paper, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, was read, "On Chambered Barrows," being an attempt to shew a consecutive order of date in these structures, illustrated and described from his own personal researches and excavations. It will be printed *in extenso*.

MARCH 14TH.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Charles Fox Roe, Esq., of Litchmarsh, Derby, was elected a Member.

The thanks of the Society were voted for the following presents :

To the Society—For No. 81 Proceedings of the Royal Society. 8vo.

„ „ For Proceedings of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 86. June, 1865. 8vo.

Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read the paper promised at the last meeting on the supposed Congius of Vespasian. Mr. Levien's paper appears at p. 191 *ante*. Mr. Davidson's Congius was again exhibited, and the thanks of the Association were warmly given for his production of so interesting a subject.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the metal of the congius before the meeting did not bear the character of Roman bronze, but in his opinion the vase was an imitation of an ancient standard made in the sixteenth century, when reproductions of the antique were so abundantly made at Padua, and eagerly sought after and prized by the educated people as household ornaments.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills drew attention to the fact that Mr. Davidson's vase could not be the one which Greaves had seen at Rome, and figured in his book, since the inscription engraved on the one before the meeting was not accompanied by the dotted oval curves which Greaves marked at the side of his inscription. If this congius had

been made for use as a standard measure, it must be admitted that particular care would be bestowed on its internal form, since the interior and not the exterior form was the measure of the standard. In this case, however, but little pains had been bestowed on the interior, which was quite rough to the fingers, and at one place, just at its broadest diameter, the irregularity was so considerable as to appear to mark a rough junction of the mould or core on which the casting had been made; no attempt had been made to clear away or smooth down this, which would sensibly interfere with the contents, but the mouth of the vase had been turned smooth just far enough inside to look fair, and to mislead as to the actual state of the internal finish, if the sense of feeling were not consulted. Nevertheless, the weight and cubical contents of this congius agreed very closely with a true standard, tested by ordinary weights and scales; and by a computation made from a carefully drawn section of the vase, he had found it to contain six pints *minus* 6.622 cubic inches of water, which weighed 7 lbs. 4½ oz. Close to the bottom of the vase is a small pin-hole, or perforation, which had to be stopped before the vase could be filled. This vase, or congius, takes, as Mr. Cuming had suggested, a form just the reverse of a dice box, being small in diameter at the top and bottom, and wide in the middle; the whole height is almost exactly twelve inches including the brim, which projects about an inch all round the top, and forms a receptacle half-an-inch deep above the actual mouth of the standard, to receive any overflow from it. The mouth is three and a-quarter inches diameter, and just admits a hand conveniently, and the form is so apt for the purpose of examination by the hand, that every part of the inside surface may be felt and tested by the fingers. If the standard measure had been made broad at the top, like a bucket, the interior would have been easily examined, but then the spacious mouth would have made it very difficult to fill the vessel accurately, very many drops more or less might have been present or wanting without very perceptibly altering the level of the liquid contents, but with the narrow mouth accuracy was ensured in this respect. Again, if the standard had been made simply a long narrow tube, no examination of its interior could have been easily made; and so the contrivers of this measure adopted a mouth which gave a tolerable degree of accuracy to the filling of the vessel, united to a form the interior of which could be easily examined.

Mr. George Vere Irving, F.S.A., Scot., Mr. J. W. Bailey, and some other Members present, concurred with Mr. Cuming in the opinion he expressed as to the nature of the metal; and the conclusion at which that gentleman had arrived that the congius was an imitation and not an actual standard, was supported by the history drawn up by Mr. Levien, and by the facts to which Mr. Hills had drawn attention.

The Chairman then read a paper on the Progress and Present Condition of Archæological Science, which has been printed at page 64 of the present volume.

In reference to the lamented death of Dr. Lee, of Hartwell House, near Aylesbury, which occurred on the 25th of February, the Council has directed the following correspondence to be printed. The late John Lee, Esq., Q.C., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., was a Member of the British Archæological Association from the commencement, and President of the Congress at Leicester in 1862. He was also a distinguished member of the Astronomical Society.

25, Parliament-street, 11th April, 1866.

DEAR MRS. LEE,—The Council of the British Archæological Association has deputed me to offer its sincere condolences on the loss you have sustained in the death of Dr. Lee. The blow which has fallen on you has also fallen on us, who were his fellow-workers for many years in scientific paths when fewer trod them than now.

The tender regard in which Dr. Lee was held by all with whom he came in contact was due to his kind and zealous friendship and his scientific attainments, and we shall look back on these with such satisfaction as his absence leaves for us.

We, especially, have cause to remember him with respect, because for so many years he aided and supported this Society when it was surrounded by difficulties; and it must have been a satisfaction to him, as well as to us, to know that it was through countenance and exertions such as his that it has reached a state of prosperity.

The records of his acts and friendly help are in our pages, and we take this, the only means now left us, of showing our appreciation of them, and our sense of the loss we and you have sustained.

Believe me to be, dear Mrs. Lee,

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD ROBERTS, *Hon. Sec.*

Totteridge Park, May 4th, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,—When the next meeting of the British Archæological Association shall take place, will you kindly convey to the Council my very sincere thanks for their kind expression of sympathy with me in the sad loss which I have lately sustained, and for their gratifying testimony of respect and regard for my late husband, Dr. Lee, who, as you most truly observe, always took the most affectionate interest in the Association. Believe me, very sincerely yours,

LOUISA C. LEE.

Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1866.

ON SOME PECULIARITIES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHAMBERED BARROWS.

BY THE REV. W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

IN the year 1863, when this Association held its Congress at Leeds, I had the honour of delivering a paper upon the subject of cromlechs, as certain sepulchral monuments are commonly but improperly called; *i.e.*, on chambered or megalithic barrows. My principal object upon that occasion was to lay down a proposition against which I thought no reasonable objection could be advanced, *viz.*, that *all* so-called cromlechs were the stone chambers of sepulchral mounds which had once covered them; and that the word *cromlech* was inapplicable to the structure, and had been the cause of misleading persons as to the original construction and use of the building. It is a circumstance worthy of note that this word has never been applied to the structure when perfect, *i.e.*, when enclosed in its earthen or stony mound,—a proof, if any were wanting, that the true nature of the denuded chamber has not been carefully studied.

The favourable reception which that paper obtained, and the confirmation of the opinions therein expressed, which was accorded by several distinguished archaeologists who were present, were gratifying and encouraging, because I was conscious that much ignorance prevailed, and that long-established prejudices in favour of horrible sacrificial rites upon the covering or roofing slabs,—rites which originated in the imagination of modern authors,—had still to be eradicated.

Since that time I have revisited Brittany, the land of megalithic structures, where the soundest and most instructive lessons respecting their nature and uses may be learnt; and I am glad to be able to say that all my former opinions have been, if possible, more firmly strengthened; and much additional information has been obtained, which will throw light upon certain sepulchral buildings of a similar character on our side of the Channel.

I dare not venture to say that we know all that may be known respecting these early works of an obscure period of man's history. We are only beginning to know their elementary characters, and, it may be, we are not yet acquainted with the whole of them. Certain it is that we have yet to learn by what mechanical contrivances they were erected; whether the primary form of the stone chamber was *with* or *without* a covered way or passage; whether the extraordinary length attained by these covered ways, in some cases, was as originally designed, or was the growth of years and of circumstances; why, in some instances, the most gigantic barrows should contain very short covered ways; and why stones of enormous dimensions should have been employed to roof chambers for which stones of less than half their magnitude would have amply sufficed. These and other particulars we are still ignorant of.

Some peculiarities in the construction of these chambered barrows I purpose treating of in the following pages,—peculiarities which, I admit, in a great measure belong to the primeval sepulchres of Brittany; some of which, nevertheless, when carefully considered, may help to elucidate peculiar features attaching to some sepulchral monuments of our own country.

A regret which I expressed at Leeds I must repeat here, viz., my inability to refer you to a chambered barrow in the neighbourhood of Durham, the existence of which would have made the subject of this paper more generally interesting, and more easily understood. It will, therefore, be necessary for me, before I proceed any further, to explain what is meant by a chambered barrow.

I do not include in this designation the very common form of barrow with which most persons are familiar, and which, in a limited sense, is chambered, that, namely, which is abundant throughout the kingdom, where we find a mound

raised over a kind of eist or grave, dug in the earth, containing the interment; but I refer exclusively to that sepulchral mound (plate 15, fig. 1) which encloses a chamber rudely constructed with more or less massive, unhewn blocks of stone erected on the surface-level, a circle of stones being sometimes found at the foot of the mound. It is altogether distinct from the commoner form of barrow, and exhibits a species of architecture which, if not of a high order, is in many cases perfectly astounding and impressive, from the gigantic and massive proportions of the materials employed in the building; and in other cases is instructive as exhibiting very early examples of the arched vaulting of a rude age. Those persons who have seen only British monuments of this nature can form no idea of the wonderful size of the mounds, and of the stones composing many of these barrows, in the peninsula of Locmariaquer in Brittany. There are very few examples in our country that will bear comparison with them.

Having described a chambered barrow, and exemplified the description by reference to a monument of the kind in its simplest form, viz., a chamber *without* a covered way or passage leading to it, I will now shew you one *with* a covered way (plate 15, fig. 2), the object of which was clearly to afford a ready access to the sepulchral chamber. Some of these passages are very long, as at Gavr' Innis in Brittany and New Grange in Ireland. It is a fact that by far the larger number of chambered barrows are provided with this passage. I am therefore inclined to the opinion that the passage is coeval with the rest of the structure with which it is associated, and forms a part of the original design.¹

You have, then, these two forms of sepulchral chamber; but there is a peculiarity connected with them, viz., that the mound which encloses them is also of two forms, circular and long; and both enclose sometimes a simple chamber, and sometimes a chamber with its covered passage. But there is this also to be observed, that the two forms of mound contain sepulchral chambers which appear to have been constructed by persons having identical resources, the same degree of civilisation, the same religious belief apparently, and very similar, if not identical, burial customs. There is, consequently, strong ground for supposing that both these

¹ It undoubtedly was so in the richly sculptured example of Gavr' Innis.

forms of barrows in the same district belonged to one tribe, who for many generations continued to erect them; because the architecture of both kinds is identical, and exhibits a similar progress in the art and science of building. I say they *appear* to belong to one tribe, for, as regards the long barrows of Brittany, there are many reasons for supposing that they were originally circular mounds which by subsequent additions have assumed a long form. If this be true, it will follow that the several and distinct stone structures which are sometimes found in the same barrow belong to different periods, *i.e.*, were erected at different times by later generations of the same tribe.

I will now shew by what steps I have been led to this conclusion. You will find that it will rest upon two important particulars,—I, the architecture of the chambers, and the manner in which additional vaults have been erected in the same barrow; II, their contents.

I. THEIR ARCHITECTURE.

1. The architecture of many of the chambers of round and long barrows is strikingly similar,—so similar as to render it most difficult to imagine that they could have been erected by tribes not of the same race. Their side-walls are formed of unhewn blocks of stone set upright, and the interstices are filled with a dry walling to keep back the earth. Their roofs are composed of enormous and ponderous stones laid across, and resting upon the side walling stones. Their covered ways or passages are also constructed after the same manner. The intention of the builders being to provide a secure and appropriate sepulchre, which would worthily represent a family's or people's affection and reverence for a deceased parent and relation, or chieftain, the idea found expression in monuments of a like kind; the only difference being in the *present* form of the mound, which, in a few instances, is long; but this anomalous form is due to the way in which additions have been made to the earliest sepulchre. Take, *e.g.*, two barrows in the parish of Plou-ernel in the south of Brittany, one round and the other long (plate 15, figs. 3 and 4), each containing three separate and distinct chambers. There is no *primâ facie* reason for supposing that one mound is more ancient than the other,

although there is good reason for supposing that the three chambers in each do not belong to one date. Two out of the three chambers, in both the mounds, appear to have been added as necessity called for them. The peculiarity of the form of the *long* barrow is solely owing to the mode of carrying out the intention. My idea is this, that originally both were round barrows containing one chamber; that a second chamber was subsequently added, which, in one case, was placed close to, and nearly parallel with, the original one, and the mound slightly increased, yet retaining its circular form; while in the other case it was placed, for some reason or other, at right angles to the first, and the mound extended in an oval form to enclose it. A third sepulchral chamber was erected at a later period, of smaller dimensions than the two others, in the circular barrow, and the mound again increased; but at a period somewhat earlier than this a third was erected, and added to the oval barrow (and perhaps a fourth chamber also, of which some traces remain), whereby the mound became considerably lengthened. In the circular barrow you will observe a side chamber attached to the second structure,—second, probably, in order of erection.

There are other instances in Brittany of a similar construction. Near Erdeven, a village about three miles north of Plouernel, is a series of three separate sepulchral chambers, now denuded, placed so near together that they could not have been enveloped in separate mounds. I feel justified in considering them analogous to the series I have just described, and to have been originally enclosed in a long barrow. Attached to one of them are three side-chambers.

From these facts it is clear that the form of the long barrow is simply due to the erection of sepulchral chambers near to, and in the same line with, the primary one, and enclosing them in one mound. It was much easier to add chambers in this way than to multiply them in a round barrow. There was much less risk of disturbing the stability of the older sepulchre.

I will now give two examples which afford strong evidence of the above being the true explanation of this peculiar feature in the form of the mound. First of all, take the oval barrow of Mané-Lud (plate 16, fig. 5) near Locmari-aquer. This barrow is now about 260 feet in length and



163 feet in breadth. It was probably upwards of 300 feet long in its complete form, the western end having been cleared away to make a threshing-floor in the front of some cottages. The orientation of its long diameter is east and west. At the western extremity is what I conceive was the chamber of the original round barrow. It was partially uncovered many years ago, when the threshing-floor was made, and its contents were then ruthlessly scattered and destroyed. It consists of a chamber 11 feet 10 inches long by 9 feet 8 inches wide, roofed over with an enormous block of granite 29 feet long, and 15 feet 6 inches broad, with a covered way or passage leading to it. This barrow was examined by members of a Morbihan Archæological Society in 1863. They cut a wide trench through its entire length, in the course of which the following observations were made. Nothing was found between the ancient chamber and the centre of the mound, where, enclosed in a cairn of stones 65 feet in diameter, they discovered a small sepulchre 7 feet 4 inches long by 4 feet wide, of a totally different character from that at the west end. Its side-walls (plate 16, fig. 6) were not composed of large upright stones, but of a dry walling of small stones; and the roof was a rude arch formed with overlapping slabs. I think I am right in ascribing this form of roof to a later period than that where the construction is simply a large block laid across; and this opinion I formed before I had seen another huge long barrow in Brittany, to be described presently, in which the periods and succession of erection of several sepulchral chambers, and the development of the mound, are clearly and unmistakably exhibited. Unfortunately, in the case under consideration, the dispersion and total loss of the contents of the western tomb prevents a comparison of them with those of this small central chamber.

As nothing more bearing upon the point before us was discovered, I will pass on to the next instance, which is a more remarkable and instructive example. The long barrow at Moustoir Carnac (plate 16, fig. 7) is situated on the left hand as you travel along the road to Carnac from Auray, and in 1864 was explored by the same gentlemen who examined Mané-Lud. I happened to visit the spot during the progress of the exploration, and had the opportunity of seeing it while the longitudinal trench was still open, and

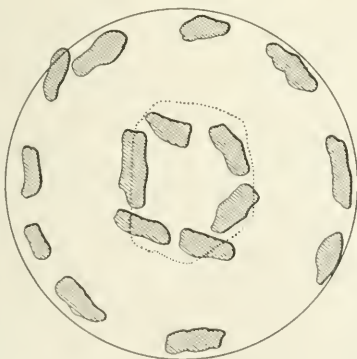
afforded a good sectional view of the mound. The barrow is 280 feet long, and 120 feet wide, having its long diameter east and west, and encloses three distinct sepulchral chambers in addition to a central cairn raised over an urn. The construction of this barrow is so remarkably instructive that I must describe it minutely. It is composed of loose stones below, and of mould above; but these layers are so arranged as to point out with exactness the order of succession of each chamber. A reference to the section given in plate 16, fig. 8, will make this clear. You will observe that at (*a*) there is a tomb of considerable size enclosed in a cairn of loose stones, the whole being covered with a layer of mould. This was the primary round barrow, and any one who has paid attention to these ancient monuments will discover features in this rudely constructed sepulchre which will lead him to place its erection at a somewhat earlier date than the two other chambers. If, however, these features had not been so prominent, the priority of erection would be accorded to this portion of the barrow by observing the manner in which the loose stones which cover the central urn (*b*) overlap the layer of mould near the top of the mound. This central cairn has also an outer covering of mould, which again is overlapped by the loose stones enclosing chamber (*c*); and the same thing occurs in the case of the cairn of chamber (*d*). Here, then, we have a clear proof of the gradual development of a round barrow into an oval or long one. It was evidently the work of time, and very probably the work of the same tribe or family. We find, too, on comparing the three sepulchral chambers, a marked difference in the mode of constructing them. There is a massive grandeur in the primary sepulchre which is absent in the others; the stones are of much larger dimensions; and the chamber is formed in a more simple way, and with less skill; whereas in the architecture of the others there is an indication of greater civilisation and advanced science in the art of building. If there be wanting in them the solidity and vast proportions of the materials employed, there is a readier adaptation of means to an end, which you would only expect to find in a people who have attained to a higher degree of refinement and progress in art. Look at the way in which the roofing of chamber (*d*), plate 16, fig. 9, is effected. It is no longer by means of a huge slab laid across the space,

but by stones of a comparatively small size overlapping each other, and so forming an arched covering. This kind of roof is not uncommon in Brittany, and may be seen also in Great Britain and Ireland. It was adopted in the remarkable chambered long barrow at Stoney Littleton in Somersetshire; in the more remarkable round barrow that formerly existed in the island of Jersey,—more remarkable in that the vaulted central chamber, access to which was obtained by a covered passage on one side, led to a series of six cists surrounding it; and in the gigantic round barrow of New Grange in Ireland. For several years I have entertained the opinion that this form of roof belonged to a later period than the rude, flat ceiling; and I was searching for a confirmation of it when I happily met with the Moustoir-Carnac barrow. It is an interesting and instructive fact that chamber (*c*), which was erected at a period intermediate between (*a*) and (*d*) is found to combine the two methods of roofing.

I have dwelt at length upon these two barrows because they would seem to indicate that the round form belonged to an earlier date than the long one, and that the latter peculiarity of form was simply due to the additions which were made from time to time to the original round barrow. I have desired to make this clear because there are some English archæologists who assert, in more or less positive terms, that the long barrow was erected by a people with *long* skulls, and the round barrow by another distinct people with *round* skulls, and that the long-headed race preceded the other. If this were so in England, it cannot have been so in Brittany, where, as I think, I have shewn that the round barrow was the earlier form of sepulchral mound; and I urge this point the more strongly because one of the warmest advocates of this peculiar theory has expressed his opinion, although hesitatingly, that *in Gaul* the round-headed people were preceded by long-skulled men;¹ in which case

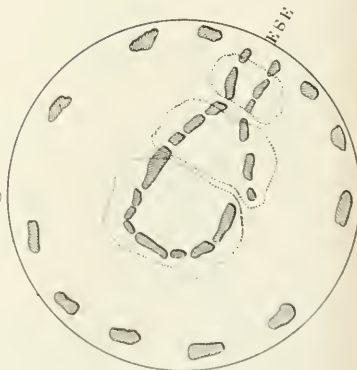
¹ There are, by the way, some other inaccuracies in the article where this is stated, which I wish to take this opportunity of correcting. In vol. i. of the *Memoirs* of the London Anthropological Society, in a paper "On the two principal Forms of ancient British and Gaulish Skulls," by Dr. Thurnam, the writer says,—1, that so far as he knows, there is "no instance of chambers opening on each side of a central gallery, as in several of the English tumuli." I am acquainted with several, and may specify an interesting structure near Kerlaven, between Auray and Plouernel, and another at Carnac, where the series of chambers is carried out on either side of the passage in a more primitive way than in England, but where the same idea is clearly present. 2. That these

Fig. 1.



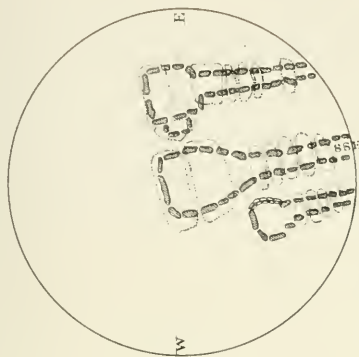
Plan of Chambered Barrow in Lauressse Common, Guernsey.

Fig. 2.



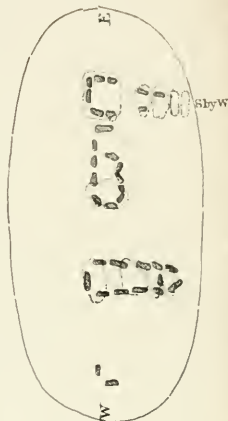
Plan of Chambered Barrow, Crear des Fées, Guernsey.

Fig. 3.



Plan of Triple Chambered Barrow at Plosharnel, Morbihan

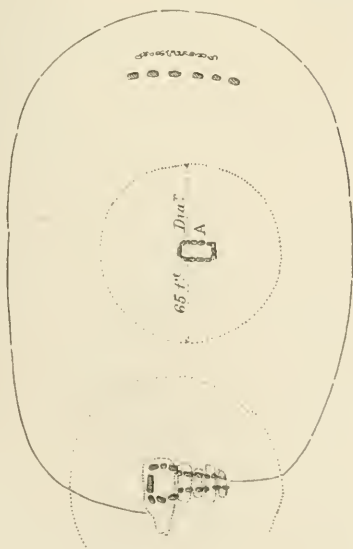
Fig. 4.



Plan of Chambered Long Barrow, (Grottes de Kerouille, near Plosharnel, Morbihan



Fig. 5.



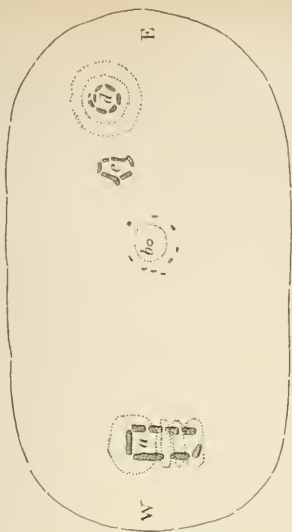
Plan of Oval Barrow (Mané-Ind) Locmariaquer, Morbihan.

Fig. 6



Section of central Sepulchral Chamber A, showing construction of side walls and arched Roof.

Fig. 7.



Plan of Long Barrow at Moustoir-Carnac-Morbihan.

Fig. 8.



Section of Barrow at Moustoir-Carnac.

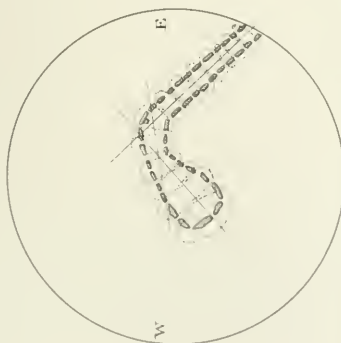
Fig. 9.



Section of Cist d.

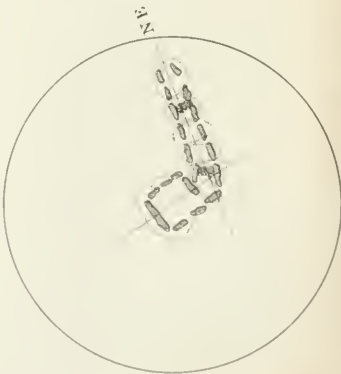


Fig. 10.



Plan of Chambered Barrow, at Le Rocher,
near Aunay, Morbihan.

Fig. 11.



Plan of Chambered Barrow, Kergondals,
Morbihan.

Fig. 12.



Plan of Chambered Barrow,
near St. Gurols, Finistère.

Fig. 13.



Plan of Chambered Barrow,
formerly in Jersey.

Fig. 14.



Plan of Long Barrow,
Stray Littleton, Somersetshire.



Section showing Roof of Passage.

Fig. 15.



Plan of Chambered Barrow,
near Maesysarweld, Liped Garmon,
Denbighshire.



the latter must have erected round barrows, and the former long ones. I will not venture to dispute the theory which connects the form of the skull with the form of the barrow, because the evidence hitherto adduced in support of it appears to me to be insufficient. I merely desire to confine my remarks principally to the evidence presented by the stone structures and their covering mounds. The explorations of these tombs have been generally so loosely conducted, both in Brittany and in our own country, that few deductions of any value may be drawn from their contents. But before I speak of the contents of these sepulchres, I will mention other peculiarities in their construction, some of which are difficult to explain.

1. There are two round barrows in Brittany enclosing stone chambers, which have covered passages of an extraordinary form, namely that near the country seat of "Le Rocher" (plate 17, fig. 10) near Auray, and that of Kergonfals (plate 17, fig. 11) near Brignan, both in the department of the Morbihan. The covered passage in each case is not straight, as is usual, but curved; the former southwards, at nearly right angles to the direction of the chamber; the latter northwards, at quite as great an angle. The explanation of this peculiarity given by Mons. L. Galles, in a short description of the former barrow, is anything but satisfactory; but when he published it, the second example was unknown. He thought that the architect, on arriving at the middle of his work, discovered that the opening of the passage would be at the north-east point; and that, faithful to the laws which ruled the orientation of these structures, he turned the passage abruptly southwards. This explanation does not commend itself, because, in making a careful measurement and plan of the building in 1864, I found that the covered way made two angles with the direction of the main chamber; that is to say, it had a second bend, which led me to the conclusion that it had been made on two separate occasions, perhaps on the decease of some distinguished

structures are "usually covered by oval mounds of earth." The oval or long form of barrow in Gaul is most certainly exceptional, and, as shewn above, is owing to additions made to the primary round barrow. 3. That "the sepulchral chambers of the Channel Islands, Guernsey and Jersey, have, as might have been expected, a greater resemblance to those of France than of England." The contrary is the fact. They bear a greater resemblance to the British ones, for they exhibit a feature common in England, and altogether unknown in Brittany, viz., a stone circle at the base of the barrow.

members of the family to whom this sepulchre belonged. It is difficult to account for the difference of the orientation of these and other sepulchres, except on the supposition that the people were sun-worshippers, and that it had reference to the seasons of the year when the individuals died. The description of the other example has been published by Mons. R. Galles (the distinguished cousin of the former gentleman), who discovered and explored it in 1863. Within the covered passage he found two walls of loose stones, blocking it up, and dividing it into two sepulchral chambers, which would seem to confirm my supposition.

The "Le Rocher" barrow was unfortunately explored in 1844 by the owner of the property; not more carefully and scientifically than in many other cases, and no record was kept of the work. All that he obtained are two beads, one of dark jade, the other of blue jasper; a flint-flake of great size, eight inches in length; and pieces of coarse pottery, the largest fragment being the base of an urn, which, it is said, contained these articles. It is a grievous pity when unscientific gentlemen undertake, out of mere curiosity, or a desire to possess a few objects of antiquity, to meddle with these monuments. What an interesting and instructive study this barrow would have been to any one who knew the true value and importance of such a field of archæological inquiry! The objects taken, as they were, out of "Le Rocher" without careful observation as to their exact position in the barrow, or the manner in which they were associated with the human remains, are of little or no value. For the same reason I have always regretted the discovery of gold ornaments by the late Mons. Le Bail in the triple-chambered round barrow at Plouernel. It gave a stimulus to unscientific research, and has been the cause of irreparable injury to the cause of archæology. I wish to speak with all possible respect of the active members of the Morbihan Polymatique Society, who have published accounts of their diggings, and from whom I have received many acts of kindness during my visits to Vannes; but I cannot help fearing that the possession of the implements and personal ornaments of the barrow-builders has been the principal object of their search. Wherever they have prosecuted their researches there has been a material absence of that careful observation which is essential in such undertakings. At

Mont St. Michel, jade and other ornaments, beads of various kinds, etc., were flung out with the earth, and overlooked, and were picked up by the villagers at the close of the day's work, and sold to strangers and others. It is said that the same carelessness occurred when they explored the gigantic long barrow of Mané-er-H'rock; and when I visited the very interesting chambered round barrow of Kercado, in 1864, which had recently been excavated by them, I found the earth all about the mound strewed with fragments of jars of all sizes, forms, and various qualities of earthenware, and also with flint chippings. Stone implements, which they appear to care for most, and of which they possess a fine collection in their Museum at Vannes, are valuable in many respects; but are less instructive than the vessels, which indicate with greater clearness the progress of civilisation and art. The former, as well as metal, jasper, and jade ornaments, may shew that at some period the inhabitants had established a friendly or commercial intercourse with peoples of other countries; but these objects have a diminished value as being possibly, and not improbably, not of their own workmanship. Earthenware vessels, of which the Society possesses scarcely any, on the contrary, being undoubtedly the work of their own hands, strongly mark the progress of art, and the degree of progressive civilisation and refinement; and a careful study of the manner in which they had been deposited with human remains in the tombs, would have served to elucidate these points. It should, therefore, be the primary object of investigators to pass the whole of the contents of the chambers through the sieve; to collect and preserve every fragment of pottery, so as to discover the *number* of vessels in each tomb; to note the difference in the quality of the ware, the mode of burial, etc. This, together with a careful attention to the mode of construction of chamber and mound, will enable them to present to the students of archæology a page full of instructive facts, and help them to form some idea of the people who inhabited the land; and to ascertain, by comparison with the ancient remains found in other lands, which country was first peopled.

2. The next peculiarity in the mode of constructing these stone chambers is in a round barrow (plate 17, fig. 12) near St. Guenolé, not far from Pont l'Abbé, in Finistère. The

structure consists of a central chamber, with an arched roof composed of overlapping stones, and a covered way leading to it, surrounded by five sepulchral cells similarly roofed. The preceding remarks upon unscientific research apply with peculiar force to the exploration of this remarkable monument. It was undertaken, in 1862, by persons altogether unacquainted with these structures, and ignorant of the fact that they have an orientation. The explorers commenced their blundering operations by digging down from the apex of the mound, by which they broke through and utterly destroyed the arched roofs. When I saw it, in 1864, it was a complete ruin. In skilful and careful hands this monument would undoubtedly have presented a most valuable and instructive example, and have taught us what we all want to know respecting the chronological classification of chambered barrows.

This is clearly a comparatively late structure, and belongs to that class in which should be placed New Grange, Stoney Littleton, the destroyed Jersey example, and others. Upon inquiry in the adjoining village of Penmarch, I was informed that a few brass coins, charcoal, pottery, and metal implements were found, and are in the possession of a gentleman residing near Pont l'Abbé. I picked up, among the ruins, a fragment of burnt human bone, small pieces of coarse pottery, and a flint chipping. We should have liked to know in which of the chambers the articles enumerated above were found, whether any relic was discovered in the central chamber, whether there was more than one layer of interments, whether the greater portion of human remains had been burnt, or buried entire, and so forth; but all these points of inquiry are for ever buried in a chaos of irretrievable ruin.

The same fate attended the discovery of the equally curious structure formerly existing in Jersey (plate 17, fig. 13), on the hill where now stands the Town Citadel. It was a round barrow enclosing a series of six cists surrounding a central arched or domed space, to which admission was gained by means of a covered way or passage. This monument differed from the preceding in that each of the cists was ceiled with a slab laid across, as in earlier tombs; but the same general idea was present in the minds of the builders, and it probably belonged to the same period. It

was discovered and destroyed in the year 1785, and it is said that one or two brass coins were found in it. It is not difficult to perceive that New Grange belongs to this class. There is a central chamber arched over with overlapping stones, and three cists opening out from it, roofed with flat slabs; and a covered way of astonishing length leading to it, similarly roofed.

Stoney Littleton (plate 17, fig. 14) may be classed with these. In this example the same idea is carried out in a modified form, and in place of a covered way conducting to an arched or domed antechamber, the antechamber and the passage are merged into one elongated domed avenue, on each side of which, at intervals, are small cells or cists.

In the Isle of Man there exist the ruins of a structure which, from the description given of it, bears a close resemblance in several important particulars to this class of tomb. As I have not visited that island, I can only give you an extract from Mr. Halliwell's *Roundabout Notes upon the ancient Circles of Stones in the Isle of Man, etc., in the Summer of 1862*, where it is mentioned: "On the hills to the south-west of Port Erin is, perhaps, the most curious sepulchral monument in Great Britain; and it has hitherto eluded observation, not even being noticed in any way by the Manx or other writers. *It is a circle of couples of kistvaens, stone avenues leading from the outside to a space in the middle of each couple.* The circle is about forty feet in diameter. The interiors of the kistvaens average about six feet in length by two in breadth. The kistvaens are arranged in couples, each couple being about three feet from each other, and the kistvaens forming the couples being about two feet apart. A large stone belonging to one of the kistvaens has apparently been lately removed, and it is to be feared that the whole of this most interesting monument may soon be removed."

There is a remarkable oval barrow near Maesysarnedd (plate 17, fig. 15) in Denbighshire, containing a stone structure which approximates to, and may be classed with, the foregoing examples. It consists of an antechamber of oval form, with a covered passage leading to it, and a nearly circular cist or chamber attached to the two extremities of the long axis of the antechamber. It was explored in 1853, and a description is given of it in one of the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

If we compare these structures with those ruder and more simple sepulchres which are found in various parts of Brittany as well as in Great Britain, we shall not fail to discover a strong resemblance; suggesting at once the thought that they were erected by a people who had advanced in civilisation, and yet retained the old religious and burial customs of their forefathers.

II. THEIR CONTENTS.

The evidence afforded by the contents of these sepulchres should have been of the most satisfactory character, and of the greatest assistance in elucidating their history; but unhappily very little light can be obtained from them in consequence of the blundering and careless way in which so many of the most important and notable monuments have been examined and meddled with. The curious and the ignorant, the mere collector of antiquities, and the tyro in archæology, to say nothing of the thoughtless extirpator of ancient remains, have all combined to well-nigh extinguish the corroborative testimony of the interments. There are, nevertheless, some few facts which will aid us in this investigation.

It has been observed in those instances where a careful examination has been conducted, that the sepulchres of similar construction, enclosed in round and long barrows, contained skeletons and incinerated bones; that the accompanying urns were of very similar forms, and ornamented in a rude but like manner; that the earthenware was of different qualities and periods, from early coarse, thick, and unsymmetrical shapes, to finer, better, more artistically formed and ornamented kinds; and that the stone and bone implements and ornaments bore a strong resemblance to each other, and were, as a rule, manufactured out of materials found in the neighbourhood.

It has also been noted that the contents of the tombs which exhibit advanced skill in the art of building, in round and long barrows,—those, namely, where arched roofs exist,—were principally of a different character from the above; that there were fewer rude and coarsely manufactured vessels; that the stone implements, beads, &c., were of a different type, and made of imported materials, such as fibrolite and jade; and that the tombs themselves had generally

been used as places of sepulture down to a later, including the historic, period. Let any one compare the collection of stone implements in the Vannes Museum, gathered chiefly out of tombs of this class in Brittany, with those found in the ruder chambered barrows of the same country, and he will not hesitate to adopt the same view: *e.g.*, let him compare the contents of Mané-er-H'rock and Mont St. Michel with those of Kercado and other like tombs, and he will infallibly arrive at this opinion.

My object in the foregoing pages has been to shew that the chambered barrows of Brittany belong to different periods; that there are both round and long barrows which contain rude stone chambers constructed precisely after the same fashion, and therefore, it may be presumed, by the same race; that the long barrow was not the primary form, but the result of additions made from time to time; that there are both round and long barrows which contain structures exhibiting a higher and more civilised and later style of architecture; and that these several peculiarities materially assist us in understanding, and to a certain extent in classifying chronologically, many of the tumular sepulchres of our own country which have similar features.

Although I have spoken of rude monuments, and of those which exhibit a progress in the art of building, I do not mean to imply that the architects of even the ruder forms were an ignorant, brutish people having low mental capacities. On the contrary, they must have been men possessed of wonderful mechanical genius, and of the power of representing with lines incised on the hard granite walls and roofs of their tombs, tasteful devices, and probably hieroglyphics indicative of the martial qualities of deceased chieftains and heroes, for in many instances the designs appear to be drawings of stone weapons set in their handles; so that, just as in mediæval days the sword incised on the coffin-lid represented the profession of the warrior entombed beneath, we have the same idea expressed many hundreds of years earlier, at a remote period when metal weapons were unknown.



ON THE THREE NORTHERN MINTS, DURHAM, NEWCASTLE, AND CARLISLE.

BY J. B. BERGNE, ESQ., F.S.A.

MINT OF DURHAM.

THE history of the Durham mint, the most important and longest continued of the three, has been illustrated with so much fulness in the tracts published by Mark Noble in the year 1780, and by Benjamin Bartlet in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, that there remains, even at the present day, little to add upon the subject, beyond a few additions and corrections which the investigations of more modern numismatists, aided by the examination of some remarkable hoards discovered since Noble and Bartlet wrote, have enabled us to supply.

The Bishops of Durham, from very ancient times, enjoyed the privilege of a mint, and of coining money; yet Noble states¹ that neither before the Norman conquest, nor after, until the reign of Stephen, had they any mint that he knew of; nor did it appear that any money whatever was coined in the city of Durham until that time. We are now, however, able to prove that a mint existed there in the reign of William the Conqueror or Rufus; for besides the coin in Ruding's list of the Conqueror's mints, reading DVRR, and doubtfully attributed to Durham, in the large hoard of pennies of those two sovereigns discovered at Beaworth in Hampshire in the year 1833, and described by Mr. Hawkins in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxvi), there occurs a coin of what is generally termed the "Pax" type, struck at Durham. It reads CVTBRHT ON DVNE, and is remarkable for the name of the moneyer in connexion with the mint of Durham, as well as for being the earliest known specimen of the coinage of the city.

Another example of the Durham mint prior to the reign of Stephen has also appeared since Noble's time. Among the hoard of coins of Henry I and Stephen, discovered in the neighbourhood of Watford in the year 1818, which

¹ Two Dissertations upon the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal Palatine of Durham, 1780, p. 5.

was described generally in the *Archæologia* by Mr. Combe, under date of the 13th of January, 1822; and more fully by Mr. Rashleigh, into whose hands the bulk of the coins ultimately passed, in vol. xii of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. There occurs a penny of Henry I, struck by a moneyer named ORDFI. It is of the type figured in Hawkins's work on the English silver coinage (No. 262); and as the "find" contained numerous specimens of this type, of various mints, and also numerous specimens of Stephen's pennies, it is probably of the latest, or one of the latest, issues of the reign of Henry.

These coins of William and Henry bear no mark to distinguish them from specimens of other mints of the same type, and are, therefore, doubtless regal, and not prelatical coins.

Henry II struck coins at Durham. Specimens of two different moneyers occurred in the large parcel of pennies of this monarch found at Tealby, near Market Rasen, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1807, which is described by Mr. Taylor Combe in vol. xviii of the *Archæologia*. These coins also have no sign to distinguish them from others of different mintages of the same type, and must therefore be presumed to be the issue of the king's mint.

The same remarks apply to coins bearing the name of Henry, on which first appears as a reverse the type of a cross with three pellets in each angle,—a type which maintained its ground in the English coinage until after the accession of Henry VII. On the earliest of these coins the cross does not entirely pervade the diameter of the coin, but extends only to, and not through, the outer circle containing the name of the mint and moneyer. On the later ones—perhaps the more numerous class—the cross extends quite to the outer edge of the coin; a change introduced, as stated by Matthew Paris, with a view to check the frauds practised by clipping. It is well known that there is much difference of opinion among numismatists as to the appropriation of the short cross coins; that is, whether they should all be given to Henry III, or a part to Henry II; or, notwithstanding the name of the king, even (as ably and ingeniously contended by Mr. Longstaffe, of Gateshead, in an elaborate paper in the

Numismatic Chronicle)¹ to Richard I and John, of whom no English coins bearing their names have yet been discovered. But this question would lead to a very long discussion ; and being foreign to our present purpose, I forbear to enter upon it.

There are numerous coins of the first three Edwards of the Durham mint ; and it would appear that the mint of the king and the mint of the bishop were working simultaneously, because, while the greater part of the Durham coins of those reigns resemble those of other mints throughout the country, some bear the arms or cognisance of the bishop, and are therefore the issue of the prelatical mint. Of this description are coins bearing a cross moline for mint-mark, and occasionally the same in one quarter of the reverse, instead of the usual three pellets. A cross moline is the armorial bearing of Anthony de Beck, bishop from 1283 to 1310, and appears upon his great seal. The pennies, therefore, upon which this mark occurs must be attributed to him. To Bishop Kellow, who occupied the see from 1310 to 1316, are attributed certain pennies on which one of the limbs of the cross on the reverse is bent into the form of the head of a crosier. The successor of Kellow was Lodowick Beaumont, whose arms were a lion rampant in a field sémé with fleurs de lis. Accordingly to him may be given those pennies on which a lion rampant, accompanied by one or more fleurs de lis, appears as the mint-mark. He lived until the year 1333, six years after the accession of Edward III. To the learned Richard de Bury, who succeeded him, no coins are assigned. To Thomas Hatfield, bishop from 1345 to 1381, are attributed those pennies which, like the pennies struck by Bishop Kellow, have one limb of the cross bent into the form of a crosier ; but which, from their type and weight, must be of the third Edward. Some writers (Mr. Hawkins among them) attribute those pennies on which the crosier is turned to the left to Bishop Kellow, and those on which it bends to the right to Hatfield ; but I do not think this is an infallible test ; nor, indeed, do I see any sufficient reason why some of these coins may not have been struck under the episcopate of Richard de Bury.

¹ Vol. iii, New Series, p. 162, and subsequently by Mr. Evans, vol. iv, p. 255, since this paper was prepared.

Many of my readers are doubtless aware of the difficulty of discriminating between the coins of the first and second Edwards. This question, to which Mr. Bartlet's tract, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, is especially directed, and which is of more difficulty than interest, receives some incidental light from the appropriation of the episcopal coins of Durham ; but, as the occupation of the see was not coincident with the occupation of the throne, not sufficient to determine it ; because, although we can separate the coins struck by the respective bishops, we cannot positively say under which king they may have been issued. Mr. Bartlet's position is, that those coins on which the king's name is abbreviated to the first three letters (EDW.) belong to Edward I ; those on which the name occurs in full (EDWARDVS), to Edward III ; and all with the intermediate readings (EDWA. or EDWAR.), to Edward II. That those with the name in full belong to Edward III there can be no doubt, from their correspondence in style and weight with the groats of that sovereign. As to the others, Mr. Bartlet's rule, though it appears generally to hold good, cannot be taken without exceptions.

Noble states¹ that there is no money of Richard II struck at Durham either by the king or by the bishop. Regal pennies are now, however, known of the usual type, bearing a small fleur de lis or cross upon the breast. There is a specimen in the British Museum. I have one in my own collection, which was formerly Mr. Bocket's, and others are probably in existence.

With the exception of the earliest coins of Henry IV, which agree in type and weight with those of Richard II ; and the latest of Henry VI, which are of the same weight as those of Edward IV ; it is as difficult to discriminate between the coins of the three Henries (the fourth, fifth, and sixth) as between those of the first three Edwards, though there can be little doubt that the great bulk of the coins of that period belong to Henry VI. Here again the question receives some light from the Durham episcopal mint ; for a coin in the British Museum, struck by one of the Henries, which has on one side of the neck a cross, and on the other the letter B. must certainly be of Henry VI ;

¹ P. 29.

the B being the initial of Lawrence Booth, who became bishop in the year 1457. There are other specimens of the mint, shewing different small marks and varieties, such as a lozenge, a leaf, a sort of double annulet, in the centre of the reverse; but apparently not the issue of the prelatial mint.

Booth continued bishop until 1476, when he was translated to York. Pennies struck by him continue under the reign of Edward IV, distinguished by his initial, B, on the obverse, and sometimes by the letter D in the centre of the reverse. A penny in the British Museum, with D to the left of the king's neck, is attributed to Dudley, the successor of Booth, bishop from 1476 to 1483. There are also numerous varieties of the regal penny; but they are generally (and the same remark applies also to many of the pennies of Henry VI) so ill struck and preserved, that it is not possible to describe or appropriate them with accuracy.

There is in the British Museum a halfpenny of Edward IV, of the Durham regal mint, reading *DERAM*, with D in the centre of the reverse. This is, so far as I am aware, the only instance of a coin of the Durham mint, of any other denomination than the penny; and it was not known to Noble.

The pennies of Richard III are rare, but perhaps less so than formerly. The Durham mint gives us a specimen of the episcopal issue, which bears upon the breast of the king the letter S; the initial of Sherwood, bishop from 1483 to 1494.

Under the reign of Henry VII, after the introduction of what is called the sovereign type,—that is, the full length crowned figure of the king seated in a chair of state, instead of the mere bust, which alone, with some rare exceptions, had been given from Anglo-Saxon times,—we have specimens bearing the letters *RD* or *DR*, which may belong either to Richard Fox, bishop from 1494 to 1502, or to Bishop Ruthall; according as the letters may be read, *RICARDVS DVNELMENSIS*, or *DVNELMENSIS RVTHALL*; but most likely to the former, as Ruthall succeeded only a short time before the death of Henry VII. There are others bearing the letters *DS* or *IS*, which cannot belong to Sherwood, to whom they are attributed by Hawkins, be-

cause the coinage of pennies of the sovereign type did not commence until the eighteenth year of Henry VII (1502-3), when Sherwood had been dead many years. They must be given to John Lever, the successor of Fox, bishop from 1502 to 1505. On these coins there is a crosier rising from behind the king's chair; and one limb of the cross, on the reverse, is curved into the form of a crosier-head. On those with RD or DR it is surmounted by a mitre. These peculiarities are hardly to be discerned on any but finely preserved specimens. Noble says that there are both regal and prelatial Durham coins of this reign; but I have never seen any but the latter class.

The same type was continued in the early coinage of Henry VIII. The coins are either episcopal, with the initial or cognisance of the bishop; or regal, without any such distinguishing marks. Of the former kind there are specimens with TD., probably of Thomas Ruthall; but possibly of Thomas Wolsey, who held the bishopric *in commendam* with the archiepiscopal see of York, from 1523 to 1529. To him certainly belong those with the letters DW and TW, and a cardinal's hat below the shield of arms on the reverse. Finally there are others with the letters CD, indicating Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop from 1530 to the commencement of the reign of Edward VI, when he was deprived as being unfriendly to the Reformation.

From this time the Durham coinage ceases.

Before concluding I will merely remark the extraordinary ingenuity with which the orthography of the name has been varied. On one of the earliest coins, that of Henry I, it is spelt DVRHAM, as at present,—a mode into which the moneyers very rarely strayed afterwards. Their different attempts were DERAM, DERAME, DERHAM, DERRAM, DIRHAM, DONOLI, DVN, DVNELM, DVNELMI, DVNELMIE, DVNHE, DVNOL, DVNOLM, DVNOLMI, DVNOLMIE, DVRA, DVRE, DVREM, DVREME, DVREMIE, DVRR, DVRRAM, DVRRM, DVRO,—twenty-four variations or abbreviations; and possibly even others might be found, but for the bad preservation of the coins of Henry VI and Edward IV, which in many instances prevents their being accurately read. The same circumstance will probably account for the appearance in Noble's description and plates, of a few coins which are not now known to exist in any cabinet. Such is the penny figured

at p. 40 of his work, having the letter C to the left of the king's bust; which he attributes to Bishop Booth, explaining the letter to denote his office as Chancellor of England; and also the penny of Bishop Sherwood at p. 51, with the boar's head for mint-mark, and a cross upon the king's breast. Mr. Hawkins states that the latter was a forgery of the notorious John White, made by altering the mint-mark of a penny of Richard II,—a coin which was itself so rare as to be unknown to Noble.

MINT OF NEWCASTLE.

The first coin which has ever been given to this mint is a penny of Henry I, bearing the letters NE, as indicating the place of mintage, published by Ruding on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Southgate; but the ancient record called the *Boldon Book*, compiled under the directions of Bishop Pudsey in the year 1183, expressly states that Henry II was the king who first established dies at Newcastle;¹ and it is therefore to be presumed that the letters NE on the coin in question denote some other place (perhaps Newark), especially as no specimen of the intervening reign of Stephen is known which can be attributed to Newcastle.

Of Henry II there are coins of the type No. 285 of Hawkins, reading NEVC, NIVC, or NIVCA, which unquestionably are the issue of the Newcastle mint. The mint does not appear to have been in operation during the extensive coinage termed "the short cross," of the type No. 286, as no example occurs either in the extensive lists compiled by Mr. Sainthill of Cork, chiefly from discoveries in Ireland,² nor in the hoard of between five and six thousand specimens found at Eccles in Lancashire in 1864.³ Specimens of the long cross type (No. 287) are not uncommon.

The mint continued at work under the reigns of Edward I and II, and then finally ceased. The coinage of Edward I consisted of pennies and halfpennies; the pennies bearing on the reverse the legend VILLA NOVICASTRI, variously abbreviated and divided; the halfpennies read simply

¹ Ruding, vol. ii, p. 204.

² Olla Podrida, vol. i, pp. 129-386; vol. ii, p. 46.

³ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iv, N. S., p. 221

NOVICAstri, and are distinguished by the peculiarity of having only one pellet instead of three in each quarter of the reverse. Both penny and halfpenny are figured in Hawkins' plates, Nos. 295 and 298. Pennies were struck under Edward II of the same type as those of his predecessor; but it is doubtful whether any of the halfpennies can be properly attributed to him.

MINT OF CARLISLE.

No coin has, I think, been published as unquestionably belonging to this mint until the short cross coins of Henry II or III. Mr. Longstaffe has given it as his opinion that some of the coins attributed to Henry Earl of Northumberland may possibly have been struck here; but the mint does not occur in Ruding's list of the mints of the two Williams, Henry I, and Stephen; nor in the lists of William I and II, compiled by Hawkins from the Beaworth "find"; in those of Henry I and Stephen, published by Mr. Rashleigh from the hoard mentioned in the notice of the Durham mint; nor in the list of mints of Henry II given by Mr. Combe as the result of his examination of the Tealby "find." There can, however, be little doubt that the coins of Stephen and Henry II, which read *CARD*, *CARDV*, or *CAR*, and which are attributed by Ruding, Combe, and Rashleigh, to Cardiff, ought to be given to Carlisle: indeed Ruding, in the account of "places of mints," in the latter part of his work, says that the coins of Henry II which read *CARDV* and *CARDVL* are possibly of this mint. An undoubted example of Henry I, however, occurred in the cabinet of the late Rev. Joseph W. Martin of Keston, sold in 1859. It was of the type, No. 262, of Hawkins' plates, and read distinctly *DVRANT ON CARLI*. Mr. Martin obtained it from the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick, dispersed in 1842; and it is the earliest Carlisle coin that I know of. The moneyer does not occur in either Ruding's or Rashleigh's lists.

The mint continued in operation during the coinage of the pennies with the short cross bearing the name of Henry; and also under the reign of Henry III, on those with the long cross, which were first struck in his thirty-

second year (A.D. 1247 or 1248). With that coinage the Carlisle mint disappears.

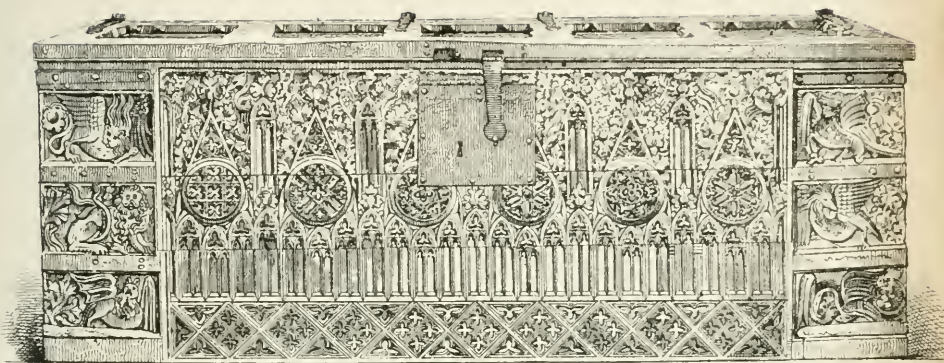
There were, however, pieces of the value respectively of three shillings and one shilling, struck at Carlisle in the year 1645, during the siege, when Sir Thomas Glemharn defended the city on behalf of Charles I. They bear on the obverse a crown, underneath which are the letters C.R., and III^s or XII, to denote the value; on the reverse, OBS. CARL. 1645. The execution is rude, and they belong to the class of "siege pieces," or money of necessity, rather than to the regular coinage. They are engraved in Ruding (plate XXVIII, Nos. 3 to 6), and are both of considerable rarity; the three-shilling piece particularly.

ON BRANCEPETH CHURCH, DURHAM.

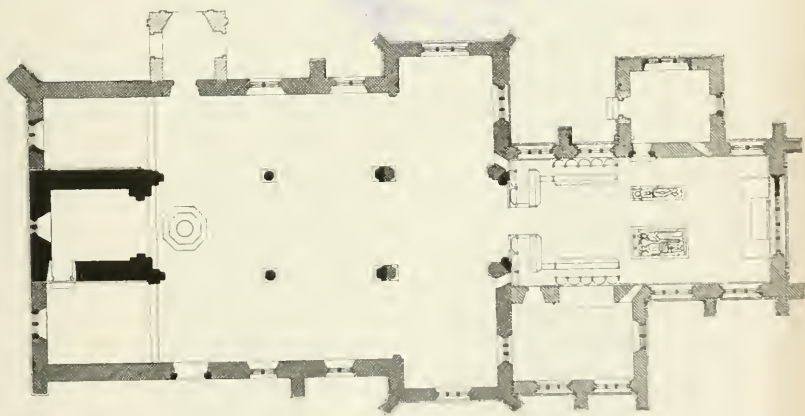
BY C. HODGSON FOWLER, ESQ.

THE parish of Brancepeth formerly enclosed a very large tract of country, and its church was the only one within a district of several miles; though doubtless, in the middle ages, the surrounding hamlets possessed numerous chapels served by priests from the mother church. Brancepeth has for many hundred years been well known, from the great family of the Nevilles having been lords of the manor, and having a castle there. The estate came into their family in the reign of Henry II, by the marriage of Geoffrey de Neville to Emma only child of Bertram de Bulmer, and continued in their possession till forfeited by Charles Earl of Westmoreland in 1569. It will be seen by this that during the greater part of the middle ages the family were seated here; and we find, as might be expected, that the church bears many marks of their sway.

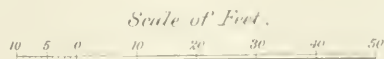
The village, now very small, stands about a mile from the river Wear, and five miles from Durham; and the church is placed close under the castle walls, and surrounded by the gardens and grounds. On approaching the church, which is dedicated to S. Brandon, abbot of Clonfert in Ireland, from the castle and village, a rather remarkable stile of stone and iron forms a barrier between the churchyard and the



Oak Chest in Brancepeth Church.



Ground Plan of Brancepeth Church.



| | | |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| | <i>A. D.</i> | <i>1200</i> |
| | <i>"</i> | <i>1360</i> |
| | <i>"</i> | <i>1400</i> |
| | <i>"</i> | <i>1666</i> |



J. Jobbins

BRANCEPETH CHURCH
Part of Chancel Screen



park. It dates probably from about the year 1665, and consists of several stone steps on either side the wall, leading on to a raised platform with a low rail of iron across it, and an iron grating over a large hole in the floor. This grating is of square bars placed edgeways, and is used to scrape the feet on. The side-walls to the steps are formed partly of old grave-crosses, one of very early date.

The church, as will be seen from the plan (plate 18), consists of chancel with south chapel and north sacristy, north and south transepts, nave and aisles, and engaged western tower. This tower is the oldest portion of the church, and was probably built about the year 1200, soon after the property came to the Nevilles. It is plain and square, and divided into stories by string-courses. In the second and third stories are two light windows; those on the second story being simple, semicircular-headed double lancets with a central shaft; and those above being the same, with pointed heads. There was originally a single lancet in the west wall of the lower stage, but it has been altered into a two-light window. There is a good early corbel-table surmounted by a fifteenth century battlemented parapet. Two of the corbels are like small Norman cushion-caps, the others have a more decidedly Early English look, and one bears a shield with the cross saltire of the Nevilles.

Proceeding round the church from the west, we find that the tower originally stood clear of the aisle; but when the aisles were rebuilt, in the fourteenth century, they were extended westward, with the earlier windows reset in them. The south door is also of the thirteenth century, and has its abacus ornamented with early foliage. There was in the last century a south porch of debased character; but this, together with two buttresses to the west of it, has disappeared. The two windows of the south aisle are modern, replacing debased insertions. The south transept has a good four-light decorated window; and on its east side a perpendicular chantry chapel, built at the same time as the chancel. Curiously enough, the side-windows of this chapel are much finer than its east one, which is a poor one of two lights, more like the late windows of the clerestory. The east end of chancel has a large window of five lights, and on either side of it is a plain corbel, but without any traces of figures or canopies. In the south-east buttress is a large sculptured

stone of the early part of the thirteenth century, the subject being a "Majesty"; the figure of our Lord seated in a vesica, with the evangelistic symbols in the angles. Though considerably mutilated, it is still a fine work. On the north of the chancel is the ancient sacristy; at first sight apparently a decorated work, but on close examination it appears to have been built with the chancel, but its windows are from an earlier edifice; and under its east window is a string of an early section extending nearly all across the east side, each end of it having a rather peculiar termination. On the west side is a projecting stone drain from a basin inside. The north elevation of the chancel shews the same large three-light windows as the south side; and the north transept is also very similar to that on the south. Above the plinth of the north transept are several early incised grave-slabs. The north aisle has still its original decorated windows; and to the west of them is a porch of poor debased Italian design, but remarkable as being the work of John Cosin, rector during the reign of Charles I, and better known as the celebrated Bishop Cosin after the Restoration. The roofs are all of a flat pitch, covered with lead, and surrounded by parapets. The clerestory, divided into six bays by buttresses, without reference to the divisions of the nave-arcade below, has a three-light window in each bay; while the east gable of the nave has the remains of a sanctus bellcot. Against the north wall of the churchyard are several very fine ancient slabs, most of which were found just outside the walls during the late restoration.

Entering the church by the north door, the attention is at once attracted by the lightness and openness of the nave and aisles, caused by the height and breadth of the nave-arcade, which is of two chamfered orders, and of about the same date as the tower. Standing at the entrance to the chancel, the changes and alterations from the original plan are easily seen. The tower, nave-arcade, south door, and chancel-arch, of *circa* 1200, are all that remain of the original building, the aisles and transepts having been added about 1360. The transept-arches are also of this date; and arches seem to have been intended across the aisle, west of the transepts, as responds for them have been built. The clerestory dates about 1400.

The nave-roof is a remarkably fine example of perpendi-

cular work, and has principals cusped into a trefoil arch, which gives the roof a much earlier appearance than its details warrant. These principals rest on corbels, and just above the corbels are carved various figures. A bull on the north side, and an angel on the south, each bears a shield with the Neville arms. Three angels hold musical instruments; five hold shields, now plain; four are grotesque carvings, or simple bosses. Also at the apex of the arches of the trusses are bosses, heads, and figures, from west to east, as under: the first and second, bosses of foliage; the third, a grotesque head; the fourth, a boss; the fifth, a large head of our Lord with nimbus like a "Veronica"; the sixth, an angel bearing a shield; the seventh, our Lord seated, with both hands upraised.

The north aisle roof, which seems original, has principals and two purlins, and is very plain and massive. The roof of south aisle is comparatively modern. The chancel appears to have been about the same date as the transepts, but was entirely rebuilt *circa* 1400, when the south chapel was also added. This chapel opens into the chancel by a semicircular arch and a four-centered doorway. The three-light east window of the south transept was allowed to remain when the chantry was built. The sacristy on the north side of chancel at first sight looks like a decorated work, as the doorway and windows are all of decorated date; but on close examination they are observed to have been rebuilt into their present positions, being probably part of the older chancel.

Having thus simply described the main features of the church, the fittings demand our attention. The chancel is separated from the nave by a very remarkable wooden screen and gates, having five canopies above it: the whole of rather debased perpendicular work. (Plate 19.) A good view of this and other parts of the church is given in Billings' *Antiquities of the County of Durham*. It is very similar to the chancel-screen at Sedgefield, also engraved in Billings' *Durham*. The chancel is fitted with stalls, five on each side, and three returned on each side of the chancel-gates. The side ones have a continuous canopy, and appear, together with the screen and some of the panelling that extends all round the chancel, to be of the time of Elizabeth. The panelling at the east end of chancel seems of later date.



The chancel-roof is flat, and seems to be of the same date as the stalls and screen. It is boarded, and divided into square and triangular panels by moulded ribs, the part over the sanctuary being the richest; while at the intersection of the ribs are angels holding shields, some charged with the crosses of SS. George and Edward; and others bearing the following inscriptions in black letters, "S'ctus, sanctus, s'ctus, D'nus Deus o'ip't'ns"; while over the sanctuary are others of apparently later date, with these inscriptions in Roman letters, "Non nobis D'ne," "Gloria Deo in excelsis," and "Sed nom'i tuo." These last, I think, must be the work of Cosin, as one of his curates in 1638 mentions that timber had been "sawne for ceiling the roof of the middle alley," and the nave-roof shews no trace of alteration. In the chancel, east of the stalls, are two monuments, both unfortunately moved from their original positions. That on the north side was formerly in the north transept, and is of stone carved with a gigantic cross-legged figure in chain-armour, with surcoat reaching to the knees, and bearing a shield with the cross saltire of the Nevilles, with a label of cadency. His head rests on two cushions supported by six lions, with two small kneeling figures between them reading from books placed on the edge of the cushions. The feet rest on a great lion, and from under its side grows an oak branch, while under one leg is a dragon biting the point of his sword, and by the other is a small dog muzzled. The space between them is filled with boldly carved foliage. The length of the figure is about seven feet nine inches, and the character of the work agrees with the generally received opinion that it represents Robert Neville, who was slain at Berwick in 1319. The other tomb is of oak, not an uncommon material in this part of the country, and represents Ralph Lord Neville and his wife *circa* 1484. He is represented in plate armour, with his feet resting on a dog. His wife has a very high headdress, and a long flowing dress and cloak, while her feet rest on two puppies. At the head of each effigy are remains of three small sitting figures, and at the feet of each are two other figures sitting vis-à-vis at double desks on which lie open books. The effigies are very well carved, and each is apparently cut out of one block of oak, numerous dovetails having been inserted to prevent the wood from splitting. Both figures are about life-size,

the lady being rather the taller. The upper part of the tomb, on which the figures rest, and the plinth, alone remain; the centre part, which had niches and figures, having disappeared. A view of it is said to be preserved in the Herald's College. The figures were formerly painted; but all trace of colour disappeared during the recent restorations, when the monuments were moved to their new positions. Near to this tomb was formerly an altar-stone, and one or two stones with incised crosses, but they have also been removed. Just east of the chancel-doors is a small brass of a priest. He is represented in his academical hood, with the evangelistic symbols at the corners of the slabs, and the following inscription below the figure, "*Hic jacet Ric'us Drax el'ieus in utroqu' jure Baculari' qu'nd'm Rector isti eccl'ie q' obiit die natalis d'ni anno MCCCCLIII, cui' a'i'e p'p'ciet de'.*"

The altar is attributed to Bishop Cosin; it is of oak, and very large and massive. In the south wall is a piscina, and on the north wall a large heavy tablet of wood, said to have been erected by Cosin for his own monument. The arch into the south chapel is of one order, with hollow chamfers, and its soffit covered with panelling, and a crocketed moulding round it. This crocketing is almost precisely similar to that over the Chapter House door in Durham Cathedral, and, I think, gives satisfactorily the date of the chancel and chapel at about A.D. 1400. The chapel has exceedingly rich perpendicular panelling under the windows on the south side, one compartment of which shews a shield bearing a winged heart pierced by a two-edged sword, the arms of prior Castell of Durham, c. 1500. This seems to affix a date later than that given above; but I think the panelling must be an addition to the original design. Four other panels have been removed, and worked into the lower part of the chancel-screen. On the south side is a piscina formed by the upper part of an arch with mouldings of a decorated character: and under the arch into chancel is a high tomb of Stanhope marble having quatrefoils with plain shields in them on its south side, but having neither date nor inscription, nor any sign of there ever having been one.

To the east of this arch is a squint looking to the high altar. In this chapel is now placed the parish chest, an elaborate and beautiful work of the fourteenth century. (See plate 18.) Another altar-tomb, without any inscription, stood

in the centre of this chapel before the restoration, but it has now disappeared. The original sacristy, on the north side of the chancel, has a squint looking into the chancel, the sides of which are formed with incised slabs; and in the west wall is a stone basin or drain into the churchyard. In this sacristy is now placed a lofty font-cover, given to the church by Bishop Cosin, and which hung over the font until the recent alterations. It is much to be wished that it could be restored to its original position.

Passing again into the nave, the seating demands attention; for though it has been a good deal altered, it still is very remarkable. The seats have high standard ends with poppy heads, and are believed to have been erected during the time Cosin was rector; and though their general appearance suggests the same date as the chancel-stalls, yet their detail is decidedly later. They formerly had low doors with wrought iron latches and hinges of a plain but good design. The pulpit is apparently of the same date.

Over the chancel-arch is a most remarkable piece of carved panel-woodwork, each panel being filled with tracery of the most delicate description. It is supposed to have formed part of the reredos of the Jesus altar in Durham Cathedral, and to have been brought to Brancepeth by George Cliffe, one of the last monks of Durham, and afterwards a prebendary and rector of Brancepeth. It has been carefully engraved by R. W. Billings in a work entitled *The Geometric Tracery of Brancepeth Church*. Over it is another piece of panelling of similar form; but from being placed almost close to the roof, it does not generally attract as much attention as the one beneath it. It is, however, very curious; and both from its general appearance, and from its being exactly the width of the nave, I am inclined to think it formed part of the original rood-loft of the church. Its front is divided into two rows, of six panels each, by moulded ribs; and at their intersections are six shields and fifteen bosses. The shields and bosses are in the following order, from north to south. In the top row are,—first, a shield *arg.* bearing a S. George's cross *gu.*; the last is also a shield *gu.* bearing a cross patonce *arg.*; the second, third, fifth, and sixth, are bosses of foliage, and the centre one a shield *arg.* bearing the sacred heart, hands, and feet, *gu.* In the centre row are seven square bosses with emblems of the passion of

our Lord painted on them. In the lower row are three shields only,—1, *gu.* a cross saltire *arg.*; 2, per *pale, sa.*, and *gu.*, a Stafford knot *arg.*; 6, the bull's head of the Nevilles, tincture gone. All the emblems are coloured and gilt.

The font is of Frosterly marble, and is circular on plan, with a plain columnar shaft. It is probably of the same date as the tower. In the two windows of north aisle are two small pieces of stained glass, one bearing the text, "Dominus est Portio mea"; and the other, Bishop Cosin's motto, "Gratia Dei sum quod sum." They were most likely given by him.

The bells are six in number, three being recast by the rector and churchwardens in 1632; the other three were given in 1859.

The Register dates from 1599.

ON THE NORMAN ANCESTRY OF THE NEVILS, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE LINE OF RABY.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

AMONGST the great names inscribed on the roll of Anglo-Norman chivalry,—names which "stir the heart like the sound of a trumpet,"—there is not one greater or more thoroughly interwoven with every important link in the chain of English history than that of Nevil. The importance of that branch from which, in the female line, the Nevils of Raby descended, is proved by the assumption of their name by Geoffrey, son of Robert Fitz Maldred, lord of Raby, and Isabella, sister, and ultimately heir, of Henry de Nevil; for when we look back to the Saxon lineage of Geoffrey, and trace him clearly to Waltheof and Uchtred, Earls of Northumberland, connected with the Saxon kings, and enjoying the broad lands which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, we feel satisfied that there must have been a lustre in the name of his mother that "'gan to pale the ineffectual fire" even of the noble race of his male progenitors; and yet, if we turn to Dugdale, or even to the learned county historian, Mr. Surtees, who has made some highly important

corrections in the Saxon portion of the pedigree, who do we find at the head of the Norman house? One Gilbert, simply described as "Normanus," a Norman, and traditionally stated to have been admiral of the fleet which conveyed the Conqueror and his army from the mouth of the Dive to the coast of Sussex. The name of Nevil, it has been confidently asserted, does not appear in that valuable survey popularly known as *Domesday*. This is, however, a mistake. Dugdale, who states this, and those who have followed him, have overlooked the name of Ralph Nevil who held Thorpe of Turolde, abbot of Peterborough. Sir Henry Ellis has also omitted the name in his *Introduction and Indexes to Domesday*. It occurs, however, in the Clamores in Westreding, co. Lincoln; and if Ralph, the bishop's man, is identical with the Ralph Nevil of Thorpe, as there is reason to believe, he was tenant of several other lands under the bishop at the date of the survey. There is certainly no Nevil mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis, or any contemporary historian I have consulted, as being present at the battle of Hastings. Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, records no one of the name amongst the leaders in that decisive conflict; and though we find the name in the *Roll of Battle Abbey*, and in other lists of equally doubtful authority, there is but one in which we have a Christian name to assist us in identifying the person, and that is in the catalogue recently compiled by Mons. Leopold de Lisle, and cut in the stone upon the western wall of the nave of the church of Dives, and printed with some additions by the Vicomte de Magny, during the past year, in a volume entitled *Le Nobiliaire de Normandie*. In this catalogue we find a *Richard de Neuville* amongst the companions of the Conqueror, but no *Gilbert*. It is to the late Mr. Stapleton, of whom it has been so often my bounden duty to speak with mingled gratitude and regret, that we are indebted for the light thrown upon the Norman ancestry of the Nevils, and our consequent comprehension of the estimation in which the name was held by all who had the honour of claiming connexion with the family. As the results of Mr. Stapleton's researches have, I believe, never been printed, except in the rare and costly work published by the late Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., which must be in the hands of few if any of my readers, it will be a boon to genealogists in general to reproduce in a condensed form

the important facts therein recorded, at the same time that I shall humbly offer my own opinion respecting the deductions drawn from them when I have the misfortune to differ from either of those eminent antiquaries.

Without further preface, then, it is clear, from a passage in Ordericus Vitalis, that the Norman family of Nevil issued from a Teutonic stock, some members of which appear to have offered their services to Richard, second Duke of Normandy, and to have held high office, contracted important alliances, and were actually lords of large fiefs in England previous to the conquest. Baldric Teutonicus was lord of Bacqueville en Caux, and *archearius* under Duke William. He married a niece of Gilbert Comte de Brionne, grandson of Duke Richard I, and Regent of Normandy in 1040. Ordericus makes frequent mention of Baldric and of his brother Vigerius or Wiger; and a charter by the former shews that he had a sister Elizabeth, who was a nun at St. Amand. This charter being granted with the consent of William, king of the English, proves that Baldric was living at least as late as 1066. By his wife, whose name has not yet transpired, but who, as I have stated, was the niece of the powerful Gilbert Count of Brionne, and therefore a great granddaughter of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, he had six sons and two daughters:—1, Nicholas, who succeeded to his fief of Bacqueville en Caux, and thence called “de Bacqueville”; 2, Foulk d’Anou, so named from his fief of Anou le Faucon in Normandy, and who furnished forty ships for the Conqueror’s invasion of England; 3, Robert, surnamed De Courey from his fief of Courcie sur Dive; 4, Richard, the first of the name of Nevil, being called “de Novavilla” or “de Neuville,” from his fief of Neuville sur Tocque in the department of the Orne, the arrondissement of Argenton, and the canton of Gacé; 5, Baldric, surnamed De Balgenzais from his fief of Bonquence or Bonquency; and 6, Vigerius or Wiger, named after his uncle, and also called Apulensis, having been born, probably, in Apulia; 7, Elizabeth, named after her aunt, and married to Fulk de Boneval; and 8, Hawisia, wife of that Robert Fitz Erneis who fought and fell in the battle of Hastings.

Of the above six noble and powerful sons of Baldric the Teuton, all cousins of William the Conqueror by their mother’s side, we have to deal but with the fourth, Richard

de Neuville, Novavilla, or Nevil. The name and parentage of his wife are as yet unknown to us; but he left issue, by her, four sons,—Gilbert, Robert, Richard, and Ralph. Gilbert, apparently the eldest, is the “Gilbertus Normanus” whom the early genealogists, followed by Mr. Surtees, placed at the head of the Nevil pedigrees; and, on the authority of Leland, declare not only to have come over with the Conqueror, but to have been the admiral of his fleet. I have already observed upon the lack of evidence to support this assertion, apparently first made towards the close of the fifteenth century, and repeated by Leland on the authority, as he tells us, of “a rouble of the genealogie of the Erles of Westmoreland,” but giving us no idea of the date of that roll. At best it can only be looked on as a family tradition, supported, as Mr. Drummond appears to think, by the device of a ship, which is to be seen on the seal of his grand-nephew, Henry de Neville, preserved in the Duchy of Lancaster Office, and of the time between 1199 and 1216. (Pl. 20, fig. 2.) My experience in these matters induces me to draw an inference from this fact directly opposed to that of Mr. Drummond. It is my belief, founded on the many analogous examples I have met with in the course of a tolerably long period passed in such investigations, that the tradition of Gilbert de Neville having been an admiral has actually arisen from the appearance of this ship, which, so far from indicating any such office, is nothing more than a device alluding to the family name,—*nef* in the old French language signifying a ship, and therefore picturing the first syllable of *Neufville*, as we find *muscæ* (flies) upon the old seals of the Muscamps, and hosts of similar and much more far-fetched canting devices.

Nearly all the strange stories and bold assertions to be met with in the works of early heraldic writers have been found to have originated in an attempt to account for such armorial insignia; and if an uncle of Gilbert did really contribute so large a contingent as forty ships to the invading fleet, the supposition in the present instance was a very natural one.

I have pointed out to you that the name of a Richard de Neville has been given by Mons. Leopold de Lisle in his catalogue of the companions of the Conqueror; but neither by him, nor by the Vicomte de Magny, who has followed

him, is any authority quoted in support of the statement; and I am under the impression that they have so distinguished him, from their observation that the first of the name, and who was a contemporary of Duke William, was Richard de Novavilla, the father of Gilbert; but this Richard had also a son named Richard, and that some of the sons, brothers, and nephews, of the elder Richard, if not he himself, were present at the battle is very probable. His brother-in-law, Robert Fitz Erneis (husband of his sister Hawisia), as I have already mentioned, was slain in it. Be this, however, as it may, it is no disparagement to the family of Neville to hesitate, in the absence of positive authority, to number their direct ancestor amongst the leaders of that famous host; for many of the greatest men of Normandy, set down in the catalogues as having fought at Hastings, are now known to have first set foot in England after Duke William had secured the crown. The only reason, indeed, for minutely examining the evidence is that, as no one of that branch of Baldric the Teuton's family appears to have been rewarded by grants of land for their services on that occasion (the Ralph Neville of *Domesday* being merely an under-tenant of the abbot of Peterborough, and perhaps of the bishop of Lincoln, but holding nothing in chief from the king), the manors they are subsequently found in possession of in England must have either descended to them by inheritance, or been acquired by marriage or purchase; and by tracing their descent, we may arrive at the highly interesting and important genealogical information which is now denied to us by the provoking, and, let me add, ungallant practice of constantly omitting all mention of the wives of our noble and chivalrous Norman ancestors.

The only line in which we are at present interested is the issue of Gilbert, the eldest son of Richard de Novavilla, and the traditionary admiral of William's fleet, he being the direct progenitor of the great heiress who married the lord of Raby. This Gilbert had by his wife, whoever she might be, three sons,—Gilbert, Walter, and Jollan. Walter, the second son, was a priest; Jollan married a daughter of Richard Fitz Losuard, and was the progenitor of two branches of Nevils, whose descendants by the female line are still living, and some have assumed the name of Nevil.

Gilbert, the eldest son, is found holding various parcels of



land in Lincolnshire in the reign of Henry I; Yarborough, under Robert Bishop of Lincoln, in 1108; and other lands under Manasser de Arsie, Baron of Coges. He survived the accession of Alexander, archdeacon of Salisbury, to the see of Lincoln; and was witness with him to two charters by William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, in 1142. Whom he married is also at present unknown; but he had issue eight sons,—Gilbert, Alan, Geoffrey, William, Ernisius, Hugh, Turolde, and Walter. It is with the eldest, Gilbert, we alone have to do. He succeeded to four knights' fees held by his father of Manasser de Arsie, in Oxfordshire, and to the lands held of the Bishop of Lincoln, besides Saltern and Repham. A considerable portion of the forfeited estates of Odo Bishop of Bayeux had been given to Manasser de Arsie, and in more than one instance Gilbert de Novavilla is recorded as an under-tenant of the latter. It is not improbable that Gilbert, the father, married a lady of the family of Arsie. So little is known of the upper portion of the pedigree of Arsie that it is at any rate open to us to draw such an inference; and we find one of the sons of Gilbert named William, that Christian name being a family one of the house of Arsie.

Gilbert, the second of the name of Neville, founded the monastery of Tupholme before the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry II (A.D. 1168), endowing it with the churches of St. Peter de Burath and of St. Peter de Rasum, with all their appurtenances, and sundry other lands, tolls of fisheries, etc. He also gave to the church and convent of Kirksted sixteen acres of arable land in Shelton for the good of his own soul and that of his wife (*"uxoris mee"*),—alas! why did he not give us at least her Christian name?—and for the souls of all his ancestors. By this anonymous lady he had three sons,—Geoffrey, William, and Walter,—all three being witnesses to his aforesaid grant to Kirksted. Walter was a priest, William officiated at the coronation of Richard I, and was governor of Norham Castle; Geoffrey, son and heir of Gilbert, was a benefactor to Tupholme, founded by his father, and married, in 1176, Emma de Bulmer, sometimes called Emma de Humez, daughter of Bertrand de Bulmer, and widow of Geoffrey, son of Peter de Valoignes, in 1167. This great heiress, whose mother, it is supposed, was one of the powerful family of Humez or Homet, from the fact of her being occasionally distinguished by that surname, brought

to this branch of the Nevils the lands and castles of Sheriff Hooton and Brancepeth; and by her this Geoffrey de Nevil had issue one son and two daughters. The son, Henry, did homage to King John, 7th of May, 1200, for one knight's fee in Lincolnshire, which had been given to his father Geoffrey by King Henry II. He had a suit, in 1205, with William, son of Roger and nephew of Manasser de Arsic, for lands held of the barony of Arsic. He was in rebellion against King John in the seventeenth year of that monarch's reign, and paid a hundred marks to be reinstated in the king's favour. He married a lady whose Christian name was Alice—family unknown—and who survived him, but by whom he had no issue. One of his sisters, named Avicia, married, before the fifteenth of John, Conan, son of Elias; but she must have died without issue before her brother Henry, for on his decease his sister Isabella, wife of Robert Fitz Maldred, lord of Raby, became his heir; and her son Geoffrey assumed, as we have already seen, the illustrious name of Nevil.

From this great marriage did the magnificent tree proceed, the branches of which are truly said to have overshadowed the land. This Saxon line of Nevil has given to England two queens; a princess of Wales, a mother of two kings; a duke of Bedford; a marquis of Montacute; earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Salisbury, Kent, Warwick, and Montacute; barons Nevil, Furnival, Latimer, Fauconberg, Montacute, and Abergavenny; duchesses of Norfolk, Exeter, York, Buckingham, Warwick, Clarence, and Bedford; a marchioness of Dorset; countesses of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, Worcester, Derby, Oxford, Suffolk, Rutland, Exeter, Bridgewater, and Norwich; baronesses Roos, Dacre, Scrope, Deincourt, Mountjoy, Spencer, Fitz Hugh, Harrington, Hastings, Comyn, Willoughby de Brooke, Hundson, Cobham, Strange, Montacute, and Lucas; nine knights of the Garter, two lord high chancellors, two archbishops of York, a bishop of Salisbury, of Exeter, and of Durham.

A few observations respecting the armorial bearings of the Nevils. The Norman line did not bear a saltire; and where this is assumed to be the case, the only authority is a modern monument, on which it has been placed improperly. The earliest appearance of that well-known bearing occurs on the

seal of Robert Fitz Maldred, the husband of Isabella de Nevil (pl. 20, fig. 1); probably the cross of St. Patrick, assumed, it may be, in commemoration of an ancestor named after that saint; for we find, besides Cospatrik, Earl of Northumberland, several others of that name,—Cospatrik, son of Uchtred, great-great-grandfather of Robert; Cospatrik, son of Alden; Cospatrik, brother of Dolfin, who had also a son named after him; and Patrick, the brother of Maldred and uncle of Robert; so that St. Patrick appears to have been held in much honour by the family. It must be also remembered that Cospatrik, son of Uchtred, was the direct progenitor of the lords of Raby. Geoffrey, son of Robert Fitz Maldred, though he assumed his mother's name of Nevil, did not take the arms of that family, whatever they may have been at that period, but retained his paternal coat of *gules*, a saltire *argent*. I say whatever they might have been, because the *nef*, or ship, which you observe on the seal of Henry de Nevil (pl. 20, fig. 2) appears to have been simply an allusive badge, as I have before stated, at that period when regular armorial bearings were in their infancy. To Geoffrey Nevil of Hornby, youngest son of that Geoffrey who first assumed the name, and who was governor of Scarborough in 1270, and died 13th of Edward I (A.D. 1285), a roll of arms of the time of Edward III attributes *or* a ship, masts, cables, and pennant, *sable* ("Geffray de Nevil port d'or oue une *nief* mastes, cables et plane de sable,"—*Collec. Topog.*, vol. ii, p. 826); while Robert de Neville de Raby, either his brother or nephew, according to the same roll, bears "de goules a un satour d'argent," the old Fitz Maldred coat. Mr. Drummond has illustrated his pedigree with a seal purporting to be that of Robert the elder, which displays the saltire differenced by a label of five points. It is circumscribed "sigillum Robert de Nevilla." Now as Robert was the eldest son, this seal must have been the one used by him during the life of his father, Geoffrey, who was dead in 1235. A label of five points is seen in all the early rolls as the difference of an elder son, even of the king; and not of three points, as subsequently. This difference would, of course, have been discarded on succession to the paternal title and estates.¹

¹ This Robert is said by Mr. Surtees to have married Isabella, daughter of Roger Bertram, lord of Mitford. The *post mortem* inquisition of the 11th of October, 1282, however, and other contemporary documents quoted by Messrs.

The posterity of Geoffrey de Nevil of Hornby bore the Fitz Maldred coat with colours and metal reversed, viz., *argent*, a saltire *gules*, and appear to have abandoned the ship altogether.

For the arms, *or*, fretty *gules* on a canton *sable* an ancient ship, given as those of "Nevil old" by Mr. Surtees at the head of his pedigree, I can find no authority whatever. The De Courceys, descended from a brother of Richard de Novilla, bore fretty, but that could not be a coat of Nevil. The other ancient coat, mascully or lozengy, *or* and *gules* (sometimes with a quarter *ermine*, sometimes with a canton charged with a ship), I do not believe to have been a family coat of Nevil, but assumed in consequence of a match with an heiress of some other house.¹ The earliest mention of it appears in a roll of arms of the reign of Henry III, in which we find "John de Neville Cowerde, mascule d'*or* et de *goules* ung quartier de *Hermynes*"; the next entry being "John de Nevill le Forestier, d'*or* ung bend de *goules* croiselles *noire*,"—another remarkable variety arising, I consider, from a similar circumstance. Mr. Drummond states in his work that the John Nevil Cowerde whose arms he engraves from the roll above mentioned, could not be identified. I think there can be little doubt that he was the younger son of John de Nevil, of whom, on the death of his elder brother John, he became the heir in 1250, as this is about the date of the roll; and we then have a clue at least to the quarter *ermine*, as John, his father, was son of Amfelicia, daughter of Alan Constable of Richmond, and held lands of the honor of Richmond, that family bearing the arms of Brittany, which were simply *ermine*. The office of "cowerde" (*i.e.*, cow-ward) is not mentioned as held by any of the Nevil family at this period; but that of forester (*forestarius*) was enjoyed by many of them, and the "John de Nevil le Forestier" I have just named must have been the son of "Hugh de Nevil Forestarius," and who was appointed to that office on the resignation of his father in 1235, having paid in the previous year three hundred marks to the king for that reversion; but his father's seal, preserved in Canterbury Cathedral, and

Drummond and Stapleton, distinctly prove that her name was Ida, and that she was the widow, not the daughter, of Bertram; so that her parentage has yet to be discovered.

¹ It is assigned to the baronial family of Craon, De Cresonis, or Croun, of Lincolnshire. (Vincent, B. 2.)

engraved by Mr. Drummond, displays entirely different arms,—a chief dancette surmounted by a bend, which would indicate a connexion with the Fitz Ranulfs, lords of Middleham; but the only match yet discovered of that family with the Nevils, is that of Robert, great-grandson of Robert Fitz Maldred, with Mary coheir of Ralph Fitz Ranulph, and therefore quite in a different line.¹ It is, however, foreign to my purpose to carry on any inquiry at present into the cause of the vast variety of coats borne by members of the great family of Nevil; and I have only noticed the case of these John de Nevils, as the arms borne by the “Cow-ward” have evidently been improperly assigned to the direct Norman ancestor of the line of Raby.

I have now but to notice the crest of the Nevils of Raby, which in the fourteenth century appears as a bull’s head, borne subsequently by Ralph Nevil, lord of Raby, 1437, issuant out of a ducal coronet; and by others of the same family, at that period, on a chapeau. This, I believe, was an adaptation of an old badge of the family, a pied or dun bull, not impossibly assumed in recollection of the descent from Bulmer. The earliest appearance of it I have met with is on a seal of Robert de Nevil the younger, husband of Mary Fitz Ranulph, and who died in the life-time of his father. It was affixed to a charter in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, and has been engraved for Mr. Drummond’s work, exhibiting plainly enough a bull grazing, circumscribed “Robert de Nevil.” It was probably his *secretum*, or counter-seal. He was the great-great-grandson of Emma, heiress of Bertram de Bulmer, who brought the lordships of Brancepeth and Sheriff Hooton to the family of Nevil. At the same time it is interesting to notice that the earliest seal known to have belonged to one of the family of Arsie, with which the Nevils appear to have been some way connected, is that of Robert de Arsie, Baron of Coges, living in the reign of King John, and displays a border charged with twelve ox or bull’s heads.²

In the splendid and valuable volume marked “Vincent 20,” in the College of Arms, is a pedigree of the Nevils, at

¹ Eudo de Arsie, living 1236 (Fine Roll, 20 Henry III), bore a chief indented or dancette; and it might point to the match with a branch of that family.

² It was formerly in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham. There is a representation of it in Brooke’s *Aspilogia* (College of Arms), vol. i, p. 66.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



the head of which are the shields and crests displayed in these diagrams; and you will perceive the dun bull's head armed *vert*, and eared *gules*, is given as a crest to the Saxon line descending from Waltheof. (Pl. 20, fig. 4.) But as crests were not known in England until after the reign of Henry II at the earliest, nor formed a portion of the armorial ensigns of a knight upon his seal till two or three centuries later, and as no authority whatever is quoted, or has been found, for such an appropriation, I shall adhere to my belief until I see good reason for changing it. The crest given to Bulmer is a lion passant gardant *or*, billeted *sable*, and the shield displays a similar lion rampant; but as these arms could never have been borne by the father of Emma de Humez, and were only invented subsequently for the family, no inference prejudicial to my view of the case can be drawn from them. The crest of the Norman Nevils is, in this instance, the *sable* ship, and beneath it are three pointed shields,—the one on the left displaying the same ship in a field *or*, the recorded coat of one branch of the family. (Fig. 3, pl. 20.) The shield on the right presents us with *argent*, a fess *vert*; for whom intended there is not the slightest indication. The centre shield exhibits the lozengy coat *or* and *gules*, with the canton *ermine* (or quarter of Bretagne), which I have before spoken of, also a recorded coat of Nevil. The Saxon line has, beneath the crest of the bull's head, two shields,—that on the left being the renowned coat of Fitz Maldred, or Nevil of Raby, *gules*, a saltire *argent*. The other I should blazon paly of six *or* and *gules*, barry dancetté of the same number countercharged. It is a coat invented for Waltheof Earl of Northumberland (of course never borne by him), and is variously drawn and coloured in other examples.¹ (Fig. 4, pl. 20.)

There is only one excuse to offer for this practice of my learned and ingenious predecessors, the heralds of the middle ages. When the quartering of arms became popular, during the reigns of the second and third Edwards (the latter of whom quartered the arms of France with those of England, in token of his claim to the French crown by inheritance), all persons who were the issue of heiresses displayed in like manner the arms of their mother's family; and, by degrees,

¹ In Vincent, B. 2, it is drawn *pavonée*, and blazoned *or* and *vert*, with a note that the *vert* is in some cases made *purpure*!

those of all the families whose heirs had intermarried with it, and were, as we say, "brought in" by her. A Nevil, therefore, desirous of shewing his descent from the Bulmers, lords of Brancepeth, would require a coat of Bulmer to quarter with those of Nevil (which brings it in) and the paternal coat of Fitz Maldred; consequently, as Bertram de Bulmer died before the introduction of coat-armour, some heraldic insignia had to be invented for him, and the heralds were of course called upon to supply the deficiency. Our nobility and gentry, therefore, in their grand achievements, consisting of forty or fifty quarterings, display numberless coats of arms which never had any existence except in the fancy of the heralds who devised them. The mischief of this has arisen from the said heralds neglecting to distinguish these imaginary and attributive coats from those which have been actually borne at a later period, and can be verified by ancient seals and monuments. In too many instances they have also, by their silence, if not by their authority, given support to the ridiculous legends and romantic fables invented to account for the bearings themselves,—as *à propos* of this very canton *ermine* before us, which, as I have told you, commemorates a match with the house of Bretagne. We are gravely told by an ancient writer that "the first user of this fur in arms was Brutus, the son of Silvius, who, having by accident killed his father, left that unhappy ground, and travelling in Bretagne, in France, fell asleep, and when he awoke found this little beast" (*i.e.*, an ermine) "upon his shield, and from that time wore a shield *ermine*." Why the Counts of Bretagne and Richmond assumed *ermine* as their distinctive armorial ensign in the twelfth century, is at present unknown; but it certainly was not because a mythical grandson of "pious Æneas" went to sleep in France and found an Armenian rat upon his shield at waking! This is, indeed, an illustration of the well-known line, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus." And with this by no means singular sample of ancient heraldry, which furnishes what I may call the moral of the latter portion of my story, I will conclude a paper of very little interest to a general audience, but containing, I trust, information of some importance "to those whom it may concern,"—my fellow-labourers in the mines of history.

ON THE HAND-AMULET.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT.

WHATEVER subject the archæologist may be called on to investigate, whether it relate to arts or arms, peace or war, domestic manners or religious rites, he instinctively turns to Egypt, and inquires of her monuments how far they will aid him in his researches; and they will, in nine cases out of ten, shed a valuable light upon his studies, whatever they may tend to.

The land of the mighty Pharaohs was, indeed, the cradle of infinite numbers of useful arts; but it was at the same time the birthplace of many a dark, degrading superstition whose story still lives on its carved and painted walls, and in its silent, narrow death-chests. We are about to consider the hand-amulet,—will the monuments of Egypt tell us aught about it? They respond in mute but unmistakable language,—yes.

The hand-amulet has assumed divers forms in divers ages and climes, and when intended for different ends. Among the ancient Egyptians it would seem to have been emblematic of power and authority; but its full scope and extent have never yet been fathomed. The two examples I exhibit are of great rarity and interest. The one representing a left hand closed, is of gilded terra-cotta, measuring about two inches high by two inches and a quarter wide, and was found with objects of glass of the same age as the figures engraved in this *Journal* (xiii, 218); the other is a right hand extended, with the wrist decked with a broad bracelet, and perforated for suspension. This amulet is of carved bone, nearly three inches and a half long; was discovered at Thebes, and until lately formed part of the Bousfield Collection.

The Egyptians not only had amulets in the form of clenched and open hands,¹ but were more frequently content with representations of the first and second digits conjoined, as is manifest by the various examples I produce, wrought of stone and blue and black glass, and in some of which the

¹ In the British Museum are several Egyptian hands with forearms, of ivory and wood, varying from seven to upwards of thirteen inches in length, the religious character of which is shewn by the head of Athor, and the lotus flower being carved on the wrist of some.



nails and joints are well distinguished. These amulets are met with in the viscera of mummies, and forcibly remind us of the position of the fingers of the Greek and Latin priest when giving the benediction; and it is curious to observe that the same *pose* occurs in the votive hands of bronze engraved in La Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain* (Amsterdam, 1706, pp. 106, 111).

The hand-amulet survived the downfall of Egypt's ancient creed, and was, in spite of all the precepts of the Koran against the representing of living things, or any part thereof, adopted by the followers of Mahomed, who to this day suspend in their dwellings, and hang about their persons, little hands of blue glass as a protection against the much-dreaded "evil eye." The specimens I lay before you were purchased at Constantinople.

If some of the ancient Egyptians were satisfied with amulets composed of only two fingers, their Mahomedan successors have gone a step forward in economy, and rejoice in hanging a single finger about their necks for the cure of ague; but this finger must have been cut from the corpse of Jew or Christian, and well dried before its employment as a charm.¹

The entire hand severed from the body of one who had suffered on the gallows, was regarded as a potent talisman by the French, German, Spanish, and other burglars, who converted it into a taper-holder, under the belief that it rendered the light invisible to all but themselves, and struck powerless every one to whom it was presented. For the mode of preparing this "hand of glory," as it is called, I must refer you to Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (iii, 278; ed. 1849), where full details are given.

Leaving the hand-amulets of Egypt, the Mahomedans, and European robbers, let us next survey the *ithyphallica* of Italy, which indicate a sad amount of moral depravity, from which the modern inhabitants of the country are not wholly free; for this species of charm is still in vogue amongst them, and long has borne the title of *fiche*; differing little in sound from the Spanish *figo*, and reminding every reader of Shakespeare of Pistol's exclamations in *Henry V* (iii, 6, iv, 1),—"Die and be damn'd, and *figo* for thy friendship"; "the *figo* for thee."

¹ See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, i, 354.

But before we come to amulets of modern times, let us speak of those of the early Etruscans; and I am happy in having it in my power to shew you one of a most curious and significant character, which is perforated through its centre to admit a cord by which to suspend it about the person. It is three inches in length, carved out of a portion of a round bone, and represents a right hand with the thumb thrust between the first and second fingers, the wrist encircled by a funicular bracelet; and what ought to be the arm is fashioned into a form that will not bear description. This scarce and precious amulet was found at Vules.¹

As a further example of an ancient Italian *ithyphallus*, I produce a fragment of a left hand, formed of light coloured terra-cotta, in which the thumb and fingers are arranged as in the specimen from Vules; and it is perforated lengthways, for a suspending cord to pass through it. This relic was discovered in the Sibyl's Cave at Cumæ, and was formerly in the Croker Collection.

The foregoing remarks and exhibitions have been suggested by a splendid *ithyphallus* of rock-crystal in the possession of our noble and esteemed President, the Lord Boston, by whose kindness I am permitted to lay it before you. This extraordinarily fine specimen weighs an ounce and a half troy, is two inches and five-sixteenths in length, and represents, as usual in this class of amulets, the right hand with the thumb between the first and second fingers, the nails and joints being as clearly marked as in the double digits of the ancient Egyptian charms. A bracelet incised with a chevron pattern surrounds the wrist, forming a collar, upon which a metal cap rested (as in an example in the British Museum, next to be described), and which no doubt was provided with a loop or ring by which it could be hung on the person. It is somewhat difficult to decide the exact age of this truly beautiful relic, it being wrought of a substance which we know retains its polish undimmed for almost countless centuries, as is proved by objects of rock-crystal discovered in the tombs of Egypt, and by the beads and Druid-balls exhumed in different parts of the British islands. But though I should hesitate to pronounce a posi-

¹ The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson has just obtained two bone amulets of the same type as the above, but smaller, found at Xanten in the Duchy of Cleves.

tive opinion in regard to its era, I must confess I am disposed to look upon it as the work of a period earlier than that usually denominated mediæval.¹

The amulet in the national collection just referred to, though certainly of much later date than that belonging to our noble President, offers an interesting comparison with it. It is, however, like the example from Cumæ, a left hand, nearly two inches long, wrought of ivory, and mounted with a silver cap with Vandyke edge, and provided with a little ring at top, through which passes a loop of purple silk. This is engraved in Rymsdyk's *Museum Britannicum* (London, 1791, p. 47), together with a cowry-shell with a silver loop and ring. Both amulets are here styled *ithyphallices* or *ithyphallica*; and we learn from the following brief but interesting observations by P. Boyle that they are "by the French called *pucillage*, worn by young men, etc., on their watches as a trinket. The hand, an emblem of fecundity, called *fica*. The ladies in Italy wear them on their hair as ornaments. Those formed of ivory are said to be worn by married women; but when the thumb is hit by the fingers, it denotes virginity. Such an one was presented by a nun to one of my friends in his travels through Italy." The only example of one of these hand-amulets with the thumb hit, *i.e.*, covered by the fingers, that I remember seeing, was in a curiosity-shop in Castle-street, Leicester-square. It was carved out of wood of a rich brown hue, and had four little pillars rising from the wrist, and supporting an abacus surmounted by a perforated knob. I should fancy that its date could not differ much from *circa* 1600.

Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (i, 492), has engraved two most curious *ithyphallica* of a far more complex design than those hitherto described. One is carved out of a piece of jet, and represents the right hand with the thumb between the first and second fingers, and a crescent moon on the palm, emblematic of the goddess Diana. On either side the wrist is a little hand with the thumb and fingers placed as in the larger one; and rising from a frill or cuff is a demi-figure supporting the infant Jesus in the left hand, and holding a bunch of lilies in the right, just as we find St. Anthony of Padua delineated. But the image

¹ Mr. Felix Slade has a portion of a life-sized hand carved out of rock-crystal, the antiquity of which is unquestionable.

in question looks much more like a female than a man, and may therefore be intended for the Virgin Mary.¹ This amulet is stated to have been worn in Spain, by women and children, against fascination, or the "evil eye"; and if so, it seems to connect this class of charms with those of the Mahomedans before mentioned.

The second example given by Douce is rather more simple in design than the other. It is still a right hand with the thumb and fingers arranged in the usual mode, and with a large crescent moon on the palm; but instead of the wrist being surmounted by an effigy, it is capped by an abacus, from which rise four little hands and arms forming the supports for another abacus crowned by a knob. Both of Douce's specimens appear to be late sixteenth century work.

It has been mentioned incidentally that the hand-amulet is yet in vogue in Italy, and so it is; but it has long since dwindled into diminutive proportion when compared with the bulky examples which have just engaged our attention, and the fingers and thumb are not always arranged as of yore. Some of these *petit* Italian trinkets find favour with our own maids and matrons, and form not inelegant appendages to the watch-chain. Poor Albert Smith, in his sweet little poem of the *Châtelaine*, thus makes pleasant mention of these modern antique baubles,—

"Smallest things may bear a moral
If we read the sense aright;
E'en that tiny *hand* of coral,
Charm against an evil blight,
Points this lesson with its finger,—
Hearts from malice must refrain,
Baneful thoughts should never linger
Near your *châtelaine*."

¹ The same doubt as to personage attends a very similar figure given in the *Gent. Mag.* for March 1786, p. 219.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Concluded from p. 241.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25.

ON Friday the excursion was planned for Tynemouth Priory and Newcastle. At Tynemouth the Association was met by Mr. Sidney Gibson, the historian of the Priory. The entire form of the church is traceable; and the mode of its division into two parts, for monastic and for parochial use, was pointed out. The most considerable remains are at the east end of the church, and present a specimen of almost unrivalled beauty of the purest Early English work. A miniature Lady Chapel of elaborate Perpendicular work, in perfect condition, is attached to this part. A few fragments of the conventual buildings remain. A complete description, with illustrations, it is proposed to give in a future *Journal*.

At Newcastle the Association was greeted by Mr. Alderman Nichol, the Deputy Mayor, and W. Lockey Harle, Esq., the Sheriff of the town, the presence of the Mayor being prevented by illness.

Dr. Collingwood Bruce pointed out to the visitors, with great animation, the main features of archæological interest in the Castle, which, though not the largest, is reckoned the most complete specimen of a Norman stronghold now existing in this country.

THE CASTLE.

Dr. Bruce first took his stand near the Black Gate, which was formerly the principal entrance to the Castle. Addressing the associates and their friends, he said the lower part of this portal exhibited the Pointed arch, and was evidently of later date than the other works of the Castle. In active warfare the principal gates of a fortress would always be the first to suffer. The gate was erected in the reign of Henry III. The old Castle itself, though not the largest, was the most complete specimen of a Norman castle existing in England. William the Conqueror ordered the Castle to be built, and his son Robert erected one after his return from the Scotland expedition. No remains,

however, of the castle which was built, as he had just stated, by Robert Duke of Normandy in 1080, or of that subsequently reared by William Rufus, were known now to exist. The present building was erected by Henry II between the years 1172 and 1177, and the style of the architecture corresponds with the date. Some documents had recently been discovered which brought these facts to their notice. The cost of it was £892 : 18 : 9. That seemed a remarkably small sum; but when they considered that an ox in those days cost three shillings, they might know how to estimate the value of that amount. When William the Lion was captured at Alnwick, in 1174, he was brought to Newcastle, and lodged in the Castle for a single night. The works, however, could not have been complete; for he was taken next day to Richmond, and imprisoned in the castle there. Dr. Bruce then passed through the Black Gate, and pointed out, on the left hand side, a cell which no doubt had been used as a ready place of imprisonment. Further on, near the Dog Leap Stairs, a portion of the curtain wall was visible. Turning then to the right, and taking a position at the south-east corner, he remarked upon the fact of most of the windows having been altered. There was, however, from that point one window which could be seen in its original state. Looking also at the Castle generally from that side, they were able to form an idea as to the gloomy character of the building. It was built by the dominant party in England in the time of William the Conqueror; and its forbidding aspect was undoubtedly intended to inspire the people, and especially those who were their enemies, with a sense of their power of resistance. Dr. Bruce then moved on to another point of the Castle Garth, at the south side, and said that they must bear in mind that the general plan of the Castle was Norman. First, they had a curtain wall enclosing the whole space, with certain doorways; then there was a second wall, with a ditch surrounding the keep itself. They had at one corner, before them, one of the posterns of the gateway that led to the river, and which might be called the Water Gate. It would be worth their while to examine the outside of the gate, as it was in a most perfect state. As he had intimated, the gateways were the first to suffer damage in the hardships of war; and at the present time there was rarely such a thing as a Norman gateway existing in the curtain wall of a castle, but here is one which, if genuine, was certainly unique of its kind. They would notice, at the same time, the way in which the dungeon keep was strengthened. Not only was it necessary for an enemy to fight his way over two walls, but even when he got to the keep he could not get into it very easily. He would have to fight his way up a steep flight of steps, and then after that he would have to turn off at an angle in such a way as to expose his sides to the spears of his assailants. In addition to that he would have other difficulties

to encounter. There were some large windows down at the bottom of the Castle, which had been used for lighting up the chapel. Perhaps it would be thought that the chapel might take care of itself if an enemy came near it; but even supposing a foe could have got into the apartment, he would still be outside of the keep itself. The battlements of the Castle, it might be also mentioned, were modern, being put up in 1813. The machicolations were put up at the same time, and were Edwardian in character. With these exceptions, they would see that there was very little that was not of Norman character about the building. The Doctor then went to the Castle Square, and said his auditors would perceive that a door in that direction (which he pointed out) was modern. The Castle was formerly used as a gaol; and on that occasion this doorway was made, and a steep flight of stairs was used to go up. The doorway into the inner bailey was at a right angle, and if ever any one got inside, he had to run the gauntlet to get up the stairs leading to the main entrance. The doorway leading to the Castle was larger now than formerly. Carrying their eyes up, they would see a small recess in the wall, near the door, which was no doubt intended to keep off any one who might venture upon making the attempt to gain admission, by having a man stationed there to assault him with a battle-axe. Near the same place was another recess, at the back of which was a trough, which seemed to have been made to contain water. The question arose, what was the meaning of this arrangement? There were various notions with regard to it, and everybody was entitled to have his own; but for his part he believed that they prepared scalding water on the battlements, conveyed it into the trough, and either poured or ladled it out on to the fellows below. The party then went round to the west side of the Castle, and Dr. Bruce pointed out the sallyport door, which was about fourteen or fifteen feet above the level of the ground. The way up to it, from the inside, was very tortuous. When an enemy was assaulting the main gateway, a sallying party might be got out, and attack him in the rear. A stream of water ran underneath the Castle, which was of great value in a sanitary point of view. In fact, the sanitary arrangements of the Castle had been extremely good. That side was destitute of windows. The large window which they saw was to some extent modern. There was a smaller one. The tower to the north was quatrefoil; but what was the reason it was different from the others, he could not exactly tell. It was, however, said by one author that sometimes in building their castles, the Normans adopted what were called "lures," or "snares," to give the enemy an idea that at that particular part the building could be better attacked. They (the people before him) might, upon looking at the form of the tower to which he alluded, fancy that it enclosed some lady's boudoir; but it was made of solid masonry, and they might battle at it for ever without effect.

The members of the party then entered the great hall of the building. Dr. Bruce then went on with his description of the Castle in a manner which was calculated to interest as well as to instruct the listeners. He said that there was a small chamber at the head of the stairs, which might have been used by the priests; but he did not think that so much room would have been lost for such an object. It might have been used as the residence of the guard,—the place where some one might examine the credentials of any one before admitting him within the sacred portals. He wished the company to examine the iron bar that fastened the door. In 1854 a great explosion occurred, and the door was burst open. The iron bar was bent, and remained in the same position still. The Society of Antiquaries had held a *conversazione* in the building the previous night; and if the explosion had occurred a little earlier, a great many ladies and gentlemen whom he saw before him would not have been present. One of the chambers bore the name of the “King’s Chamber” by tradition; and it was there, probably, that Edward I slept. Not far from them, on the left, was the well-room. Water was essential to the existence of the garrison. The well was sunk to the depth of ninety-four feet into the strata below. It did not, however, open on to the ground floor, but on to the third story. The object of that was to supply the protectors of the Castle in case of the walls being breached below. The occupants, no doubt, contemplated keeping the enemy at bay, and fighting night and day. There was only one staircase, which came from the bottom to the top. Amongst the number of figures belonging to the museum, now in the Castle, he particularly noticed the stone statue of Victory, represented, with wings outstretched, trampling upon and careering or flying over the globe. A stone also bore the inscription, FVLGVR DIVVM (or lightning of the gods). Some poor fellow had been struck down by lightning on his way thither, and the fact was perpetuated. The implements which they saw hanging around the hall were used at executions. The offenders were confined in Newgate, then conveyed outside of the Town Moor, and there executed, the guards carrying the halberds adjoining. Baliol of Scotland did homage, in 1202, in the Castle to Edward I. The nobles of both kingdoms assembled in the Castle about that time. The only question was, in what room? Was it in the one in which they were assembled, the great hall, or in the outward bailey? The great hall of the outer bailey was where the Three Bulls’ Heads publichouse was now situated. The entrance to the second story was curiously situated, being seven or eight feet below the level. They would perceive a window at which a single man with a battle-axe would be able to keep a whole army at bay. Dr. Bruce then went into the well-room, and pointed out the well itself, near which was a bucket by which they could at present draw water. A bucket

containing water was placed near the side of the well, and the pouring of the water down convinced the visitors of the depth. There were two troughs on each side of the well. There were only two original fireplaces, the one being in the king's chamber, and the other on the opposite side. In King Edward the First's bedroom and dressing-room (a narrow, longitudinal apartment) the original fireplace was pointed out, with a treasurer's box fastened by three locks. The apartment, from its heavy character and unsuitability to the purposes of repose, seemed suggestive of the words, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Dr. Bruce then guided the party up the staircase to the top of the tower, pointing out the narrow windows, which were so adapted as to protect the head of the warrior whilst engaged in the work of defence. Reaching the summit, he commented upon the chief objects presented to the eye. He remarked upon the singularity of the tower of St. Nicholas Church, and alluded to the resemblance which that of St. Dunstan's in London bore to it. The High Level Bridge, the position of the Roman Wall, etc., occupied attention, and the company descended to the basement. Dr. Bruce called attention to a most interesting object near the sallyport of the Castle. This was the iron head of an arrow fired from a crossbow, which had entered one of the windows, and penetrated between the joints of the stone in the small chamber, where it remains immovably fixed. The Antiquaries' Society had allowed this great curiosity to remain where the strong arm of the crossbowman had lodged it. The Doctor mentioned that an arrow-head had been found similarly placed in Alnwick Castle, but that the late Duke had caused it to be removed, and placed in his museum. On assembling in the Chapel, Dr. Bruce said that a few years ago that edifice was used as the beer-cellar of the Three Bulls' Heads, a publichouse, and formed a capital cellar. More of the Chapel was ancient than they would, perhaps, suppose on a first view. A great portion of the vaulting was untouched; and in that portion of it which had been taken down, the stones for the most part had been replaced. The west side of the inner portion of the Chapel was new. The windows were all untouched. It would be difficult to find in any other Norman keep in the kingdom a finer chapel. There were several interesting objects belonging to the museum; but the most interesting to him was that coffin made of trees split and hollowed. It had been fastened up by wooden pins, and had evidently been made before the general introduction of iron into that part of the country. The coffin was found at Hermitage Castle. In the room where the local society of antiquaries held their meetings, and had their valuable and interesting museum, Dr. Bruce pointed out the President's chair, the wood composing which was older than the Christian era. In making the canal from Carlisle to Port Carlisle on the Solway, the Roman Wall was broken through,

and the workmen came upon the remains of an old forest, which must, of course, have existed there before the Roman Wall was built. This oak was so good that some of it was used in making the jetty at Bowness; and of a portion of it, the President's chair was made.

The party then left the ancient Castle, and in passing by the end of the Side, on their way to St. Nicholas Church, Dr. Bruce drew attention to Barker's Meter's Arms (a publichouse at the head of the Side), in which he stated that the famous naval hero, Lord Collingwood, the companion in arms of Nelson, was born. His mother kept a small shop below. He did not know what kind of a shop it was, but he believed it was a tobacconist's. In the house at the opposite corner of the Side once lived Charles Avison, organist of St. Nicholas, and the author of *Musical Expression*, a work of authority still. Formerly the Side was the principal road through Newcastle between the north and south.

St. Nicholas's Church, the Friars, the Museum, and other places of interest, were successively visited.

After their lengthened ramble the excursionists met in the Assembly Room to partake of the profuse and generous hospitality of J. Hodgson Hinde, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, who occupied the chair.

The Chairman briefly gave the toast of "Her Majesty the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family," which was drunk most loyally; and then followed "The Health of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Durham," and with the toast he would couple the name of Archdeacon Bland.

The Venerable Archdeacon Bland said it was a very peculiar gratification to him to find that the health of the Bishop and clergy of the diocese had been so cordially received by them, because it convinced him not only of their general respect for the clergymen of the country, but also that they were convinced that the Bishop and clergy of the diocese of Durham were endeavouring, in the midst of various difficulties and trials, to perform the high duty which they had to discharge. The Bishop had been long enough in the diocese to shew that he was determined to do his duty amidst all difficulties. As for himself, he could speak gratefully of the support he had received from both clergy and laymen. He might say that those of the clergy who had not had time to interest themselves much in archaeological pursuits, felt that the gentlemen before him, who had greater learning and experience in those matters, were always ready to welcome the clergy, and to give every information in their power; they were ready to throw out certain suggestions which were most useful to them in their parishes. The Archdeacon concluded by thanking the company for the kind manner in which they had received the toast.

Mr. N. Gould, the senior Vice-President of the Association, returned



thanks to Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde for his generous hospitality, speaking not only with the weight due to the high regard in which he is held amongst the members, but with an energy and capacity rarely possessed by an octogenarian. He announced himself as a native of Newcastle, which town he quitted at the age of nine years; and till now, for over seventy years, had not revisited. He excited the utmost interest and amusement by his vigorous delineations, from his own recollection, of Newcastle and its inhabitants upwards of seventy years ago. He described himself as one of the few now living who had learned his alphabet from the almost forgotten horn-book. He thanked the Chairman for his feeling allusion to the failing health of their valued friend, Mr. Pettigrew, to whom this society owed so much; and who, though he had ventured to come to Durham, was, to the regret of all, unable to be with them at Newcastle to execute the task which had devolved upon him. In concluding, Mr. Gould adverted to the fact that he had presented to Dr. Van Mildert, when he became Bishop of Llandaff, his first pair of lawn sleeves, with a promise that he would renew the gift when he should be advanced to the see of Canterbury. This was never realised; but his friend became Bishop of Durham, as they all knew; and this gave to him another special interest in the proceedings of this Congress.

The evening meeting, presided over by the Right Hon. T. E. Headlam, Esq., M.P., at the Town Hall, Durham, was almost engrossed by a description of the ancient Roman city of Uriconium (Wroxeter, Salop) by Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., V.P. A large audience listened with unflagging attention to his account of the discoveries made in the excavations proceeding in late years under his direction, and of his hopes and difficulties in the further progress of the work.

Mr. J. B. Bergne followed with a complete and concise account of the Durham mint, which is given at pp. 264-272 *ante*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26.

On Saturday morning an excursion was arranged to Brancepeth Castle and Church, and to Bishop Auckland. Brancepeth Castle, about five miles from Durham, is the seat of Lord Boyne. It is most beautifully situated, and stands on a bold eminence, overlooking a large expanse of landscape, with a most exquisite foreground of wooded dells, running streams, and undulating turf. The Castle itself was originally built by the celebrated Geoffrey Neville, but very little of the original work remains; and though the Castle presents the external form of a baronial residence of the thirteenth century, the walls have the freshness of yesterday. The company were admitted into all parts of the

interior, which comprises a baron's hall, an armoury, and all the mimic resemblance of an ancient castle. In one chamber there is a trap-door which conceals a secret staircase that leads down one of the towers into the grounds.

The Church is a fine old structure, which has been recently restored, and presents several features of interest to the antiquary. Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler explained with conciseness the chief points of interest at Brancepeth Church. His description is given in full at pp. 272-279 *ante*.

From Brancepeth the party went by railway to Bishop Auckland, where the Palace of the Bishop of Durham is situated. The Bishop of Durham received the company on the lawn in front of the Palace in a most genial manner, and himself pointed out the most ancient part of the residence, which is the lower window in the court facing the Chapel. With that important exception, the Palace has undergone so much renovation and restoration, that scarcely any of the old work remains.

The party then went into the Chapel, and his Lordship and Mr. Sidney Gibson pointed out some of the difficulties which the renovations of Bishop Cosin, since the Reformation, created in settling the original date of the work. Mr. Le Keux made some observations, and Mr. Gordon Hills was called upon for his remarks. He commended the graceful beauty of the pillars and arcades, and noticed the singular varieties occurring in different parts of them. He nevertheless, with confidence, assigned the work to the period between the erection of the Galilee and the Nine Altars at Durham, which would make it an erection of about 1210.

The dining hall of the Palace was not sufficiently large to accommodate all the company at once; but after one half had been amply provided for in a most hospitable style, the other portion of the party was admitted. The Bishop presided at one end of the table, and Mrs. Baring at the other. His Lordship liberally dispensed his hospitality, and he seemed to have pleasure in entertaining his numerous visitors, who retired highly gratified with their reception.

At the Town Hall, in the evening, the Mayor of Durham, whose courteous attention to the Association throughout the week maintained the ancient dignity of his office, gave a *conversazione*.

Three papers remained on the roll of business to be disposed of. They were all of considerable value. "On Bishop Richard de Bury," by Mr. Sidney Gibson; "On ancient Wills and Inventories relating to Durham," by the Rev. G. Ormsby; and one "On Durham and its Palatinate," by the Rev. J. H. Blunt. The two latter subjects were skilfully epitomised by their authors. The intervals of refreshment were enlivened by some admirable vocal music from members of the Cathedral choir. "The Cloud-clapt Towers," from its appropriateness and

excellence, obtained rapturous applause. The proceedings terminated with the usual complimentary vote of thanks to all who had furthered the objects of the Association, and an acknowledgment to the Mayor, moved by Mr. N. Gould, V.P., with a finale of "God save the Queen" from the choir. The three papers mentioned will appear in full in the *Journal*.

Some members of the Association, under the guidance of Mr. E. Roberts, organised a further excursion to Hexham and Lindisfarne, which occupied the early part of the ensuing week.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 28TH.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Members are requested to correct an error which occurs at page 353 in the preceding volume of this *Journal*. In the account of the Silverdale pottery exhibited by our associate, James Murton, Esq., by a misprint of the word *worked* for *marked*, Dr. Walling is made to say that the marl pits of *Clay Hole Moss*, whence the material of the pottery was obtained, were *worked* in the beginning of the present century; he really said they were *marked*, which of course conveys a very different notion of the age of the manufacture. The age is such that Mr. Murton says: "After continued investigation I can obtain no information from research or tradition of the date when these potteries were in work. Dr. Walling, and all others who know this district, consider the period which has been assigned by Mr. Cuming for the manufacture of the pottery, viz., the early part of the seventeenth century, to be quite late enough."

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited a vase of grey terra-cotta found in Lombard-street. The mouth is small and closed, with exception of a little orifice in the centre, easily covered by the thumb when the air is to be excluded. It is provided with two handles which spring from the slender neck and rest on the somewhat pear-shaped body, and which body is supported on three short legs or feet. It has a cluster of five perforations in the bottom. The vessel was filled through these by immersion, and its contents would flow out in five streams when air was admitted through the orifice in the top, in the exact manner of

the early watering-pots described in this *Journal*, v, 343. The vase was decorated by impressing circlets, etc., in the soft clay before firing, and its surface shows a few patches of glaze, the presence of which is in all probability due to accident. It is suggested that this little vase was employed for culinary or table purposes, and that its age cannot be later than the fifth century.

Mr. Brighthouse exhibited the following objects :

1. The forepart of a horse, well modelled in red terra-cotta ; in all probability an Italian study of the seventeenth century. Mr. Cato stated that he remembered to have seen this formerly in the Bousfield Collection.

2. A bottle representing a huge chrysalis overarched with a tube, from the crown of which rises a straight neck. The material is a well-baked reddish-brown clay much like the terra-cotta of Japan. It is from the tombs of the Incas of Peru.

3. A jar, or bottle, with full body and upright neck, surrounded by four loop handles, through one of which, and not through the top of neck, is an opening—a small round hole through which the liquid can be obtained. From a round hole in the bottom rises a conical tube, through which the vessel may be filled in the manner of the “Cadogan pots,” made at the Rockingham works, at Swinton, in Yorkshire. The vessel exhibited is from South America.

Various ancient implements were then exhibited and considered.

Mr. J. W. Bailey produced an extremely ancient head of a hammer formed of the butt of a horn of the red deer, perforated to permit a wooden handle to pass through it, and of which handle a small portion still remains. The severed end of the horn is socketed for the reception of a stone blade, the implement thus provided constituting a species of axe-hammer, or martel, which may be compared with an example given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, pl. 12, fig. 31. This specimen, which is of the utmost rarity as a London find, was lately exhumed in Long-alley, Moorfields.

The same gentleman exhibited an ancient iron dagger excavated in the railway works near to Barclay's brewery in Southwark, the handle and blade in one ; he had at some pains possessed himself of it as being the original of a great number of forgeries which had been sold to the unwary. He also produced an iron trident pronounced by Mr. H. Syer Cuming to be the weapon of a Roman gladiator.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., stated with respect to the famous *Lee penny*, that he had been enabled to clear up the doubt so long existing respecting the coin in which the gem is set. This coin has been termed a piece of Byzantine money, a shilling, and a penny. It proves to be an English groat of the time of Edward III, with the words CIVI LONDONIA distinctly visible in the inner circle of the reverse.

This fact is interesting in connection with the history of this talisman, given in this *Journal*, vol. xxi, 325.

Mr. Blashill laid before the meeting drawings of the organ-screen at Christchurch, Hants, and expressed his belief that it had been saved from the destruction which had threatened it, Lord Malmesbury having vigorously combated for its preservation, aided by the opinion of Mr. Ferry, the architect, and backed by the sympathy of this and of other Associations which had warmly expressed themselves in favour of his views.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited a portrait of Edward VI, some years since in the possession of the late eminent antiquary, John Bowyer Nichols, Esq., and which has lately come into his own possession. It is on panel, is traced to have been at one time in Leicester Castle, and bears such marks of antiquity as to render it quite probable that it might be a portrait of the youthful monarch taken from life.

Dr. T. N. Brushfield exhibited a valuable collection of Roman antiquities discovered in Chester chiefly in the years 1863 and 1864, with a number of beautifully executed drawings and photographs. In the space of a paragraph it would be impossible to convey an idea of the interest attaching to his exhibition and illustrations. One subject only can here be mentioned. Two fragments of Purbeck marble bear part of a Latin inscription in letters four or five inches high. It appeared to be part of the frieze of the entablature of a portico or colonnade, and is remarkable from the rarity of that material in the Roman British buildings, and still more remarkable from the distance from which the marble had been brought. The paper will be given in full in a future *Journal*. In reference to the marks of red colour observed in this inscription, Mr. Josiah Cato observed that in the York Museum a modern hand had coloured all the Roman inscriptions red.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent a drawing of three stone altar slabs, each marked with the usual five crosses found in the pavement of St. David's Cathedral.

Mr. Irvine accompanied the drawing with the following note: "Having been lately at St. David's Cathedral with G. G. Scott, Esq., who is engaged in its restoration, I saw in the floor of the east end (on the south side of the communion table) three stones containing five crosses, and one in particular with a piece of stone let into the end incised with the crosses, somewhat similar to the small moveable altar-stones used in early times. The example with this inserted piece, as well as the piece itself, is a poor blue stone of the coarsest description, and the same may be said of the other slabs. One slab, I suspect, to be an early tombstone re-used, and it is narrower at one end than at the other. The crosses are roughly executed. I had always had some

doubts about a considerable number of these so-called altar stones being really what they were called, but only late tombstones of bloody Mary's time. I suggested it to Mr. Scott; his opinion was adverse to mine; but as my doubts were not entirely resolved, I afterwards got Mr. J. B. Clear, the Clerk of Works there, to make me a small scale plan, which I lay before the Association, with the hope, if possible, of obtaining further evidence on this most interesting subject."

The question raised by Mr. Irvine, whether these hitherto called altar slabs are rightly designated, or whether they be in truth tombstones of the sixteenth century, is one which seems capable of easy decision, for we have only to refer to examples existing in their original places to see the close resemblance there is between them and the St. David's tablets. The high altar of Arundel church, Sussex, still stands *in situ*, and having the five crosses arranged on its surface, as on one of the examples under consideration. It would appear to have been a common practice to employ the old altar slabs in paving the churches, generally with the faces turned downwards, but not always so, for the upper surface with the five crosses are visible in the pavements of Lincoln cathedral, St. Clement's church, Sandwich, St. Giles', Oxon, and indeed at many other places. Were these slabs late tombstones they would surely bear either the names or initials of those whose remains they were designed to cover.

APRIL 11.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* For the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. xv.
No. 82. 8vo.
" " For the Journal of the Canadian Institute. January 1866.
No. 61. 8vo.

Edward Ford, Esq., of Old Park, Enfield, attended, and exhibited a magnificent volume of photographs of deeds illustrative of the pedigree of the family of Fforde. The photographs are fac-similes of deeds now in the possession of the Rev. W. Meredith of Ightfield Rectory, Whitchurch, Salop, who married a descendant of the older line of Fforde of Fforde Grene. The dates extend from 1288 forwards. The volume is intended for presentation to the British Museum.

Edward Leven, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read the following observations on this subject :

“On Deeds relative to the ancient Family of the Fords of Abbey Field, co. Cheshire; Ford Green, co. Stafford; Ellet Hall, and Morecambe Lodge, Lancaster; Adel, Yorkshire; and Enfield Old Park, Middlesex.

“In Ormerod’s *History of Cheshire*, at the end of his account of the parish and town of Sandbach, will be found the following remarks: ‘On the southern side of this township is Abbey Field, the seat of John Ford, Esq. In 1686 Ellen, widow of William Ford of Ford Green in the co. of Stafford, purchased an estate at Hind Heath in Sandbach, which by deed of that date was conveyed to her by John Hassal and Edmund Turner of Covent Garden, husband of Lucy, relict of John Crewe, of Crewe, Esq., to whom the same had been mortgaged.’ The author then tells us that ‘the house derives its appropriate designation from a field nearly contiguous, which once formed part of the possessions of the Abbey of Dieulacres’; the monks of which were originally settled at Poulton, a township in the parish of Pulford, five miles and a half south by west from Chester. A Cistercian abbey was founded here by Robert the *pincerna*, or butler, to Randal, second Earl of Chester, in 1153; but owing to the frequent incursions of the Welsh the monks were obliged to abandon the house and lands which had been granted them here, and in 1214 they migrated to Dieulacres in the parish of Leek in Staffordshire. Poulton, however, continued parcel of the possessions of Dieulacres till the dissolution, when it passed into private hands, and Abbey Field became, in course of time, the property, by purchase, of the ancient family of the Fords.

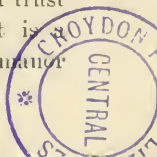
“Now it is not my intention to speak with any disrespect of the compilers of county histories. The patience, labour, and erudition which are requisite for the production of such works, are worthy of our admiration; and we cannot be too grateful to those who have undertaken to lay before us particulars which are so valuable to the historian and the antiquary. And on account of the value which such works possess, from the fact of their being referred to as text-books, as it were, with regard to the various matters upon which they treat, so much the more important is it that they should be accurate and correct. It is not, therefore, with the slightest design of disparaging the *History of Cheshire*, from which I have already quoted, that I call attention to two mistakes which occur in the pedigree of the Fords, as given by Ormerod in the third volume of his works.

“The first of these arises not only from a misreading, but from a want of knowledge concerning documents of the nature of those from which he purports to have derived his information. The deed, which will be found at p. 36 of the volume before us, is thus described by Ormerod. After calling it a very curious original surrender,—as,

indeed, it would have been if his description had been true,—he says: ‘Hugh Ford surrenders twenty-eight acres of land in Norton Ford Grene, held from Lord Audeley’s manor of Norton, to the use of himself and Anne his wife, and their issue, Thursday after the feast of the Holy Trinity anno R. Henrici se’di post co’questum Angl’æ XIII^o.’ Now this statement is altogether wrong on the three following grounds: 1st, ‘Henrici secundi’ is misread for ‘Henrici octavi’; 2nd, the writing is evidently that of the sixteenth century; and 3rd, the tenure is that of an estate tail, the words ‘*heredum legitime inter eos procreatorum*,’ pointing to the statute *De Donis Conditionalibus*, which was passed in 13 Edward I (1284-1285), for the express purpose of preventing the alienation of lands given to a man and the heirs of his body.

“Another mistake which occurs in the pedigree as given by Ormerod, has developed itself in modern times, and has betrayed the god-fathers and godmothers of the nineteenth century into the error of giving a name to one of the scions of the Ford family which certainly does not seem to have existed among the elder branches. Now when this is done of ‘purpose and aforethought,’ as the lawyers have it, we know that the transmogrification has been wittingly effected; but in this case the change has taken place through inadvertence, the word ‘Simon,’ which occurs in a deed of Edward I, and which is at p. 7 of the volume before us, having been read by Ormerod as Hamo.

“Having thus corrected the mistakes in the printed account of the Ford family, I have only now to state that the earliest deed relative to the Ford family which we have in the present collection is dated on the Sunday before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 25 April, 7 Ed. II (1314). It is a grant and confirmation from Richard de Baddeleye, *capellanus* of the parish church of Norton, co. Stafford, to William, son of John de Norton, who married Agnes, daughter of John de Forde, of a messuage and bovate of land, with appurtenances, in the town of Norton. The next is a grant and confirmation from Adam, son of Nicholas de Mulneton or Milton, to the same Agnes del Forde, of a messuage and land in that manor of Norton, and is dated on the Sunday after the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 15 Edward II, 1315. Another is dated on the Monday after the feast of St. Martin, 10th Edward II. [1317]. It is a grant and confirmation from Adam, son of Nicholas de Mulneton, or Milton, to John, son of the Simon del Forde, whom we have mentioned above, of half a messuage of land with some building in Norton-super-le-Mores in the county of Stafford. A deed relating to this manor is prefixed to this volume, and is printed in the appendix to John Ward’s *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*; but it is of so curious a nature that I trust that a reproduction of it here will not be unacceptable. It is a deposition on record respecting the ancient ownership of the manor



of Norton, and runs thus: 'To all Cristen peple to whom this p'sent wrytyng shall come to. Wee, Hugh Forde, Thomas Roule, Thomas Sherard, John Trussefeld, Rob'te Grene, Stevyn Cartelage, John Ball, John Mere the yonger, Thomas Baddeley, William Burne, John Mere the yelder, Henry Baddeley, Hugh Sherarde, ten'nts and inhabitantes in the Lordship of Norton upon the More in the counte of Staff. wode senden gretynge. Forasmoch as it is meritori^s and medefull to testifye and bere witness in mat^r of trouthe to them that be doutefull. We the seid Hugh, Thomas, Thomas, John, Rob'te, Stevyn, John, John, Thomas, William, John, Henre, and Hugh testifie and witeness that we have herde seyde and tolde ofte and many tyme spoken by our faders and elders before us that on S^r William Meere Knight was sole sesied of the lordship and man^r of Norton aforesaid, whch Mear was on entire man^r as by ryght of heneritance, which seid Sir William Meere had childer on son and a doughter, and the doughter was married to a man dwellyng in Chest^rshyre, and her husband entyndyng to henherite the seid landes after the disces of the seid S^r William as by reson of his wyff, came weth force and company of pepull by nighte to the house of the seid S^r William at Norton aforesaid entyndyng to murder the seid son of the seid S^r William for the entent aforesaid, and there murdered and kylled the seid son of the seid S^r William, and at that tyme the seid S^r William fledde for feere of his lyf, and afterwarde forasmoch as the son of seid S^r William was so murdered for the entent afore rehersed the seid S^r William entyndyng to disheret the husband of his doughter for the mischevos dede by hym so doon gave certen p'cellis of the landis to the seid man^r belongyng to the Baron of Stafford that tyme being. All wheche depositions to be trulie in man^r as is above writen wee will be redy at any tyme yf wee be thereto required to testifye; and for the prose of thisoure dede wee set to our Sealis the fyfte day of Maye the xiiij yere of Kyng Henry the vijth [1490].'

"After this follow a succession of grants and other instruments down to the year 1713, and then a pedigree of the family brought down to the present day. Among these, at p. 65, is a facsimile of a note, in Dr. Samuel Johnson's handwriting, to the widow of David Garrick, the great lexicographer's mother having been, previously to her marriage to Michael Johnson, his father, a Ford. The note is as follows:—'Dr. Johnson sends most respectful condolence to Mrs. Garrick, and wishes that any endeavour of his could enable her to support a loss which the world cannot repair. 2nd February, 1779.' Among the documents also is a marriage settlement, temp. Henry VII, by which the father of the wife of William Ford covenants to provide for his daughter a best bed and its belongings. This is curious as illustrating the fact commented upon by Mr. Halliwell with regard to

Shakespeare's bequest to his wife of his second best bed with the furniture. Upon which Mr. Halliwell says,—“I have elsewhere noticed a popular belief that Shakespeare's union was not productive of much social happiness...So far from this bequest (of the bed and furniture) being one of small importance, and exhibiting small esteem, it was the usual mode of expressing a mark of great affection.”

“I have only to add that the volume exhibited this evening contains facsimiles from a series of above two hundred instruments of a similar nature, and you will, I am sure, join with me in sincerely thanking Mr. Ford for having allowed us to inspect so interesting and costly an example of his taste and liberality.”

Thomas C. Archer, Esq., exhibited a deed of 15th Edward III, thus explained :

“Carta, quâ Henricus de Longchamp', miles, de com. Essex. concedit [Roberto] Priori et conventui Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ totum manerium de Stistede in com. Essex, cum pertinentiis. Dat. apud Stistede, 5^{to} die Marcii 15 a^o Edw. III [A.D. 1341]. Appended by a parchment label is a round seal [dr. 1 in.] bearing a shields of arms: Ermine, three crescents round pierced [*gu.*?] Crest upon a knight's helmet, an old man's bust in profile, bearded and wearing a broad-brimmed hat; in the field on each side is a small tree springing from the ground, on that on the left is a small bird. Red wax. Legend: S' HENRICI DE LVNGECHAMP.”

The additional charters 15,456, 15,457, in the British Museum, are grants from the above prior and convent to the above Sir Henry de Longchamp, and dated 30 Apr. and 1 May, 15 Edw. III [A.D. 1341]. Each bears a seal, well preserved, similar to that above.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming added the following notes on the various arms borne by the Longchamps :

Longchampe (Wilton, co. Hereford, temp. Henry I). *Or*, on three crescents *gu.* as many mullets *ar*.

Longchampe, or Longchamp. *Ar.* three crescents *gu.* each charged with a plate. *Crest*, a tower triple-towered *ppr*.

Longchampe. *Or*, three crescents *gu.*

Longchampe, or Longchamp. *Or*, three crescents *gu.* each charged with a plate.

Longchampe. *Ar.* three crescents *gu.* charged with as many mullets of the field.

Longchampe. *Gu.* an annulet betw. three crescents *or*, within a bordure *erm*.

Longchampe. *Vairé*, two palets *or*.—*Burke's Encyclopædia of Heraldry*, 1844.

Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, laid before the Association a deed of John de Verdun (1248 to 1274), granting certain land in Alton, Staf-

fordshire, to Isabella, widow of Elie de Stokes. It confers the right to grant or demise the lands to any person "exceptis viris religiosis et judeis." This exception was commonly made under the Plantagenet sovereigns until the statute against the Jews of 18 Ed. I, and the statute of mortmain constituted the exception a part of the law of the kingdom. The use of these words soon afterwards was discontinued, and hence may sometimes serve to indicate the antiquity of a deed. This deed is one of the many curious charters belonging to Whitehall Dod, Esq., of Llanwrch Park, near St. Asaph, by whose kindness it was produced on the present occasion.

An interesting account of the Brough of Clickminin, in Shetland, the joint production of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., and J. T. Irvine, Esq., was read. It was fully illustrated by complete drawings of this very good specimen of a "Picts' House." James Copland, Esq., M.D., added some particulars from his own knowledge of this building, and of two other "Picts' Houses" in the Shetland Isles. Their resemblance to the Nouragghis of Sardinia was also noticed by Mr. Gordon Hills. This paper, with illustrations, will be given on a future occasion.

J. W. Bailey, Esq., exhibited two specimens of Roman pottery found, with the gladiator's trident exhibited at the last meeting, near the Bear Garden in Southwark; he also produced a costrel or pilgrim's bottle, exhumed last February in Long Alley, Moorfields. It resembles an example given in this *Journal*, v, 33, and has four lion-head handles or loops (two on each side), through which a cord or strap passed for suspending the vessel by the side of the traveller, hence its title of costrel. Its material is a light reddish clay, the whole surface, with exception of the round foot, covered with a bright red glaze veined or marbled with white, bringing to mind some of the old Smeltz glass. A similar costrel in Mr. Cuming's collection is covered with a deep reddish brown glaze veined with white; and this kind of marbled glazing seems characteristic of the tall costrels of the sixteenth century.

H. H. Burnell, Esq., F.S.A., then read a paper by the Rev. J. Blunt, with additions by himself, "On the Old Church of Chelsea." A large part of Mr. Blunt's paper was reserved for the next meeting. Mr. Blunt suggested that the ancient dedication of the church was to All Saints, though it has long been attributed to St. Luke. The chancel, with the chantries north and south of it, are the only portions of ancient work left. The north chantry, called the Manor chantry, once contained the monuments of the Brays, now in very imperfect condition, having been destroyed or removed to make space for those of the Gervoise family. There remains, however, an ancient brass in the floor. Of the south or More chantry, he stated that the monument of Sir Thomas More was removed from it to the chancel, and the chantry

had been occupied by the monuments of the Gorges family, now also removed, displaced and destroyed. Mr. Blunt shewed that, notwithstanding the current contrary opinion founded on Aubrey's assertion, the More monument is the original one for which Sir Thomas More himself dictated the epitaph.

Mr. Burnell, the architect of the improvements effected subsequently to 1857, spoke positively as to the non-existence of a crypt which conjecture had placed under the More chauntry. The foundation of the west end of the church, before it was enlarged in 1666, he found west of Lord Dacre's tomb. On the north side of the chancel an aumbry, and in the south a piscina, was found, coeval with the chancel (early fourteenth century). The arch between the More chauntry and the chancel is a specimen of Italian workmanship, dated 1528, a date confirmed by the objects represented in the carved ornaments: these objects being connected with the Roman Catholic ritual. It is a remarkably early instance of the use of Italian architecture in this country. In a window of this chapel, then partly bricked up, was found in the brickwork, in 1858, remains of the stained glass which once filled it. The body of Sir Thomas More was, according to Aubrey, interred in this chapel, his head, after fourteen days testifying to the passers-by on London Bridge the remorseless cruelty of Henry VIII, and his barbarous insensibility to virtue, patriotism, and talent, was consigned to a vault of the Roper family in St. Dunstan's church, Canterbury. It was seen and drawn in that vault in 1715, and the drawing was now effectively reproduced by Mr. Burnell's pencil, with other illustrations which gave a high interest to his paper.

APRIL 25TH.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman announced that Lord Boston had accepted the office of President for the ensuing year.

The following members were elected:

Frederick Nesbitt Kemp, Esq., 32, Elgin Villas, Notting Hill.

Thomas George Bullen, Esq., Barge Yard Chambers, Bucklersbury.

Graham Hewett Hills, Esq., R.N., 107, Bedford Street South, Liverpool.

George Francis Teniswood, Esq., Castelnau Gardens, Barnes.

Lord Boston exhibited a most interesting group of ancient remains exhumed in 1865 at Caer Leb, or Sarn Leb, in the parish of Llanidan, Isle of Anglesey, but, as their discovery will be fully described in the next part of the *Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association*,

little more than an enumeration of the several objects, with their relative ages, are here given.

Stone period.—Two silicious pebbles (amulets?), one of a black colour, the other red; the latter has a band of little pits round it, the result apparently of design.

Disc with convex faces, about four inches diameter, and one inch and seven-eighths thick in the middle, perforated in the centre from either side, so that the orifices measure a full inch, whilst the interior of the hole is less than half that dimension. It is well wrought of dolerite, and weighs one pound fifteen ounces. Opinions are divided as to the purpose of this curious implement, some contending that it is a net-sinker, others a quern, whilst the more probable conjecture is, that it was employed as a flail-stone in war strife, like the weapons noticed in this *Journal* (xiv, 327; xx, 102).

Portion of the side and bottom of a vase, of rather thin substance. Paste blackish grey, with angular pieces of quartz; hand wrought but well fired in the kiln.

*Bronze period.*¹—Portions of the upper parts of three small globose sepulchral urns formed on the wheel and kiln-baked. The paste of two of the examples is rather sandy, and mixed with angular fragments of quartz. The substance is thick, and of a brownish hue. The portions of the third specimen are thinner than the foregoing, the surface blackish-grey, the paste less sandy, and the fragments of quartz small and sparse. This urn is very well baked. The lips of these vessels expand, so as to form an under sulcus, possibly to receive a cord for securing a skin covering to the mouths.

Roman period.—Elegant pen-annular fibula with rebated ornamented ends of bronze beautifully patinated. This delicate trinket may be compared with examples given in this *Journal* (xxi, 83, fig. 1), and Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (p. 327, ed. 1851).

Globule of aquamarine glass, about five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, smooth and convex on one side, and somewhat flattish and rough on the other; it may have been set in a finger-ring.

Portion of the bottom and side of a Samian-ware patera.

Fragment of highly-fired red pottery, with accidental splash of glaze on one side.

Denarius of Postumus I (A.D. 258-267). *Obv.*, bearded bust to the right with the *corona radiata*—IMP. C. POSTVMVS. P. V. AVG.; *rev.*, standing figure in military habit, with globe and spear—SAECVLI FELICITAS.

¹ Anglesey has produced some rare objects belonging to this period. A hone-stone mould for casting spear-heads, a ferrule, and a sharp, socketed spike, were found in the north of the island, between Bodwrddin and Tre Ddafydd. Several bronze instruments have been exhumed at Rhos-y-Gad (the battle moor), a field near Llanvair Station.

Beside the foregoing British and Roman relics, there is a Calais groat of Henry V in very good preservation.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said he had no personal knowledge of the spot whence these remains were exhumed, nor of its written history, but the names *Caer Leb* and *Sarn Leb* lead to the inference that it was the stronghold of some Cymrig chieftain, *Caer* implying a fortress, and *Sarn* a causeway or raised place. The parish of Llanidan, in which this fortress is situated, will ever live in memory from the fact that here, A.D. 59, Suetonius Paulinus slaughtered the holy Druids. The remains brought to light at *Caer Leb* mark the spot as the abiding-place of successive races. The earliest relics are referrible to the close of the stone period, and are of much interest. In the sepulchres of this remote era have frequently been observed a few pebbles, evidently selected for some special purpose, and regarded by many as amulets; and the two examples in the present group of antiquities were, in all probability, prized by the British savage as "charm stones." The custom of interring stones with the dead is well and profusely illustrated in the find at St. Credival's church, Penmynydd, of which an account appeared in this *Journal* (xvi, 324), and however late that interment may be, it was doubtless done in conformity with an archaic practice.

The heavy disc of Dolerite is an extraordinary monument of ancient labour, and some might, at first sight, doubt if the savages of the stone period had the skill and appliances to execute such a piece of work. The most marvellous part of the performance is beyond question the central perforation, which was effected evidently in the same manner as the perforations through the stone axe-hammers of Britain and Denmark, *i. e.*, it was bored from either side, and this mode of drilling is observable in the basaltic *meri* of New Zealand, and in other implements of races who fairly fall within the cycle of the stone period.

The hand-wrought vase of the stone period offers a highly valuable example for comparison with the remains of the sepulchral urns of the bronze period. These latter are of the kind alluded to by Mr. Bateman in this *Journal* (vii, 218), and subsequent discoveries have fully proved the correctness of that gentleman's opinion as to their age. The Ordovician urns bear a strong resemblance in form, paste, and manipulation to those manufactured by the Cornavii of Shropshire, as may be seen by the portion of a sepulchral urn picked up at Wroxeter by my friend Chevalier Barlow in Oct., 1865, and which is now submitted for inspection.

Suetonius Paulinus struck the first blow at the independence of Ynys Môn in A.D. 59, and its final conquest was effected in 78 by Julius Agricola, and the results of his victory seem to be shown in the bronze fibula, which, though probably of native origin, manifests a

Roman influence. The globule of aquamarine glass may also be of British origin, as it closely resembles in character of paste, as well as colour, some of the vitreous spheres known as Druid balls and Druid amulets.

The Samian patera and denarius of Postumus are unmistakeable evidence of the Roman presence in Anglesey, and the groat of Henry V of the intercourse of the island with England.

The footsteps of various races, the progress of Cambrian story, are slightly shadowed forth in the little series of coins discovered at Lougher, Caermarthen, and described in this *Journal* (xii, 157), and the valuable relics now kindly brought to notice by Lord Boston extend and augment our scant knowledge of the early history of the Principality of Wales.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited two flint arrow-heads obtained by him in the county of Antrim. One of them he procured at considerable cost and trouble, as it was highly esteemed as a fairy arrow, and as a charm against the diseases of cattle. Mr. Mayhew produced other articles from his collection, chiefly obtained in digging the foundation of the arch of the South Eastern Railway which spans Thames-street; they were of a highly interesting nature, and he was requested to furnish a detailed description of them.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson remarked on the extreme delicacy and beauty of the fairy arrow.

A discussion followed on Mr. Mayhew's exhibition, in which Mr. Cuming, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Mr. Cato, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and others, took part; and some bone implements of the kind which occupied the meeting of January 10th, were produced by Mr. Cato. This gentleman pointed out some circumstances which indicated the high antiquity of these objects; and Mr. Cuming observed that, whilst several of the bones were stained with bronze, none were marked with iron,—a fact which confirmed Mr. Cato's observations.

Mr. J. W. Bailey and Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two most rare and curious terra-cotta vessels found with Roman remains in London. Mr. Cuming's specimen was exhumed in the autumn of 1833, in cutting a sewer through Fenchurch-street. It was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Carlos, who thus described it in the *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1834, p. 158,—“a small vase, quite perfect, three inches and a half in height, of a sandy kind of pottery. It is marked by parallel rings, and has a wreath of slight leaves painted round the neck.” Mr. Bailey's cup was discovered in Dec. 1865, in excavating at the corner of Lombard and Gracechurch streets. The two specimens are exactly alike in contour, ornamentation, paste, colour, and high degree of firing: they are, in short, evidently the work of the same potter, the produce of the same kiln. These specimens may be compared in form with one

class of Roman *pocula* ; and in paste, with some of the tall-bellied lamps with stems to drop into sockets. The leading characters of the vessels may be briefly told : they have ample mouths with the rims shelving inwards, the bodies are surrounded by spiral channels, the feet rather small and pinched round the edge, somewhat in the manner seen in British pottery of the fourth century, but still more like the thumbing on the presumed Saxon vessels of stone ware found in London. But the most remarkable feature in these cups is the wreath of linear leaves painted round the necks. This painting is effected with metallic oxides well burnt in, and differs entirely from the white leaves and scrolls upon the so-called Anglo-Samian ware, and red devices on the Oxford pottery, described in this *Journal*, vi, 60 ; x, 193.

A paper on Chelsea and Chelsea people, by the Rev. J. Blunt, adjourned from the last meeting, was then read and illustrated by Mr. Henry Hockey Burnell, F.S.A. Mr. Blunt first discussed the etymology of the name, and pointed to the probability of Chelsea being derived from *ceale* (chalk) and *hyld* or *hythe* (a harbour), and that this hythe was used for landing chalk, and so had given a name to the place. Also that it was at Chelsea that two important councils were held under Offa, king of Mercia. The histories of its chief inhabitants and its mansions were treated at some length, commencing with that of Sir Reginald Bray (fifteenth century), including those of Sir Thomas More and the successive owners of his house, of Danvers House, Essex House, Shrewsbury or Alstone House, the Bishop of Winchester's Palace, Chelsea-place, or Henry VIII's Palace, etc., down to the present time, or date of the demolition of the buildings.

The Rev. John Bowstead, visitor, commented on the derivation of the name of Chelsea, which he thought indicated an island in a marshy district.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 9TH.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Auditors presented the following report and balance-sheet of the Treasurer's account for the past year, which was received and adopted.

We the Auditors of the British Archaeological Association appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, have the satisfaction to re-

port that we have performed that duty and inspected the proper vouchers. In the report of last year the ill health of Mr. Pettigrew, who since the foundation of the Association had ably conducted its financial affairs, was noticed with regret. His lamented decease having occurred on the 23rd of November last, the management of the affairs of his office was transferred to Mr. G. M. Hills. We have, therefore, had under consideration the accounts of both the late and present Treasurer. The receipts during the year have amounted to £551 : 4 : 9, and the disbursements on account of the year have been £336 : 9 : 10, leaving a balance to the Association of £214 : 14 : 11. There are no outstanding debts of any description against the Association, but several subscriptions to the Society, and payments for parts of its publications are due. This gratifying state of things enables us to record a period of great prosperity to the Association. There have been elected during the past year 76 Associates, 14 have withdrawn, and 9 deceased. It is due to the friends of the Association in the north to acknowledge that the increase in Associates, as well as the generally prosperous state of the Society, has been greatly affected by the kind and hearty co-operation afforded at the Durham Congress. At the end of the year the total number of members had risen to 489, of whom 75 are life members; about the same number are members by donation, and the rest are annual subscribers. As the access of members still continues in the present year, we think it our duty to remind the Council, that according to a fundamental rule of the Association an entrance fee of one guinea is to be charged as soon as the number of members reaches 500.

We beg leave to recommend that the rules be printed for the use of the Associates, and appended to the next *Journal*, as we find that they have not been so printed since the year 1848.

We cannot close the examination of the accounts of the Association without recording our thanks to Mr. Gordon Hills, our present Treasurer, for his great care and exactitude in arranging the accounts, already commenced by the late Treasurer, and in which we fully believe the Association will heartily concur.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, } *Auditors.*
CHAS. H. SAVORY, }

May 7th, 1866.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET, 1866.

RECEIPTS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-------|------|----|
| Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1865 | 26 | 6 | 4 |
| Annual and Life-Subscriptions | 262 | 10 | 0 |
| Net balance of Durham Congress | 254 | 4 | 3 |
| Subscriptions received by Sub-Treasurer | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Sale of publications | { | 1 15 | 5 |
| | { | 1 3 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £551 | 4 | 9 |

PAYMENTS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|-----------|
| Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> | . | . | 190 1 0 |
| Illustrations to the same | . | . | 78 18 1 |
| Miscellaneous printing (see Richards' bill) | . | . | 9 3 6 |
| Rent of rooms for 1865 | . | . | { 13 13 0 |
| Delivery of <i>Journals</i> | . | . | { 1 10 0 |
| Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, gratuities to servants, postages, stamps, advertisements, and notices | . | . | 20 17 3 |
| Stationery | . | . | 2 7 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| Balance in favour of the Association | . | . | £336 9 10 |
| | | | 214 14 11 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £551 | 4 | 9 |

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT } *Auditors.*
CHAS. H. SAVORY }

May 7, 1866.

Thanks were voted to the Auditors for their report. The meeting then proceeded to ballot for Officers and Council for the year 1866-7, and the following were returned as elected :

PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD BOSTON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM | II. SYER CUMING |
| LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L. | GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A. |
| SIR CHAS. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART. | NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A. |
| SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S. | J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Rouge Croix</i> |
| THOMAS CLOSE, F.S.A. | THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A. |

TREASURER.

GORDON M. HILLS

SECRETARIES.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

H. C. PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A. | G. VERE IRVING, F.S.A. <i>Scot.</i> |
| G. ADE | W. C. MARSHALL, R.A. |
| W. E. ALLEN | REV. S. M. MAYHEW |
| T. BLASHILL | R. N. PHILLIPS, F.S.A. |
| H. H. BURNELL, F.S.A. | J. W. PREVITÉ |
| J. COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S. | REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON |
| A. GOLDSMID, F.S.A. | S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A. |
| J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A. | G. TOMLINE, F.S.A. |
| J. HEYWOOD, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A. | |

AUDITORS.

G. A. CAPE.

SAMUEL WOOD.

It was then proposed by the Treasurer, on the instruction of the Council, and seconded by G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., and carried :—

“That the Council shall have authority to make such alterations in the time and number of the public meetings as they may find expedient.”

The consideration of the subject of this resolution is rendered necessary in consequence of a fundamental rule of the Association having fixed the hours of meeting. Should it become necessary to change the place of meeting it might be necessary to change the hour, and Mr. J. R. Planché, V.P., and some other members have expressed

a preference for meeting in the afternoon rather than as is now done at 8:30 P.M.

Gordon M. Hills, Esq., the Treasurer, then read the following biographical notices of members deceased during the past year. Afterwards the Anniversary Dinner took place, which was honoured by the attendance of the President of the past year, the Duke of Cleveland.

Biographical Memoirs.

It has long been a laudable custom of the Association to pay a tribute to the memory of the members deceased during the year by recording the principal circumstances of their pursuits and of their connection with us. This the late Treasurer was enabled to do in the best manner in the memoirs which he prepared, from the fact that there were but few of the members who were not personally known to him, and of whom he therefore could speak from personal knowledge. I should greatly regret that a custom which is so full of good feeling should fall into disuse, and under all the disadvantages which my comparatively short connection amongst you brings, not to speak of other shortcomings of my own. I have therefore endeavoured to bring together memoirs chiefly written or furnished by the immediate friends of the deceased. The first relates to

MR. JOHN GENDALL of Exeter, who died at the age of seventy-five, on the 1st of March, 1865, having joined the Association only in the previous year. Though dying at the ripe age of seventy-five, till within a comparatively recent time he had discharged the duties of life with the activity and energy for which he was noted. An accident which he sustained on the railway some time before considerably shook his frame; a partial paralysis affected his right hand, and his strong constitution became exhausted. Till the last, however, his mind remained strong and clear. Mr. Gendall was a native of Devonshire. He in early life manifested such a taste for art that he was placed in the house of Ackerman and Co., the great art publishers of London. To whose kind aid Mr. Gendall was indebted for helping him over early difficulties, we are not aware; but in such cases generally very little help suffices, for men of his stamp carve their own paths, be they as rough as they may. While in the house of Mr. Ackerman, he played many parts. At one time he had the management of the *matériel* in the house; at another time he was employed in carrying out and perfecting the new art of lithography, which had just then made its appearance; and again he was sent on a sketching tour through Normandy to illustrate the river scenery of that country. The sketches taken then did much to establish his reputation as an

artist. They were considered to possess great merit, and were exhibited one or two years ago in the Art Department of the Bath and West of England Society. After leaving Ackerman and Co.'s house, Mr. Gendall came to reside in Exeter, and it is not simply as one of her most active men of business that Exeter will miss him. Where taste was required he has been at hand to lend his aid, not only to objects of public interest, but also to such private individuals as might seek his help. There are few who have been employed in carrying out works of decorative art who have not had his refined taste to assist them, and most of the young artists of the neighbourhood have sought, and never sought in vain, his friendly guidance. His long connexion with pictures made his opinion valuable, and not many men in England had so good a knowledge of the "old masters" as he had. He had a thorough acquaintance with all collections in this district, and by noblemen and gentlemen possessing galleries his judgment was frequently solicited. Of Mr. Gendall's own works, the chief thing to regret is, that they are too rare. In earlier life he painted principally in water colours, contenting himself generally with a sketch rather than a finished picture. Later in life he devoted himself to oil, and his works in that medium are of an excellence that justifies the wish that he had not so long confined himself to water colours, and that his whole time, instead of merely small portions of it, had not been devoted to the art. His oil paintings are all of Devonshire scenery, that of the Avon and Teign more particularly. He delighted in the calm and quiet repose of nature—the still pool and moss-covered boulder, the rippling streamlet and the dewy weeds growing by its banks. Possessors of his paintings value them, and as they can no longer be added to, they will become still more valuable. In the various relations of life Mr. Gendall was an example worthy of all respect. His conversation was agreeable, full of anecdote, and frequently pervaded by a quiet and rich humour. Temperate in his habits even to abstemiousness, he was yet not the less fond of playful mirth. He leaves a widow, but no children, to mourn his loss; and, though he has not departed from amongst us till an age beyond that usually allotted to man, all who knew him will feel that they have sustained a loss they cannot again replace, and will lament "that he had lived too little a while."

The REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE was almost from the first connected with the interests of our Association, and although at one time he preferred, for the sake of some of his literary connections, not to appear actively amongst us, his interest never ceased. He worked hard for us at Leicester, at Northampton, and at Colchester; he was highly instrumental in the success of our Durham meeting. He died

regretted by every one who can appreciate the enlightened scholar and polished gentleman.

Highly cultivated as was his literary taste in general, it was as an archæologist and antiquarian that Mr. Hartshorne was principally distinguished. Indeed, so high was his reputation in this respect that the late Lord Chancellor Campbell described him as "the most distinguished of modern antiquaries." Thirty-six years ago, when still a young man, a high compliment was paid to Mr. Hartshorne by Sir Walter Scott, who, referring to a collection of "Ancient Metrical Tales," edited by him (Mr. Hartshorne), said: "The editor of this unostentatious work has done his duty to the public with much labour and care, and has made the admirers of this species of poetry acquainted with many legendary poems which were hitherto unpublished and very little known." The great poet and novelist makes further allusion to the same book in his "Introduction to *Ivanhoe*." At that time Mr. Hartshorne was but little known to fame, but since then he has achieved for himself a foremost place in the ranks of archæological and antiquarian scholars, and his works are standard works of reference and of authority.

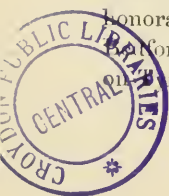
Mr. Hartshorne was a Shropshire man, having been born at Brosely, in the county of Salop, on the 17th of March, 1802. He was educated at Shrewsbury School, under that celebrated scholar, Dr. Samuel Butler, afterwards Lord Bishop of Lichfield, and on leaving Shrewsbury he entered as a pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the year 1821, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1825. In that year he was invited by his friend the Earl of Guilford, who had been appointed by the Government "Archon" over the University of Corfu, to accompany him to that island. In the course of the journey thither the following places, amongst many others, were visited: Verona, Vicenza, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome, Florence, and Naples. After some stay at Corfu, he left for Smyrna, Ephesus, Persepolis, Thyatira, and Constantinople, and subsequently touched at most of the places of interest throughout Greece and the Ionian Islands. In the year 1826 he returned to England, and in 1828 took the degree of M.A. He was ordained Deacon in 1827, and Priest in 1828, by the Bishop of Hereford (Huntingford). In the latter year he married Frances Margareta, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Kerrick, M.A., principal librarian of the University of Cambridge, vicar of Dersingham, Norfolk, and prebendary of Lincoln and Wells. His first curacy was that of the parish of Benthal, Salop; the next that of Little Wenlock, in the same county, which he held from September 1828, till the commencement of the year 1836. He then resided at Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, until taking charge of the parish of Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire, which he did in the year 1838, on the appointment of

the Bishop of Peterborough. He was presented by her Majesty to the rectory of Holdenby in 1850.

Amongst his numerous literary productions may be mentioned, "The Latin Plays acted before the University of Cambridge," which was his first contribution to literature, and which appeared in the *Retrospective Review*; "The Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge," published in 1829; "Salopia Antiqua: or, an Inquiry into the Early Remains in Shropshire and the North Welsh Borders," including a "Glossary of the Provincial Dialect of Shropshire," published in 1841; a lecture on the "Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire," 1840; "Historical Memorials of Northampton," 1848; "English Mediæval Embroidery," 1848; "Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland," 1858, an extremely valuable contribution to the history of the borders; together with an "Historical and Architectural account of English Castles," now nearly ready for the press, and "A Guide to Alnwick Castle," now passing through the press. In addition to these works he was editor of "Ancient Metrical Tales," 1829, and "Fulke's Defence of the Translation of the Bible," published by the Parker Society in 1843.

Mr. Hartshorne was also a contributor of many historical and architectural papers to the archæological and other journals, among which may be mentioned especially his accounts of Caernarvon, Conway, Porchester, Lincoln, Castle Hedingham, Colchester, Orford, Rochester, and Rockingham Castles, Peveril's Castle in the Peak, Oakham, Bedford, Oxford, Powis, and Pontefract Castles; the Parliaments and Castles of Northampton, Acton Burnell; the Parliaments of Shrewsbury, Gloucester, York, Cambridge, Lincoln, Clipstone, Kenilworth, and Carlisle; the Royal Councils of Worcester, the Obsequies of Queen Katharine of Arragon, "De Montalto," "Early Remains in the Great Isle of Arran," "The Home of the Working Man," several papers on the Drainage of the Nene Valley, the Itineraries of Kings Edward I and II, "Illustrations of Domestic Manners in the Reign of Edward I," "Description of a Statue of Minerva Custos, and other Roman Antiquities, discovered on the estate of the Duke of Bedford at Sibson and Bedford Purlieus;" besides reviews of "Fellowes' Asia Minor," and "Stemmata Botevilliana," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* respectively; and some valuable papers read at various meetings of the Society for the Promotion of Social Science, and published in the volumes of their transactions.

Mr. Hartsborne was rural dean of the district of East Haddon, and honorary chaplain to their graces the late and the present Duke of Bedford, honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, honorary associate of the Société Française pour la Conserva-



tion des Monuments Historiques de France, one of the original members of the Athenæum Club, one of the founders of the British Archaeological Association and Institute in 1844, and had been lately elected a member of the Roxburgh Club. He was on intimate terms with very many noble and literary men of the past and present time. He died suddenly on the morning of March 11th, 1865, and leaves a widow and six sons and three daughters to lament their irreparable loss.

HENRY SPURR, Esq., of Scarborough, joined our Association in 1849. He took a deep interest in archaeological pursuits, and delighted to converse about old things and old times. He was also attached to the study of natural science, and formed good collections in mineralogy and ornithology. He was born at Doncaster, June 28th, 1796; and died at Scarborough, April 30th, 1865, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. Mr. Spurr received a liberal education at a grammar school at Hammersmith, Middlesex. After being admitted an attorney and solicitor, he practised his profession at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, until 1842, when he retired, and shortly afterwards removed to Scarborough, where he spent the remainder of his days. Mr. Spurr was of quiet and amiable disposition, and in private life was highly respected. He was distinguished for his active exertions in promoting the welfare of divers benevolent and charitable institutions. He was a member of the Scarborough Town Council, and was elected chief magistrate of that borough in November 1857. He was presented to Her Majesty at a *levée* held on the occasion of the marriage of H.R.H. the Princess Royal.

DR. GRAHAM, Bishop of Chester, became a life-member of this Association in 1849. He died in the month of June 1865. A short biographical memoir appeared in *The Times* newspaper; but, singularly, no account of him was given in that useful repository of biography, *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

August 4, 1865, died EDWARD PRETTY, Esq., F.S.A., a member of this Association from its foundation; and one who for many years, as is abundantly testified by our minute books and *Journals*, took an honourable and useful part in our labours. At the time of his death he had reached his seventy-fourth year. Mr. Pretty was born at Hollingbourne, Kent, March 5, 1792. In 1809, when he was only seventeen years old, he was appointed drawing-master to Rugby School, and at that early age he was quite competent to the post. Ackermann had previously published a drawing-book of flowers, of which he was the author, and which was highly esteemed for its care-

ful and accurate drawing. Carefulness and accuracy were, indeed, the characteristics of all the productions of his pencil; and his topographical and archæological drawings are most reliable. He has left a large number of sketches, the *con amore* labour of a long life, of the utmost value in connexion with Kentish and Northamptonshire topography and archæology. From 1829 to 1858 he was a resident in Northampton. In the latter year he removed to Maidstone, where he was appointed Curator of the Charles Museum, founded by his friend, the late Thomas Charles, Esq. To his fulness of archæological knowledge, and readiness to communicate it to all classes of visitors, is mainly to be attributed the popularity of that interesting and valuable local collection. In private life Mr. Pretty was greatly esteemed by all who knew him, as a man of the highest principle and honour. He will be regretted by a wide circle of friends, in the archæological world especially.

SIR BENJAMIN HEYWOOD, Bart., F.R.S., of Claremont, Lancashire, joined this Association in 1851. He was, as is well known, a banker of eminence in the city of Manchester. He was descended from the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, vicar of Ormskirk under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, who had been ejected, in 1662, from his benefice on account of his refusal to subscribe the declaration required by the Act of Uniformity, of unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of, the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. Parliament has recently modified this declaration. On his mother's side Sir Benjamin Heywood was the grandson of Dr. Percival, the author of *Medical Ethics*, and the President of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, where archæological papers are occasionally read. Mr. Heywood was born in 1793, and educated in the University of Glasgow, where he acquired a remarkably succinct, nervous, and terse style of English composition. On coming of age he was admitted a partner into the bank of Messrs. Heywood Brothers & Co., and on the decease of his father and uncle, he became the head of that establishment.

The welfare of the working classes was a subject of deep interest to Mr. Heywood, who founded the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, and remained for many years its active and energetic President. In 1831 he was invited to become a candidate, on the Reform side, for the county of Lancaster, and large subscriptions were entered into for defraying the expenses of a contested election. The work-people of Lancashire joined in this demonstration of zeal for parliamentary reform, and expressed their readiness, in various instances, to contribute to the election-fund. Red was Mr. Heywood's colour, and on his way from Manchester to the place of nomination, Lancaster,

every description of flag, from the handsome scarlet silk banner ornamented with gold letters, to the humble red cloak, or even to a strip of red flannel, was hung from the windows of houses on the line of the procession. No opposition was offered to Mr. Heywood's return, and on leaving the county town of Lancaster, where the election took place, and travelling southwards through various villages and towns, every article of the colours, pink, red, scarlet, and crimson, was put in requisition. "Even near solitary dwellings, distant from any neighbourhood, a red flag waved from some chimney-top or some tall tree, and marked the occupier's approbation of the popular member." The whole country, as Mr. Heywood observed in his address at Manchester, "seemed to have risen and united as one man to carry forward the great measure of reform." Parliamentary life at that time consisted of much later hours than are usual at present, and it did not suit Mr. Heywood's health. After the passing of the reform act in 1832, he retired from the House of Commons.

Statistical science was of considerable interest to him. He took an active part, at Edinburgh, in the business of the statistical section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and was appointed one of the deputy chairmen of the section. He presented, on that occasion, the analysis of a report of an agent employed by the Manchester Statistical Society, in 1834, to visit 4,102 dwellings of the working population of Manchester. The dwellings visited included 3,100 houses, 750 cellars, and 250 rooms; and of these various dwellings, the agent (an intelligent Irish handloom weaver) described 1,551 dwellings as comfortable, and 2,551 dwellings as not comfortable = 4102.

In 1838 Mr. Heywood was created a baronet, and in 1843 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir Benjamin Heywood resided of late years principally at his Lancashire country house, Claremont; and was one of the earliest members of the Cheetham Society, which has so much assisted in the publication of valuable antiquarian papers relating to the county palatine of Lancashire. He died in 1865, at the age of seventy-two.

Nov. 23, 1865, in Onslow-crescent, South Kensington, aged seventy-four, died THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.C.S. He was born in Fleet-street, London, Oct. 28, 1791, the son of William Pettigrew, a retired naval surgeon, then practising his profession on shore. At a very early age Mr. T. J. Pettigrew evinced his fondness for the study of anatomy, a taste which was particularly encouraged by a friend of his father, Mr. W. Hilliard, of Stockwell, surgeon; so that at twelve years he was already engaged in the study of bones, ligaments, and muscles, and even in dissection. His father's ideas of a "practical

man" were not favourable to an early acquaintance with books; and it was left to himself to enter upon the enlarged studies of medical science, which he soon perceived to be necessary, and to made that close acquaintance with the dead languages and with modern tongues which he soon discovered to be indispensable to his progress. At the age of sixteen he became the pupil of Mr. John Taunton, a zealous anatomist and good medical practitioner, and quickly obtained the confidence of that gentleman, so that he largely assisted him in the formation and arrangement of his excellent anatomical museum. At this time Mr. Pettigrew had the opportunity of studying an incredible number of cases in the dense population of Clerkenwell, Hoxton, Shore-ditch, Bethnal Green, and Spitalfields, and at the City and Finsbury Dispensaries, and was besides indefatigable in attending lectures on every branch of his profession, and the practice at the Hospitals of St. Thomas and Guy. He, moreover, sought the opportunity of himself becoming a lecturer; which led to the formation of a school, where the pupils of Mr. Taunton attended, and medical science was expounded chiefly by Mr. Pettigrew and Dr. H. H. Ayshford, and with the use of Mr. Taunton's museum. Dr. Ayshford became attached to the Royal Artillery, and published in 1810 his work, "Tabular Views of the Anatomy of the Human Body," in which Mr. Pettigrew assisted; the tables relating to the arteries, the brain, and nerves being made by him. He had, however, already on his eighteenth birthday published his first work, a small quarto volume, entitled "Views of the Basis of the Brain and Cranium, accompanied with Outlines, and a Dissertation on the Origin of the Nerves, interspersed with surgical Observations." In 1808 he became a Fellow of the Medical Society of London, the admission to which body afforded him the best opportunity for gratifying his taste for books; and within two years he was elected secretary to that Society. The post conferred many advantages; but it was matter of regret to him that the warm feeling of his friend, Mr. Taunton, in bringing him forward, should have placed him in competition with Dr. Birkbeck, one so justly esteemed, and so much his senior in the profession. It was not long before the new secretary became registrar of the Society; and till 1818 he conducted their home and foreign correspondence, and reported the various subjects and discussions which engaged its meetings, besides contributing original matter himself. It was now that he acquired the friendship of the celebrated Dr. Lettsom, a chief patron of the Society, through whose instrumentality he became, in 1813, secretary to the Royal Humane Society. Upon the death of his friend and patron in 1815, he commenced his second literary work, and in 1817 brought out, in three vols. 8vo., his "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lettsom," in which he devoted the first two volumes to biography and correspondence; and

the last, as an almost distinct work, to the medical attainments and practice of this eminent physician.

In the midst of all these occupations Mr. Pettigrew projected the Philosophical Society of London, and actively associated himself with it. He delivered the first address at the opening of this Society in 1810, "On the Objects of Science and Literature, and the Advantages arising from the Establishment of Philosophical Societies." He communicated also numerous papers to the *Philosophical Magazine*, edited by Mr. Tilloch, of which the most interesting, perhaps, is that in vol. xlix, pp. 232-277, in reference to the introduction of vaccine into America. In 1818 his "Memoir of Dr. Thomas Cogan," with an enumeration of his writings, was printed with the "Annual Report of the Royal Humane Society," of which Dr. Cogan was a founder; and he also contributed an "Appendix on suspended Animation," to Mr. R. H. Black's translation of Orfila's work on "Treatment in Cases of Poison and apparent Death"; and in the same year he contributed to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, for his friend Mr. Coleridge, the articles on Albino and Aliment: in the former shewing the nature of this peculiar variety both in the human and animal species, and in the latter giving an extended disquisition on that extensive subject. In 1819, together with the Chevalier Aldini, Professor at the Imperial University of Wilna, he engaged in experiments, at his own house, on the employment of galvanism in cases of suspended respiration, the enforcement of which was a chief object in the Professor's visit to England. The result was a joint publication entitled "General Views of the Application of Galvanism to medical Purposes."

Mr. Pettigrew's position with the Royal Humane Society brought him under the notice of the Duke of Kent, who became his warm patron, and so continued after he resigned his office of secretary in 1820. The Duke of Kent appointed him his surgeon in ordinary; and upon the birth of the Princess Victoria, her present Majesty, he was honoured, in company with the domestic physician, Sir Isaac Wilson, with being entrusted to select a subject for the inoculation of the Princess with the vaccine. A grandchild of his old friend, Dr. Lettsom, was chosen, and Mr. Pettigrew attended at Kensington Palace and vaccinated the Princess. A few months after, death deprived him of his illustrious patron. The Duke of Kent had previously, with much kindness, among other marks of esteem, introduced Mr. Pettigrew to the Duke of Sussex, whose literary tastes, he perceived, would open a further field for Mr. Pettigrew's ardour in those pursuits.

Whilst he carried on his professional practice at the Medical Society's House in Bolt-court, Fleet-street, he delivered four courses of elementary lectures "On Anatomy and Physiology," and founded a dispensary for the treatment of diseases of children, of which he was appointed

senior surgeon. It commenced at St. Andrew's-hill, Doctors' Commons, and afterwards became the Royal Infirmary for Diseases of Children, situated in the Waterloo-road. In 1819 he removed his residence to Spring-gardens, and became surgeon to the Asylum for Female Orphans. He delivered in this year the annual oration of the Medical Society, and selected for his subject "Medical Jurisprudence." His object was to draw attention to the exceptional condition of this branch of study in England. In Scotland, and still more so on the Continent, it forms an important item in the instruction given for the medical profession; but in England nothing had then been done to shew the bearing the profession has upon the administration of the law. The oration was published in the "London Medical Repository," vol. xi, p. 520. Soon after his removal to the west end of town, he was solicited to connect himself with a dispensary in Villiers-street, established principally by Dr. Golding, and called the Royal West London Infirmary, which led to the foundation of the Charing Cross Hospital. When that was accomplished, he found that his endeavours for its improved arrangement and management were not received in the spirit in which they were offered, and this led to his separation from it, and to his publication, in 1836, of "An Address to the Governors of Charing Cross Hospital on its Management." As senior surgeon of this institution, he delivered various separate lectures, and also an entire course on anatomy and physiology, illustrated by an extensive series of preparations mostly made by himself, and which afterwards passed into the well-known collection of his son, Dr. W. V. Pettigrew. His involuntary separation from the Charing Cross Hospital was to him a matter of sincere regret; but it was no small consolation to find himself associated in all the circumstances with that eminent physician, Dr. Sigmond, and to perceive that the Royal College of Surgeons supported his own view. A painful matter in which he was engaged almost at the same time, was the endeavour to improve the condition of the pauper children of St. James's, Westminster, then *farmed* out at Norwood. In this matter he proceeded at the instance of one of the churchwardens, and the result was the improvement of several circumstances affecting the health of the children. Although at first his efforts were not received by the highest officers of the Poor-Law Board in the benevolent spirit which originated them, yet in the end the whole of the children were removed.

To return, however, to an earlier period. Very soon after his introduction to the Duke of Sussex, Mr. Pettigrew not only was appointed his surgeon, but was installed in office as his librarian, and found himself charged with the arrangement of about 6000 books. His Royal Highness was eager in the collection of literary treasures, and in procuring them Mr. Pettigrew was so actively engaged, that when

he retired the library contained more than 40,000 volumes—nor was he satisfied until he had undertaken to write a particular account of the treasures thus amassed.¹ In 1827 he accomplished the first portion of this undertaking, and published the first volume in two parts. It was entitled “*Bibliotheca Sussexiana: A Descriptive Catalogue, accompanied by Historical and Biographical Notices, of the MSS. and Printed Books contained in the Library of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, K.G., etc., etc., in Kensington Palace.*” The first part is devoted to the theological MSS., many of them very curious, and in fourteen different languages. The second part describes a portion of the printed theological books; but the labour was found to be of so overwhelming a nature that, after several years, Mr. Pettigrew contented himself with the production of a third part (in 1839), which completed the description of the immense and valuable varieties of the versions of Holy Scripture. This last volume refers to 1151 works in nearly forty languages. Whilst the earlier part of this splendid work was in progress, Mr. Pettigrew removed his residence to Saville-row, and became a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was still actively contributing to various medical journals, and in 1831, having had access to the Indian Reports relative to the cholera, he published “*Observations on Cholera; comprising a Description of the Epidemic Cholera of India, the Mode of Treatment, and Means of Prevention.*” In 1833 he communicated to the Royal Society “*A Relation of the Case of Thomas Hardy Kirman, with Remarks on Corpulence.*” The subject of this paper, then nearly twelve years of age, measured sixty-one inches high, and weighed 198 pounds. The paper noticed the prevalence of corpulence in humid and marshy districts. In 1834 he published a pamphlet, “*The Substance of a Clinical Lecture on Hydrophobia,*” founded on two cases received at Charing Cross Hospital. In 1835 he published in the *Medico-Chirurgical Review* descriptions of various cases of “*Fractures.*” Mr. Pettigrew had throughout his life been deeply interested in the study of antiquity, and now began to turn his attention more particularly to those archæological subjects which, for the next thirty years, afforded him matter for relaxation or amusement. He enjoyed the acquaintance of Belzoni, of Burton, Mangles, the Earl of Munster, Dr. Lee, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and other eminent Egyptian travellers, and, above all, of that accomplished scholar, Dr. Young. This led to his study of Egyptian antiquities, and to the production of his valuable quarto book in 1834, “*A History of Egyptian Mummies, and an Account of the Worship*

¹ The library was sold by auction, after the death of the Duke of Sussex, in 1844 and 1845. It was catalogued by Messrs. Evans, the auctioneers, in five parts, and realised about £1,000 more than it cost. The sale was as follows: Part 1, £8,437 4s.; Part 2, £3,126; Part 3, £2,096 12s.; Part 4, £2121 12s.; Part 5, £2,640 3s.; Part 6, £718 10s. Total, £19,149 1s.

and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by the Egyptians, and Observations on the Mummies of the Canary Islands, of the Ancient Peruvians, Burman Priests, etc.," dedicated by permission to His Majesty William IV. In the second volume of the *Magazine of Popular Science*, published by Mr. Parker, he also gave some account of the same subject, from an examination of a mummy at the Royal Institution in 1837. At a later period, he contemplated a much more extensive work on Egypt, and with a view to producing a dictionary of Egyptian antiquity, published "A Preliminary Essay and Specimen of an Intended Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca," which, however, for want of public sympathy, was not further proceeded with. In the midst of these multifarious occupations, Mr. Pettigrew never ceased to refresh himself with domestic enjoyments; but at this period (1837), he sustained a severe bereavement in the death, at the age of twenty-four, of his eldest son, who had commenced a career of high promise in the Madras Light Cavalry. As a diversion of his thought from this calamity it was that he commenced a work, which was completed in 1840, "The Medical Portrait Gallery," in four imperial octavo volumes. It comprises biographies of sixty eminent physicians and surgeons, illustrated by portraits, several of them taken expressly for the work. It concludes with his own autobiography. This led to another biographical labour; for the Rev. J. H. Rose he undertook to contribute medical biographies to "Rose's Biographical Dictionary." Accordingly, he contributed all the medical memoirs down to Claude Miolais de Cat, 540 in number. His next work was an octavo volume, produced in 1843, "On Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery," replete with curious and amusing anecdote and history. After this he produced "Memoirs of Admiral Lord Nelson," in two octavo volumes, containing a great number of original letters and much information not previously made public, and he, for the first time, conclusively proved the nature of the tie which connected Lord Nelson with Lady Hamilton, and furnished evidence of the birth of their child. His latest separate publication was "The Chronicles of the Tombs," an octavo volume, filled with examples of inscribed memorials of the dead in different ages, and contributed to "Bohn's Antiquarian Library."

Mr. Pettigrew had for some time confined himself professionally to private practice, and after 1843 mainly sought for relaxation in archaeological pursuits. He was, from the beginning, a member of the British Archaeological Association, and their first Treasurer; and holding this office, with that of Vice-President, and after a few years also that of editor of the *Journal*, he continued to the last our most active and zealous servant. The loss of his wife in 1854 was a shock from which he never recovered, and he then withdrew from Saville-

row to Brompton, and ceased to burden himself with professional cares. His contributions to archaeology now became numerous, and chiefly appeared in the pages of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association. The variety of the subjects upon which he wrote is eminently characteristic of his catholic love of knowledge. The following is a list of Mr. Pettigrew's contributions to the above *Journal*:— Vol. IV, p. 337, "On the Practice of Embalming among the Ancient Egyptians," illustrated by a mummy from Thebes, presented by Joseph Arden, Esq. Vol. VI, p. 143, "Warrants under the King's Sign Manual, 1673-78, directed to Captain W. Fasby, Commander of the King's Yachts." Vol. VII, p. 1, "On a Roman Urn, with Coins, found in Charnwood Forest;" p. 143, "Contributions towards a History of the Society of Antiquaries;" p. 239, "On the Discovery of the Ancient City of Tharros, in Sardinia." Vol. VIII, p. 18, "On Ancient Chinese Vases;" p. 95, "History of the Barber-Surgeons of London." Vol. IX, p. 14, "On Newstead Abbey;" pp. 121, 308, "On the Origin and Antiquity of Playing Cards." Vol. XI, pp. 9, 95, "On Leper Hospitals;" p. 177, "On the Antiquities of the Isle of Wight." Vol. XII, pp. 55, 145, 223, "Notes on the Seals of Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales;" p. 291, "On the Antiquities of Somersetshire;" p. 344, "On the Cathedral of Wells." Vol. XIII, p. 34, "On the Vicars' Close, Wells;" p. 211, "On Egyptian Glass;" p. 299, "On Antiquities at Kertch." Vol. XIV, p. 1, "On the Antiquities of Norfolk;" p. 110, "On the Convent of the Black Friars at Norwich;" p. 215, "On the Walls and Gates of the City of Norwich;" p. 223, "On Caister Castle, Norfolk;" p. 293, "On the Antiquities of Cuma in the Campagna;" p. 311, "Notes on the Seals of Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales;" p. 331, "On the Reputed Vision of Henry I." Vol. XV, p. 1, "On the Antiquities of Wiltshire;" p. 246, "On the Ancient Royal Palace of Clarendon." Vol. XVI, p. 25, "On the History and Antiquities of Berkshire;" p. 62, "On the History of Aldermaston in Berkshire;" p. 177, "On Reading and its Antiquities." Vol. XVII, p. 293, "On Ogham Inscriptions." Vol. XIX, p. 81, "On Thuribles." Vol. XX, p. 308, "On Monumental Crosses at Ilkley and Collingham." Vol. XXI, p. 217, "On Roman Penates discovered at Exeter." Besides these there will be found in Vols. III, VI, and X, addresses delivered by him on the Science of Archaeology; and in every volume from the ninth Obituary Notices of the deceased members, many of them possessing much interest, and all evidencing the kindness of heart which guided his pen. Since his death has been published his paper, "On Antiquities in the Parish Church of Bradford-on-Avon, p. 160 of this volume.

Among the other publications of the British Archaeological Association, there is, in the "Winchester Volume," an Introductory Address

by him; and in the "Gloucester Volume," p. 221, an article on Peg Tankards, also from his pen. In the quarto publication, the "*Collectanea Archaeologica*," in Vol. I, p. 163, is his account of a very curious Sepulchral Slab in the Abbey Church at Shrewsbury, and p. 171, his paper "On Seals of Admirals of England;" in Vol. II, p. 1, an account of the Maeshow in the Orkneys; and at p. 174, an interesting account, condensed from that of his friend, Daniel Gurney, Esq., F.S.A., of the House of Gournay.

The Newbury Congress in 1859 led to the consideration of the history of Cumnor, and the connection of Amy Robsart with that place. Mr. Pettigrew published an interesting pamphlet upon it, showing that Sir Walter Scott's narrative of her tragical end, in his novel of *Kenilworth*, is not founded in fact, and thus relieving the memory of the Earl of Leicester from a grievous odium.

To the Percy Society, of which he was a member, he also contributed in 1844, by editing the very curious medical disquisition of "John Halle, Chyrurgyen," published originally in 1565, entitled "*An Historiall Expostulation against the Beastlye Abusers, bothe of Chyrurgerie and Physyke, in our tyme: with a goodly Doctrine and Instruction, necessary to be marked and followed, of all true Chirrgiens.*"

To the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries Mr. Pettigrew contributed in 1844, "*An Account of a Bilingual Inscription taken from a Vase at St. Mark at Venice*," the characters being Persipolitan and Egyptian hieroglyphic. Also in the same year, "*Observations upon an Ancient English Medical MS. in the Royal Library at Stockholm.*" In 1851, he gave a short account of the "*Deities of the Amenti, as found in the Egyptian Mummies*;" and in 1852 he was one of the Committee of this Society appointed to investigate concerning a mummified body discovered in St. Stephen's chapel, in the Palace at Westminster, and which, in the opinion of the Committee, proved to be the remains of William Lyndewode, Bishop of St. David's, who died in 1446. The body was found in a good state of preservation. In 1856 he contributed an account of an unrecorded contract made in 1476 between Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and the King of Sicily, for the marriage of their daughter Isabella with the Prince of Capua. In this account is printed the original contract which had accidentally come into his possession with a number of Spanish deeds. Mr. Pettigrew's personal activity in the affairs and at the congresses of the British *Archæological Association* is well known. After his return home from the Exeter Congress in 1861, his liability was first discovered to the inroads of an insidious and painful disorder. At times in extreme suffering, and under a continual access of weakness, he still pursued his *archæological* labours, and was even present at the

Ipswich Congress in 1864, and at that held at Durham in 1865—although upon his arrival he found himself unable to share in the work. The last production of his pen was the Obituary Notices published at p. 155 of the volume of the *Archæological Journal* for 1865, executed under the most depressing weakness and acute suffering. Of his family of twelve children, three sons and three daughters survive him. The solace of their affection, and the support of his own deep but unostentatious religious feeling, relieved and calmed him to the last.

In his private copy of his autobiography, facing the portrait, he had placed these lines in his own handwriting:

“FROM SOLON.

“O may not death, unwept, unhonoured, be
The melancholy fate allotted me!
But those who loved me living, when I die
Still fondly keep some cherish'd memory.”

MÉRIVALE.

The next name is that of GODFREY WENTWORTH, Esq., of Woolley Park, near Wakefield, who died in the autumn, a member of the ancient Wentworth family, of considerable estate and influence in the north of England. It was only last year that our memoirs bore testimony to the talent and worth of his son George Edward Wentworth, Esq., an enthusiastic antiquary, whose early loss we then deplored. Upon the death of his son, the father, animated by a kindly feeling towards us, and by a just pride in his son's attainments, desired to perpetuate his name amongst us, and caused himself to be elected to our Association. A very few months, however, deprived us of his friendship and support.

In December, died DR. THOMAS READ, of Horton-street, Kensington. He joined our Association in 1859, but I do not know that he has contributed any writings to our publications.

MAY 23.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentleman was elected a member :

Walter Copinger, Esq., 41, Amptill-square.

The Treasurer read the list of Officers for the ensuing year, elected on the 9th instant.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. For No. 80 of the Proceedings of the Royal Society.

„ „ For part 2, vol. v, of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Lord Boston, President, forwarded for exhibition five small plaques of a highly interesting character :

1. A profile draped bust to the right of Cnæius Pompeius Magnus, the triumvir. A perpendicular oval, one inch and a-quarter high.

2. A profile bust to the right of the Emperor Trajan, a production of great power, in which the classic character is well maintained. Perpendicular oval, one inch and seven-eighths high.

These two plaques are composed of a liver-coloured bronze, differing little in hue from the ancient *Hepatizon* ; they are both of fine Florentine work of the early part of the sixteenth century, cast, and finished with the graver.

3. Rebekah at the well, giving Abraham's servant drink out of a vase-shaped pitcher ; a city in the distance. A medallion plaque of lead, two inches and three-quarters diameter. The costume of the several figures, and general treatment of the subject, indicate this to be of German or Low-country work of the end of the sixteenth century.

4. Demi-figure of Mary Magdalen reading ; her book and covered cup resting on a rock. A perpendicular oval of cast bronze, two inches and a-quarter high. Italian work, *circa* 1600.

5. A profile bust to the right of ERNST. RYDGER. COM. STARNBERG. in embossed armour, on his head a laureated morion, and round his neck a rich long-ended lace cravat. On either side the bust, flags, weapons, etc. Medallion plaque struck in tin, one inch and seven-eighths diameter. .

Lord Boston also exhibited a die for casting plaques, of yellow bronze, one inch and seven-eighths diameter, the convex surface chased with a large profile laureated bust of Julius Cæsar ; the toga secured on the shoulder by a round fibula, or bulla, inscribed S.P.Q.R. Behind the head is the augural *lituus*, and just in front of the forehead is a small star of six rays, intended either for the planet Venus, from which goddess the dictator claimed descent, or else for the comet which shone forth for seven nights after his assassination, and was

regarded as his soul received into heaven. In a line with the star are the words *DIVI IVLLI*. It is a masterly performance of the fifteenth century, and was purchased by his lordship in Italy about the year 1835.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an ancient leaden plaque with bust of Cæsar, evidently cast from Lord Boston's die, and which was purchased by Mr. Cuming's father full forty years since, with a lot of Roman coins, in the Old Kent-road. Mr. Cuming pointed out the close resemblance of the bust on these specimens to that on a medallion given in Joannes Hattichius' *Lives of the Roman Emperors*, 1526, which is undoubtedly copied from a piece of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Cuming made the following remarks on the PORTRAITS OF JULIUS CÆSAR :—

"The oldest and most authentic portraits of Julius Cæsar are those placed by consent of the Senate upon the Roman money issued during the lifetime of the Dictator; and next to these, in historic value, are the busts which appear on the reverses of the *sestertii* of Augustus. On these several coins Cæsar is represented with rather hard features, and with anything but a winning and dignified expression. In the British Museum is an antique marble bust of Cæsar closely resembling his medallie portraits, save that the bald forehead is unencircled by the laurel wreath (the *insignis corona triumphalis*) which he was permitted to wear to hide his loss of hair. In this bust the anxious care-worn visage, and lean sunken cheeks, admirably display the mental and bodily fatigue to which this great captain, legislator, and author, had been subjected. The statue of the Capitol, and the Pio-Clementine and Farnese busts, are noble monuments of art, but do not exceed in interest the specimen in our national collection, which there is reason to think may have been executed soon after the Dictator's murder, if it be not, indeed, an *ad vivum* likeness.

"La Chausse, in his *Grand Cabinet Romain*, gives a copy of a cornelian gem in the Barberini cabinet, with a laureated bust of Cæsar evidently copied from a coin, and having behind the head the *lituus* or augural staff; and in the collection of the Emperor of Russia is another gem of Julius Cæsar; which has, in addition to the *lituus*, a star, or *Julium sydus* as it is generally denominated. Upwards of twenty gems with busts of the Dictator are enumerated in Tassie's catalogue; but these form but a very small portion of existing examples. Many appear to be of ancient date; but perhaps many more must be referred to a period subsequent to the revival of learning and love for classic art and story in Italy in the fifteenth century. When that glorious revival took place, the visage of the mighty conqueror was not neglected; and we soon find that the twelve Cæsars became favourites with sculptors and medallists, and in the sixteenth century with the enamellers of

Limoges, whose portraits in *grisaille* are enriched by verdant chaplets and golden legends. The mediæval artists certainly imparted a far loftier air of dignity to Cæsar's lineaments than had been awarded to him by the classic artists. The die exhibited by our noble President is an eminent proof that such is the case. But from the close of the sixteenth century, the dignity which characterised the mediæval portraits of Cæsar seems to have rapidly faded away; and in the seventeenth century the great Dictator was frequently represented as an unintellectual, ill-looking, vulgar fellow: a fact conspicuous in a medallion I produce, in which the almost quizzical features might well pass for those of some low cobbler, but never ought to have been adopted as those of C. IVLIVS CÆSAR, as the laureated bust is here designated. This medallion is upwards of two inches diameter, and one of a set of the twelve Casars designed in Italy, and cast in lead, about the end of the seventeenth century."

Mr. Wimble exhibited a glass bottle of squat proportions, five inches and three-quarters high, and seventeen inches and a half circumference round the body, the whole surface encrusted with *electrum Britannicum*; found, with two others, behind a publichouse in Little Britain. Also an elegant bough-pot of blue and white Delft-ware, seven inches high, consisting of a broad foot supporting a globular vessel, from the sides of which rise three sockets; between each of which is a short handle, upon which the furbelowed rim of the bowl rests. Found in Great Winchester-street. Both these articles are of the seventeenth century.

The Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., exhibited two beautiful specimens of Greek pottery, and read the following observations:

"GREEK VESSELS FOUND NEAR ROWLAND'S CASTLE, HANTS.

"The two accompanying Greek vessels, lately obtained by me, were described as found in the Potter's Field near Rowland's Castle. When examining, in March last, the spot which is now being excavated for making bricks, draining tiles, etc., the overseer informed me that those who had preceded him in ancient times had cleared off from the old pits (several of which were scattered around) all the *finer clay*. In some cases he continued to work the pits which had formerly been opened. The form and workmanship of the two vessels found, however, were of too delicate and beautiful a description for the supposition that they were constructed on this site. They probably formed part of the luxurious household appurtenances of a Roman villa which stood on part of the same ground on which the clay is worked, and is called May's Coppice.

"Of the date of the smaller of the vessels there can be no doubt. There are five or six similar vessels in the British Museum, on the

second shelf of the *first* class period of archaic vessels. The date there marked is from 700 B.C. to 500 B.C. This vessel is nine inches in circumference at the top, and two inches high. It is open, has two handles, and is beautifully marked. The larger vessel is more of the nature of a jug with one handle. It is four inches and a half in height, and nineteen inches in circumference at its broader part. Its neck is short, and the rim of its mouth about two feet across. It is fluted, and its colour is a reddish brown. There appears no similar pattern in the British Museum. Its date may be conjectured to be about 300 B.C.

"This Roman villa was discovered, some years since, south of Rowland's Castle, on the verge of May's Coppice. The principal apartment, eighteen feet by fourteen feet, was ornamented, having a pavement of red tesserae, plastered side-walls, and fresco paintings. Close to this apartment was a so-called sudatory bath, considered to be so from the flues under the floor, and a portion of leaden pipe. Near its supposed entrance was another apartment, twenty feet square, conjectured to have been the cold bath. To the east was another building of large dimensions, abounding in charcoal and fragments of pottery. The spring is still flowing which supplied the water for the bath.

"Very little now remains of the contiguous Rowland's Castle. A railway has been constructed over part of its dilapidated walls, which were about eight feet thick, and formed of flint stones. Part of the foss still remains; but the whole is in such confusion that it appears now impossible to draw any plan of its original form, and I believe none such has been published. Its romantic locality renders it a frequent place of resort for picnic parties. The notice of the villa that I have met with, and to which I am much indebted for the above brief particulars, is in the excellent *Topographical Account of the Hundred of Bosmere*, by J. C. Longcroft, Esq. Many coins have been found in the neighbourhood. One of the workmen informed me he had lately found on this site a patera, which had been carelessly destroyed by his children."

The same gentleman also laid before the meeting some fragments of glass vessels from the neighbourhood of Lymington, Hants, and made the following remarks:

"GLASS VESSELS FOUND AT BUCKLAND RINGS, HANTS.

"The discovery of three glass vessels, or rather three large fragments of vessels, lately made at Buckland Rings, near Lymington, Hants, is interesting, as almost the only relics recorded to have been found there. The Rev. Richard Warner, in his account of Buckland Rings, mentions the discovery of a bronze celt, and Gough, in his edition of *Camden*, said he had in his possession one coin. Other writers on Hampshire are silent on the subject. Mr. Drayson, of

Southampton, has more recently discovered several Roman coins in this neighbourhood.

"The three vessels were obtained by me from the finder, Mr. Holland, one of the sappers employed by the Ordnance Office, Southampton, in the survey of this part of the county of Hants. One of them was probably an unguent bottle. It is of a square form, its sides being rather more than an inch, and it is about an inch in height; the neck is broken. The two other pieces of glass are elegant stems of vessels. One of them very closely resembles the stems of several vessels marked as of Venetian origin in the British Museum. All the vessels are of the character of glass ascribed to the sixteenth century.

"Whether this glass may turn out to have been manufactured at the three ancient glass factories recently discovered near the Roman station at Brige, Hants, is a question which I will not now discuss. Certain it is, that much of that ancient glass bears a Venetian aspect, and is like the glass of the sixteenth century. But, according to Apsley Pellatt, in his work on glass making, the Venetians only made two patterns, or kinds of glass that had not been previously manufactured by the Romans, and the glass of Brige may all, therefore, be possibly Roman, an opinion which many circumstances, more especially the vicinity of extensive Roman potteries which became extinct after the departure of the Romans, incline the writer to believe.

Buckland Rings is undoubtedly the remains of a Roman camp, and not, as some have imagined, a Danish one.¹ It is of a square form, its four sides facing the cardinal points, with a gate on each side. It had the peculiarity of having three vallums on the north, south, and east sides, and two vallums on the west side, and was consequently very strongly fortified. From this circumstance it may be conjectured to have been erected soon after the Roman occupation under Vespasian, when he subjected, A.D. 43, this part of the kingdom; and it is probably nearly contemporary in the date of its origin to the neighbouring fort of Clausentum. The length of the area, measured on its north side, is 200 yards, and on its south side 210 yards; its breadth towards the west 125 yards, and towards the east 135 yards. The greater part of the mounds is now covered with larches, firs, and other trees; the mounds are traceable, except on the west side, where, unfortunately for the antiquarian, they have been demolished for agricultural purposes. The walks among these trees render the spot exceedingly picturesque and beautiful. The fort is situated about three-quarters of a mile from Lymington. Lymington river, which has for a lengthened period at this part been gradually choking with mud, formerly came up within 150 yards of the east end of the fort, and

¹ Vide *Philosophical Transactions*. No. 475.

afforded not only a supply of water to the camp, but a harbour for shipping. We may conjecture that the origin of the popular name "Buckland Rings" was the circumstance of the three vallums surrounding the area like rings.

Mr. Josiah Cato exhibited two socketed spear or dart blades of bones, similar to the example given in pl. 8, fig. 4, *ante*, but of smaller size. Both were found in Moorfields.

Mr. J. W. Bailey produced two socketed spear blades, formed of the proximal halves of metatarsal bones of the ox, closely resembling the one just referred to. The shortest, measuring about four inches in length, was exhumed near the railway station in Moorfields in 1865. The other is upwards of five inches in length, and was discovered May 18th, 1866, in Long-alley, Moorfields.

Mr. Bailey also exhibited a socketed looped celt ferrule of bronze, about four inches and three-eighths in length, recovered from the bed of the Thames, "up the river," in Sept. 1864. On each side is what appears to be a representation of a similar ferrule, and within the socket are traces of the wooden spear-shaft.

Dr. Copland, M.D., F.R.S., made some remarks on Sir Henry Dryden's description of the Brough of Clickminin, in the Shetland Islands, near Lerwick, read at the meeting of April 11th. From his personal familiarity with this and other similar structures in those islands, he would be able to enlarge upon the facts which had been brought forward, and he promised a further communication on the subject.

Mr. Hensman exhibited a valuable set of architectural drawings of Finchale Priory, Durham, and the Treasurer announced that Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., would make some observations upon them at the next meeting, when they would be again produced.

Mr. J. Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited photographs of a remarkable ball of coloured clay, similar to that found on the Brighton hills, in Sussex, formerly exhibited by Dr. Gideon Mantell, and now in the British Museum, together with another found at Slymbridge, in Gloucestershire. Two other specimens have been exhibited found in Berkshire. All four are described in vol. xvi, at p. 327. Mr. Warren says: "About five or six months since I bought a ball similar to those mentioned in the sixteenth volume of the *Journal*, page 327. Mine has seven circles, each inclosing a star of eight points, of a reddish-brown colour; some of the ornamental lines almost black, on a white paste; it is fractured, a piece being broken off; it weighs six ounces and a-half, and is two inches and a-quarter in diameter. It was found about four years since by a man digging in a plantation on the Netherhall estate, in the parish of Pakenham, near Ixworth; nothing else found with it. I may be wrong, but from the work on the ball I

think it Saxon, it so much resembles a large bead I have found in the Saxon burial-place, Westow Heath."

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, thought that most of those present would be able to call to mind Saxon beads, so much resembling the make of these balls as to bear out Mr. Warren's conclusion as to its age.

Mr. C. Faulkner, F.S.A., exhibited a matrix of a seal incised on the reverse of a Sestertius of Antoninus Pius, bearing in the field an eagle displayed, surrounded by the legend + S. COSTATINI. S. MARTINI. Mr. Faulkner obtained this matrix about forty-five years since from the widow of the Rev. W. Woolston, but could learn nothing of its history.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., stated that this specimen had long been familiar to him through the engraving of it given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1796, p. 373, where the following brief notice of the signet is contributed by a Mr. Matthew Paul, of Kettering, Northamptonshire. He says: "The seal is cut on the reverse of a brass coin of Antoninus Pius, and was dug up by some labourers raising a stone to repair the turnpike-road leading from Kettering to Thrapston, and was found in the parish of Woodford." The matrix is evidently the work of the thirteenth century, and affords a curious instance of the use to which a Roman sestertius could be applied after it had ceased to be a medium of circulation. But long before the age of this seal Roman coins were employed for other purposes than money. They were anciently mounted with loops to wear as pendant ornaments, fixed on the tops of pins, and set in finger-rings and brooches. In the *Nenia Britannica* (pl. 12) are engraved various articles found in 1771, in a barrow at Ash in Kent. Among them are sestertii of the two Faustinas, the wives of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, the reverses of which are ground smooth to adjust them to a certain weight, as Douglas conjectured. They were more probably treated in this manner to be set in the pommels of sword-hilts, for we know that coins were so set in early times. In the Tower of London is preserved a sword said to have belonged to a crusader, whose name, AVTCARIVS, is graven on the blade, and in the pommel of which is fixed a silvered sestertius of the Emperor Domitian, apparently severed in half, so that the *obverse* is shown on one face of the knob, and the *reverse* on the other. Mr. Cuming produced the *obverse* of a sestertius of Faustina the Younger, strongly gilt, with two stud-holes piercing the legend, the *reverse* ground flat, and having a small portion of solder adhering to its edge. This piece was purchased of the late William Till, who stated that it had been knocked out of the pommel of an ancient sword believed to have been used by a crusader.

It will be noted that the matrix exhibited by Mr. Faulkner has no

trace of handle, and must therefore, in its present condition, be of inconvenient use, but may it not have been fixed on the top of a sword pommel, perhaps in a turning-ring, so that either face of the piece might be exposed at pleasure. Some may ask if there be any reason to think that matrices of seals were ever set in the hilt of weapons, and it must be confessed that the evidence regarding such practice is but slight. Philip Baldæus, in his *Description of Ceylon*, states that in 1638 the Emperor concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Holland, which he signed, and sealed by impressing the head of his scimeter in red wax. In this sword-pommel may have been fixed a royal sigil, which would at once account for the act recorded by Baldæus. In proof that hafts were originally provided with matrices at their ends, Mr. Cuming laid before the meeting a bone hilt of either a knife or small dagger, on the butt of which is incised a signet, the device being, according to some, a double fleur-de-lys, whilst others pronounce it a fer-de-moline, with a grain of corn above and below, and a disc on either side, constituting, in all likelihood, a merchant's mark. This curious example may be assigned to the sixteenth century, and was recovered from the Thames in June, 1847.

The foregoing exhibitions suggest the question, Why were Roman sestertii selected as adornments to sword-pommels? Now, we know full well, that in mediæval times classic gems were regarded with superstitious awe, and not unfrequently employed as talismans, and it is highly probable that the same feeling extended to ancient money, and hence its presence in the crusader's sword-hilt. The "lucky money" of later ages is doubtlessly a relic of early superstition, and to this day, in China, a sword composed of old coin is looked upon as a charm of potent value.

A paper by W. Whincopp, Esq., was read "On the Deposit of flint Implements in France and England." It is given at p. 153, *ante*.

JUNE 13.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., ROUGE CROIX, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were elected :

Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Esq., Monreih, Newton Stewart,
Wigtonshire.

James Frederick Spurr, Esq., 30, Queen-street, Scarborough.

Samuel Green, Esq., St. Michael's House, Cornhill.

Mr. Overall, the Librarian at the Guildhall, called attention, through Mr. Blashill, to the discovery of an enormous earthen jar, ten feet below the roadway, on the site of No. 10, Old Broad-street,—a house erected

some two hundred years since, and the foundations of which were laid five feet deep. This ponderous vessel (which has been presented to the Guildhall library by the Lord Mayor) is made of well-baked clay, covered entirely, save a small portion near the base, with a dull, muddy, green glaze. It measures three feet in height, and ten feet circumference at its extreme swell. The opening of the mouth is eleven inches and a quarter diameter; the diameter of the outer edges of the lips, thirteen inches and five-eighths. On the shoulder are set, at equal distances, four loop-handles or ears, each about three inches wide at the base, and one inch and three-quarters broad. At one side, towards the lower part of the jar, are eight perforations about half an inch diameter, made before firing.

In general form, and number and position of the handles, the vessel much resembles some of the old Succade jars of China, but its enormous size, and character of glaze, indicates a Spanish origin. In Spain, vessels far exceeding the present example in capacity have long been known, and are believed to have been introduced by the Moors. A Spanish *tinaja* in the *Musée Céramique*, at Sevres, is upwards of ten feet high by fifteen and a-half feet circumference. But, large as this example is, others have been seen in Spain, measuring upwards of thirteen feet in height, and nearly twenty feet in circumference; and so heavy are some of the *tinajas* that twenty men are required to lift them from the kiln. The gigantic jar in the Guildhall Library was probably employed for exporting fruit, the perforations at the lower part being intended to give air to the contents of the vessel. Mr. Overall's remarks were illustrated by a well-executed drawing of the jar by Mr. Blashill, and by Chinese vessels, with similar handles, from the collection of Mr. H. Syer Cuming.

Mr. S. Wood called attention to two little London tokens of the middle of the seventeenth century, differing from any in the Beaufoy Cabinet:

1. *Obverse*, THE DOLPHIN TAVERN; in the field a dolphin; *reverse*, IN TOWER STREETE; 1650; in the field $\frac{W}{R}E$. In Tower-street were the Dolphin, Salutation, and White Lion taverns, all destroyed in the great fire of 1666. The dolphin formed a tavern sign in other parts of London. Stow mentions the Dolphin Inn, Bishopsgate-street, and tokens were issued by N. M. W. at the Dolphin within Temple Bar; Edward Barnard, at the Dolphin, in King-street, Westminster; and Henry Bartlet, at the Dolphin in Mile End. At the present day no less than eleven London taverns display the old sign of the dolphin.

2. *Obverse*, AT THE TALBOT IN; in the field a talbot; *reverse*, MOOLE MAKERS ROE; in the field, $\frac{R}{L}E$. The only token in the Beaufoy Cabinet bearing a talbot is a halfpenny of Robert Starky, of St. Giles-in-the-fields. In Mr Cuming's Collection is one bearing this sign, with the



legend, *obverse*, THOMAS PEEKE WYRE (drawer?); *reverse*, IN COLCHSTER STREET; in the field, T. P. The talbot is now the sign of two London taverns. It is, perhaps, well to add that Mouldmaker's-row was in St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited as a javelin-knife a large clasp-knife, secured in its open position by a notch in the spring, so that, unless intentionally released, it could not become closed. It was believed to have been used as a weapon expressly intended as a missile. Mr. Josiah Cato said that he had constantly seen such, not used as missiles, but in the hands of the commonalty in Spain, where they were apt to be drawn and brandished on the occasion of every quarrel.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., exhibited a hand amulet of crystal, the property of the President, Lord Boston, and read a paper on the subject, which is given at p. 291, *ante*, illustrated by other examples, which he produced. In the course of the paper, Mr. Cuming alluded to the continued popularity of the hand amulet as a charm in Italy. Mr. Josiah Cato and Mr. J. Murray Spear (visitor) confirmed Mr. Cuming's observations, having frequently seen in wear amongst the Italians, not only the hand amulets made of coral and other ornamental material, but having also noticed, as is well known to travellers, that the people will often raise their own fingers in the form of the amulet to charm away the apprehended approach of evil, or to facilitate the success of some wish or desire.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., offered some remarks on the beautiful series of drawings of Finchale Priory, Durham, exhibited by Mr. Hensman. The drawings were made for the Royal Institute of British Architects, and obtained their prize medal for excellence and accuracy of delineation. Mr. Hensman has most liberally placed them at the disposal of the British Archaeological Association to illustrate their visit to the Priory at the Durham Congress. Mr. Roberts pointed out the unusual way in which the monks' wing had been constructed, and also the refectory, which had in this instance a vaulted substructure, and that these unusual arrangements were caused by the slope of the ground. The building called the Douglas Tower, he showed, had formed a subordinate part of the prior's house, and contained the latrines.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, remarked that although he knew of nothing to account for the name, its mention in the Finchale Priory documents, both in 1460 and 1467, showed the name "Dougldestour" to be ancient, and identified the name with the building to which it still adheres. Mr. Hills added that the vault under the refectory was not very uncommon. The mother monastery at Durham had one similarly situated, so had the Premonstratensian Priory at Bayham, in Sussex. The variation from the rule which he had found to prevail,

viz., that the domestic parts of the monastery are turned towards the water and the church away from it, had at Finchale led to great difficulties, the domestic buildings being half buried in the high ground, when they ought to have been turned away from it.

The Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., Precentor of Chichester, remarked that a vaulted substructure to the refectory was to be found at two monasteries in the north of England.

The Rev. Marsham Argles, Canon of Peterborough, submitted a short paper, which was read by Mr. Walcott—

“ON THE TOWER OF BARNACK CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

“The tower at Barnack is of the highest antiquity that any church in this country can claim. There is much inherent evidence of its having been the first instance of building in stone by our Saxon or Danish progenitors. That the stone itself, from the famous quarries in the place which were worked until the sixteenth century to their becoming practically exhausted, was known in very early times, is manifest from the existence of a classical torso, now in my possession, the work of a Roman sculptor during the occupation, which is of Barnack stone.

“The architectural style of the tower itself bears proof to every eye of the rudest and remotest antiquity. It is as simple an imitation of a wooden one as could be drawn from recollection of what may have existed on the same spot in that material just before, and may not improperly be called a piece of ‘petrified carpentry.’ It represents what is now called ‘stud and mud,’ but in very fine and large proportions. The beam-ends are represented as standing out in the precise manner they would stand out in a really wooden building. Although the south entrance-door has a good semicircular arch, yet at the top of each *door-post* (for door-posts they are, although in stone) there is a projecting beam-end, as there might be in the previous wooden building, and over the keystone of the arch there is another similar projection supporting, and into which might be supposed to be mortised, the perpendicular stud which rises up the face of the wall. The west window has also the same projecting ‘beam-ends,’ and is itself highly worthy of attention from its extraordinary rude simplicity, being formed (as children build with cards) of two stones meeting in a point, making a triangular head, over which is again repeated the projecting beam-end, with the imitation of another stud supposed to be mortised into it. The ribs on the face of the wall are three in number on each of the sides, besides the corners. They are regular and well made, and the whole wall is admirably built with large stones and sunk below the ribs about six inches. The heavy weight of the early English spire and belfry, which was superadded

so many hundred years after the tower was built, has not crushed it in any part, and it appears capable of enduring as many more centuries of ages as it has already seen. It may here, however, be mentioned that the builders of those additions, fearing for the strength of the original substructure, endeavoured to make it more solid by blocking up with masonry of great thickness the noble arch into the church and nearly all the windows in both stories, all which I have myself opened (after 500 years) after finding by most careful examination that the arches did not require the blocking, and in fact did not rest upon it. The age of the blocking is made satisfactorily clear by an early English doorway originally opened in that part which filled the western arch, and by this door access was obtained into the church. It may be mentioned here, that at the same period a staircase was erected in the south-west corner of the tower, and also a groined vault, dividing the two stories. It is probable that there were always two distinct stories in this building, and the upper one was lighted by a large number of windows similar to the west one now open, but of which the heads of some have been removed, and only the jambs remain, and *vice versa*.

The use to which the lower story of this interesting structure was put, is a subject of inquiry fit for the deliberations of a learned body, such as that for which this brief sketch is prepared. I have had the pleasure of penetrating to the original floor of it, which had been covered to the depth of two feet by rubbish and soil at least from just before the early English period. The proof of this extraordinary fact is clear and conclusive; for when the builders of the staircase and groined roof commenced their work, they accepted the then existing level, although it was made only of *débris*, and into this they dug for their foundations, and laid their foundation-stones rough and unhewn, as we found them when we went down to discover the real, or Saxon, floor. We had to smooth them off when we laid bare the walls, on which are found the first plaister still remaining down to the surface. But there was abundance of other proof soon found. The floor itself was of plaister, with a deep passage worn in it east and west, and at the door was found a stone worn almost into a hole by the feet of those who came in and out before the thirteenth century at least. But by far the most interesting object here is a niche or sedile in the centre of the western wall, the seat-stone of which was just beneath the surface of the floor, as it had so long existed. Below this seat-stone the plaister of the 'riser' was found perfect on the wall. The canopy of this most rude but lofty sedile is formed by two stones placed (as in the window over it) in the manner children build with cards. On both sides of this throne, in the centre and all round the three walls, were other seats found in ruins, capable of accommodating perhaps forty

persons. These have no canopies in the walls, and only consisted of rude stone 'risers' with slabs of oak to sit upon, the ashes of which we found in the *débris* behind the risers, together with some remains of molten lead, with which, in all probability, they were fastened to the risers. As many of these riser-stones as we found I have carefully preserved, deeming the whole of these remains to be of the very deepest interest, as proving that this western tower was, in the most ancient times to which the existence of stone buildings in England can be carried, a place of some kind of assembly, possibly of a very august and important character, connected either with the ecclesiastical or temporal government of the district. The question for antiquaries in this deeply interesting spot is now, For what uses and purposes these preparations for an assembly, under the presidency of a personage who occupied the large sedile in the centre were made—who was the president that sat there—and who his assessors? It would afford me very great satisfaction to have the opinions of those who are well versed in Saxon customs, ecclesiastical and secular; or of any who will find sufficient reason to assign these remains to any other original. One at least among learned antiquaries has maintained the opinion that, as it is fairly believed that the Barnack church of that day was ruthlessly burned down by Sweyn, the father of Canute, and that his son rebuilt many sacred edifices to repair his father's injuries, this tower may be really of Danish origin. But this opinion will probably stand or fall together with another connected with it, viz., that the Saxons never built at all in anything but wood.

"It is rare that anything of so early a date can claim the character of grand and picturesque beauty, which these remains present. The view eastwards from the great sedile, through the arch (whose keystone is twenty-one feet from the floor, and whose capitals are of the rudest and simplest, but very effective, form) into the noble nave of very early but lofty Norman, with a later or transitional south aisle; and then by a large chancel-arch into a spacious Decorated chancel flanked on one side by a Norman, and on the other by a Perpendicular chapel,—is one of no common beauty and grandeur. As was fitting for a parish out of which two of our greatest cathedrals, and churches and abbeyes numberless, have found their materials, architecture in it of every period is well represented, and the specimens of each have some noted and peculiar character. The porch with its roof of solid stone, the rich early English font, the singular tracery of the noble eastern window of the chancel, resembling only that of my college chapel, Merton, at Oxford, combine to invite the visits of those who love these inimitable monuments of finished art; where, I may add, that every such visitor will be cordially welcomed by the Rector, who has the pleasure to make this communication."

At the conclusion of the paper, the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, in acknowledging the thanks which were heartily accorded to Canon Argles, said: "With regard to the very curious question raised by my friend Canon Argles, I will merely observe that, by the laws of King Ethelstan (926, § 4), a churl became a thane if he had, among other qualifications, church and kitchen bell-house and burh-gate seat,—

cipūcan, bell-huſ, ⁊ buh ꝥeaz ſezl

"ecclesiam timpinarium et januam sedem" (*Vers. Antiq.*, Thorpe, p. 511). By King Edward's laws ecclesiastical (1064, § 9), if barons had no judicatures, it must be determined at the next church where the king's judicature shall be, in the hundred where the plea was held. The king's justice, with lawful men of the province, ordinarily (and, in case of ordeal, the bishop's minister also, with his clerks) would require accommodation. In fact, we find so late as 1175 (§ 6) and 1222 (§ 9), canons enacted against the tenure of courts of criminal justice, involving the forfeiture of life, within churches. The trial of ordeal (called the judgment of God) was always held in churches. In the ancient cathedral of Canterbury we hear of St. Gregory's tower on the south side of the nave; and in its main side, the church door, which anciently, and even now, the English call 'suthdure.'—'Quod ostium in antiquorum legibus regum suo nomine exprimitur. In quibus etiam omnes querelas totius regni quæ in hundredis vel comitatibus uno vel pluribus vel certe in curiâ regis non possent legaliter definiri, finem inibi, sicut in curiâ regis summi sortiri debere discernitur.' (Eadmer ap Gewas Dorobern. inter *Scriptores* X, p. 1292.) To this day we have a relic of such customs in the tenure of consistorial courts in our cathedrals and certain churches. These illustrations confirm the view taken by Canon Argles."

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded some notes on Cerne Abbas, Dorset, which were read by the Treasurer, as follows:

"NOTES ON SOME FRAGMENTS FROM CERNE ABBAS IN DORSET.

"The Benedictine Abbey of Cerne in Dorset was founded in 987 by Ailmer Earl of Cornwall, or rather refounded, for it is said to have owed its origin to St. Augustine the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons. Here was buried St. Edwold, brother of King Edmund the Martyr; here Canute committed one of his many robberies; and here the famous Cardinal Morton once lived as a simple monk.

"Only a few loose fragments of this once magnificent abbey church remain, from time to time dug up on the site; among which is the small figure, of fifteenth century date, executed in Ham Hill stone, of which a drawing is sent. From the crown or coronet on the brow, it would seem to represent a royal or noble lady who held the office of

abbess, for she appears in *pontificalibus*, bearing the staff in her right hand, and supporting a book in her left. Over the head is placed a hood, round the neck and chin a wimple or barbe, and she wears a long gown with ample sleeves. We rarely meet with an abbess equipped in official habit; but another and later instance occurs in the brass of Isabel Hervey at Elstow, Bedfordshire.

"Quantities of encaustic tiles are met with, mostly of Perpendicular date, and of some of which I send tracings; among which will be noticed one with a stag in a forest, chased by a hound.

"In removing the wall of a pond formed on the line of the little stream which flows from St. Augustine's well, five stones were found, which were fragments of a most beautiful tomb of an abbot. The material was Purbeck marble; and the date, the very best period of Decorated architecture. The effigy is sadly ruined, yet enough remains to shew an individuality of features; that the right hand held the abbatial staff, and the left a book. The folds of the dress had all the delicacy and grace of Greek art, or 'water-drapery.' As it had, as far as I am aware, not been noticed or drawn before, I thought it might be desirable to bring it before the notice of the Association. Unfortunately my drawing was made under torrents of rain, on the 29th of December, 1865, and therefore does not do justice in any way to its worth.

"There are also preserved at Cerne Church the fragments of a leaden chalice and paten, found in the grave of an ecclesiastic belonging to the Abbey."

Miss Hartshorne had forwarded a very interesting series of rubbings of brasses from Essex, which were hung in the room.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., communicated an account of the fall of a part of the wall of King John's Palace at Southampton; interesting in connexion with his account of that building given in our previous volume. Reference is there made (vol. xxi, p. 291) to a hollow in the thickness of the eastern wall, then open for about six feet. By the fall of the inside part of this wall, in January last, the passage is destroyed, or rather one side only of it is left; but it is now discovered to be twenty-four feet long, with a little loop-light at the end. Mr. Kell thinks it was a secret passage. If it turned along into the south wall of the building, it is concealed there by modern work. In rebuilding the fallen part, unfortunately the ancient aperture into the passage has not been preserved. In the 8th Henry III (Rot. Claus., p. 1, m. 10), the bailiffs of Southampton were required to make a gateway to the "court-yard of the king's house." This court-yard adjoins the small house on the north side of Blue Anchor-lane.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN BUILDING IN GURNARD BAY, ISLE OF WIGHT, AND ITS RELATION TO THE ANCIENT BRITISH TIN-TRADE IN THE ISLAND.

BY THE REV. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

THE attention of the British Archaeological Association has already been drawn to the discovery of important Roman remains in the Isle of Wight. The site is close to where once stood a fort called Gurnard Castle, which in 1635 was in a state of complete defence, but has now utterly disappeared. The discoverer of the Roman remains was Mr. Edwin Joseph Smith, who first observed the fragments in 1864, watched their development, and called my attention to the subject. They were found at the verge of the cliff in Gurnard or Gurnet Bay, at the termination of the ancient British and Roman road called "Rue-street." This road, under various names, proceeds in a direct line through the Island from Gurnard Bay to Niton and Puckaster Cove. Resident near the spot, Mr. Edwin Joseph Smith has for years past directed his attention to the neighbouring shore, finding pieces of iron, copper, and lead, washed up by the tide. On the beach, in July 1864, he picked up a silver coin of Septimius Severus, and a brass one of Antoninus, just under the cliff. On the 9th of October following, a large brass coin of Augustus Cæsar was found at the same spot; and on the 29th his curiosity was further awakened by a hewn stone with some mortar attached to it, which had recently fallen from the

cliff. This led him more particularly to examine the cliff; and upon searching the outer face of it, within a foot of the top, he perceived a long white line, which by clearing with his fingers for a short distance, he found to be a tessellated pavement with a worked stone at the end of it. As the property belonged to W. G. Ward, Esq., he mentioned the discovery to the land-agent, Mr. J. B. Bird, who entered with much interest into the further investigation of the site, and furnished some labourers to assist in the research. Very soon they exposed the foundations and ground-floor of a Roman building of three rooms, and found about a dozen Roman coins, some Samian ware, a bushel and a half of other pottery, numbers of roofing stones (mostly broken), and a variety of lead, iron, and bronze articles; also some oyster-shells, bones, etc. Mr. J. D. Smith has made a ground-plan of the site (see plate 21). The length of the south wall of the building is 42 feet 7 inches; and of the north wall, 35 feet, a portion of that wall having fallen into the sea. Between these two walls are three rooms, two of which were about 15 feet long, and 9 feet 9 inches broad; having a tessellated pavement without pattern, but composed, apparently, of small square pieces of broken tile.

On the pavement of the middle room were found several fragments of Samian ware and some coins. The west room had two doors. The vestiges of the door in the south wall are near the edge of the cliff. The door on its north side is not opposite to this, but a few feet from the other end of the room. A stone on which a door-jamb had been fixed, was found in the adjoining garden. There was a slight descent from the middle apartment, at its north-east corner, by a doorway (a step of which remained), into the east room. The east room, from its raised fire-place, and the quantities of ashes, with an iron billhook or chopper, and knife-handle, found at its south-west corner, was probably the kitchen. The blade of the billhook was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 3 inches broad; the handle $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ broad,—total length, 15 inches: the handle bent, possibly by ill usage. Oyster and limpet shells, bones, and much crockery of a rough description, were found on the east side of this room. It is difficult to say where the kitchen ended, as a modern ditch has been made on its eastern side. Many roofing stones were found both there and on the outside of

the south wall. Five feet of a broad causeway of large stones, the date of which is uncertain, cropped over a part of the foundations of the south wall of the kitchen. To the north-east of the kitchen is a platform of rubble and small stones, 11 feet 9 inches in length, and about 2 feet 6 inches in breadth, and about level with the floor of the rooms. The tessellated pavement of the west room reaches to the edge of the cliff. It is about 14 feet above the sea.

Large portions of the building have probably been washed away without observation, as the land at this part of the coast has of late years been rapidly disappearing, Mr. Edwin J. Smith states, losing as much, in some years, as twenty yards. Within the last hundred years several fields north of this spot have been washed into the sea. The quantities of roofing stones which are now continually washed up with the tide, dozens of which may at any time be seen on the shore, would seem to indicate that a large extent of Roman building may formerly have been there. Many of these roofing stones were of an hexagonal form, similar to those found at the Roman villa at Carisbrooke, and have holes in them for nails. On the face of the cliff, under the south wall, some large stones extend for two or three feet, as if for draining purposes. There can be little doubt that the original building was destroyed by fire, from the quantity of charcoal and ashes found near the roofing stones on the extreme east.

Mrs. Daniel Grist (æt. 30), who was born in the cottage which adjoins this spot, remembers the land north of her cottage as a ploughed field. She has seen the land in masses as large as a house go down after a heavy rain, especially after a succession of dry weather followed by heavy rains. She has observed roofing stones with the holes drilled in them, on the shore, the last three years.

Among the articles found, besides the coins before mentioned, which first called attention to the spot, are a silver Geta, in tolerable preservation; also a silver Vibius Volusianus with the legend, IMP CAE VIB VOLVSIANO AVG.; and on the reverse, Equity standing, with the letters AEQVITAS AVG.; a silver Constantius II,—the reverse a wreath, in which is inscribed VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXV.; also a Hadrian much corroded; a first brass of Sabina, wife of Hadrian, also corroded; on the reverse, the empress seated. Another, the

head of an empress, date uncertain; on the reverse, a female figure standing. A copper coin, which has on one side a two-handled vase, or it may be a lyre; the other side much corroded. It has the appearance of a Greek coin. Two other small coins, represented by Mr. E. J. Smith to be very similar, were lost. One coin, with the letters DVVI surmounting a rose, is difficult to make out. Four more Roman coins, much corroded, were found in the mould removed from the building, viz.: 1, Vespasianus; *rev.*, the eagle on a globe. 2, Faustina Major; *rev.*, either Augusta the empress or Eternitas; 3, *obv.* uncertain, but apparently of the age of the Antonines; *rev.*, a Victory marching. 4, a Valens, Gratian, or Valentinian; *rev.* unintelligible being so much corroded. 5, a silver coin of Maximus in tolerable preservation, having on its reverse PAX AVG. Also two others, both illegible. Mr. E. J. Smith also found two exceedingly small coins, Roman or Greek, one of which has on it apparently a female head.

Besides these coins were found the eighteen leaden tickets engraved in plate 22, which seem by their lettering to betoken a Roman character. Of the Roman origin of one of these there can be no doubt, as it has on one side a representation of the wolf and Romulus and Remus (fig. 13). It is different in form from the rest. I leave the engraving (figs. 1 to 18) to exhibit the nature of these leaden *bullæ*. Of the specimen No. 3, four were found. Nine others have been found; five of them resembling the specimens delineated, particularly in the prevalence of the letters *rc*. These weigh about a drachm; but two, weighing two drachms and a half each, have, on one a wheel, and on the other a female head; the reverses illegible; two small ones are quite illegible; and there are four pieces of lead of the small size, which have no marks.

The use of these leaden *bullæ* or tickets must be matter of conjecture, and perhaps their age also. Our associate and Vice-President, Mr. Cuming, whose authority is great on such a subject, has declared them to be no older than the seventeenth century, and to be merely "dumps," the playthings of boys, or some of them net-sinkers. On the other hand, another great authority, Mr. T. Wright, was at once reminded, by the sight of these, of the similar leaden seals found at the Roman station of *Verteræ* in Westmoreland.¹

¹ See pp. 228, 229, vol. xxi.

Another gentleman, Mr. G. M. Hills, believes that several of the seals bear coats of arms (Nos. 4, 7, 8, 11), and one of them (No. 5) a fleur-de-lis. In this conflict I hold to the opinion which I first entertained and expressed, that they are Roman; and I think their similarity to those described in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, from *Verteræ*,¹ and their association with the Roman building I have described, with the Roman coins, with the Samian ware, and with the beautiful little bronze figure of Mercury (see fig. 10, plate 23), a sufficient ground for this opinion.

Mr. J. Adkins Barton, who formerly lived at Newport (the Medina of the Romans), has in his possession some leaden tickets of the same kind found there; as have also Mr. John Locke and Mr. Whittingham of the same town. Mr. Barton always considered the letters on these leaden tickets an indication of a Roman origin, and the finding of others at this Roman building seems to strengthen the opinion. The devices on several of Mr. Barton's leaden tickets closely resemble those from Gurnard's Bay, bearing the wheel on one side, with TC on the other. Two of his have AH on one side, and TC on the other. Another has a rude strip on one side; the other imperfect. TC is, in fact, the most common lettering, however the devices on the other side may vary.

By the kindness of the owner, I am enabled to give representations of some of these Newport seals (figs. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, plate 23); and I add one other (fig. 25) from Crayford in Kent, found with some Roman coins. In connexion with the trade conducted by the Massilians through the Isle of Wight, along the Rue-street, these *bullæ*, or, as I believe, merchants' seals, possess a high interest; and I shall presently return to consider their bearing on the mercantile question.

The discoveries of pottery are not considerable. There are fragments of Samian ware of a vase of unusual form (fig. 6, plate 23). In this drawing Mr. J. D. Smith has restored the vessel. One of the fragments is given full size (fig. 7). The

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, p. 117, 120, where similar seals from Felixstowe, in Suffolk, are described. Mr. C. Roach Smith's account of them is,—“That these seals were fastened to merchandise of some kind by strings which passed through the centre, in the same manner as the leaden seals or *bullæ* were affixed to the papal deeds. The string was laid across the molten metal, which was then stamped on both sides.” He thought “their general character bespoke a Phœnician origin.” He refers to two leaden seals engraved in plate xi of Mr. Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*.

mouth is two inches in diameter. Another Samian ware vessel was too much broken to admit of a restoration.

There are three fragments of Roman British pottery like that found at Crockle in the New Forest, described by Mr. Akerman in the thirty-third vol. of the *Archæologia* (p. 96). One fragment has the common pattern of the indentation made by the thumb. Another was part of an upright vase about two inches in diameter. Both appear to have been smoked in a fire-kiln. The third fragment was part of a water-bottle or *hydra* (fig. 8, plate 23) with cross-lines round the centre, of some white pigment. It is similar to fragments obtained from Crockle, and now placed in the Hartley Museum, Southampton.

Some other Samian ware, in bad condition, has been found; and one other piece, which I must produce (fig. 5, plate 23), I cannot but think of ancient origin, notwithstanding the deference I would give to Mr. Cuming's experienced opinion, that it is Böttcher ware of the last century. It is an inch and a half each way, of a deep chocolate colour, of the finest material. The execution of the ornamental portion is of the highest order, remaining even to the present time as sharply cut as any cameo. It seems to have suffered no injury from the dampness of the soil from which it was taken, which was not the case with the ordinary Samian ware found with it. It is much to be regretted that no other portions of this beautiful vase were found, as there seems little doubt it was fabricated by a Greek artist.

So long ago as 1858 Mr. J. R. Smith found a piece of Samian ware on the shore near the building lately discovered, going towards the place called Egypt. It is figured 9 in plate 23. The *tegulae*, or roofing stones, are figured 1, 2, 3, in the same plate, with some of the nails used to fix them.

Of metal, I have already alluded to the hatchet found in the kitchen (fig. 4, plate 23). Three small bronze fragments may be classed as Roman, parts of two fibulae and a button; and it only remains to speak of the concluding discovery, a highly interesting one. The last article found was a bronze figure of Mercury (fig. 10). The height is barely two inches and a quarter. The left leg, from the knee, is missing, and the left arm. The right arm is extended, holding a purse. There are also the wings, by which this deity is characterised, at the sides of the head; and the general appearance is not

unlike the figure of Mercury delineated at plate 11, fig. 2, p. 220, vol. xxi of our *Journal*. As the god of merchants, that Penates would be likely to be found in a place of merchandise, for which this Roman building appears to have been employed.

On a site used as a road, and for various purposes, during successive generations, it is natural to suppose that other interesting antiquarian objects would turn up; and there were accordingly found here, or washed up by the tide from the *débris*, some articles dating from the fifteenth century to nearly the present time. One of the most singular is an iron comb, which, judging from the imperial crown, the form of the letters on it, and the ornamentation of the upper portion, may be considered of the reign of about Richard III. The leaden button bearing a shield with a rose in the centre, surmounted by a crown, may be of the reign of Elizabeth. Another button is of the same description as those on the dress of a fool or jester; made hollow and thin, so as to jingle against each other. A farthing was found, of the reign of Charles; a halfpenny of Cromwell; and a remarkable collection of fragments of buckles, nearly twenty in number, from the largest size to the most minute. They appear, in point of date, to be of the reign of Anne, or somewhat later. Fragments of handles of ancient spoons were also picked up, with articles of recent date of no especial interest.

In the discovery and thorough investigation of the foundations of this Roman building, the antiquarian public are much indebted to the skill and perseverance of Mr. E. J. Smith. Dr. Wilkins also has greatly aided with his zealous and judicious advice. I feel sure that the Association will gratefully acknowledge our obligations to Mr. J. D. Smith for his accurate and valuable drawings of the relics and of the site. I regard the discovery itself as of historical importance in strengthening the opinion entertained by Camden, Whitaker, Henry, Warner, etc., and advocated by myself before the British Archæological Association Congress at Newport in 1855. I then adduced various reasons for believing that the route of which Rue-street forms the earlier part, was the road by which the Cornish tin was conveyed to the mart at Niton in the Isle of Wight, to be thence shipped from Puckaster Cove to the coast of France; an

opinion which recent discoveries of Roman remains in the Isle of Wight, and especially of this Roman building at the commencement of the route, confirms, and in my opinion tends to establish. I may add that I have in my possession a Greek silver coin of Alexander the Great, found at Chiller-ton-street, on the Rue-street; and my friend, Mr. Adkins Barton, has one of Lysimachus, found on the same route, between Carisbrooke Castle and Gurnard Bay.

Before entering on the question of the trade with which I believe the building now discovered to be connected, I would refer to another collection of coins which I have had the pleasure to lay before the Association, because I think the presence of Greek coins among them bears on the question of trade. By an accidental error in the report, when I produced them, the owner of these coins, Mr. Drayson, is spoken of as not living.¹ He is happily still living, and is a very intelligent, careful, scientific, and reliable person; and there can be no doubt that the coins were found at the places he names. Mr. Drayson's coins are chiefly Roman, viz., six found at Nursling in Hampshire, six at Godshill near Fordingbridge, four at South Stoneham, in the railway cutting, twelve near Lymington and Buckland Rings, and some at Bittern, Silchester, Winchester, and in Sussex at Midhurst and Chichester. I quite agree with Mr. J. B. Bergne, who has been kind enough to look over this collection, that so far it possesses no object of special value; but when I come to the twelve Greek and three Roman coins found at Newtown in the Isle of Wight, I must differ from his experienced judgment. Mr. Bergne, I find, says: "Alleged discoveries of Greek coins in this country must be viewed *primâ facie* with great suspicion. They rarely, if ever, occur in 'finds' which are well authenticated, or which come straight into the hands of persons competently informed on the subject; but are produced by labourers or excavators to those who are unable to form any critical judgment as to the correctness of the tale that is told them, or as to the improbabilities and local and chronological difficulties which it involves. The most competent judges discredit the genuineness of such discoveries, as may be seen on reference to notices, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, of pretended 'finds' of Greek coins at Exeter² and in Shropshire.³ Without

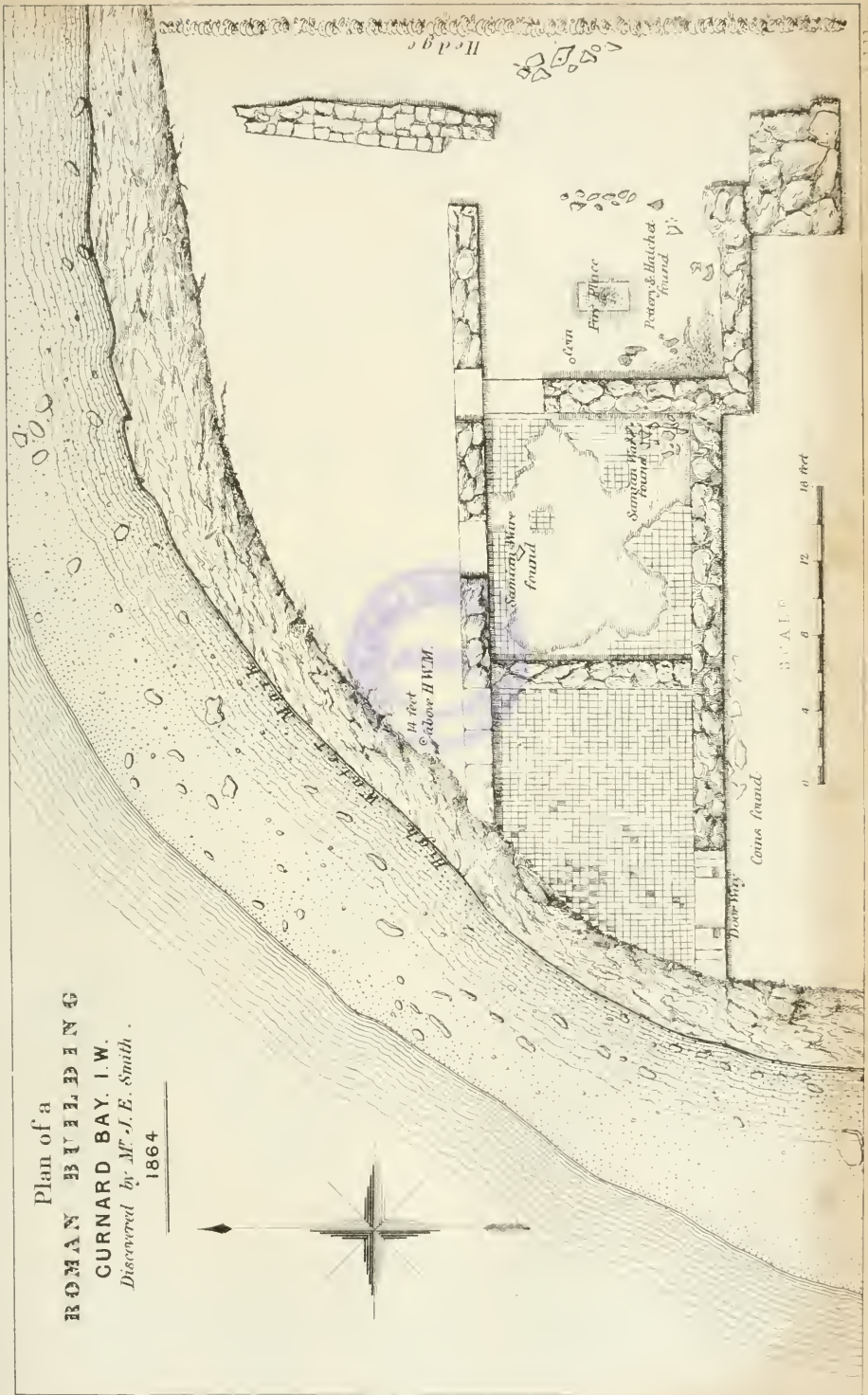
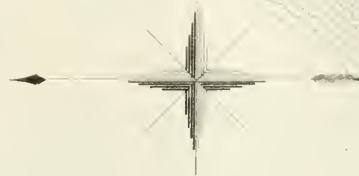
¹ P. 359, vol. xxi.

² Vol. i, p. 17.

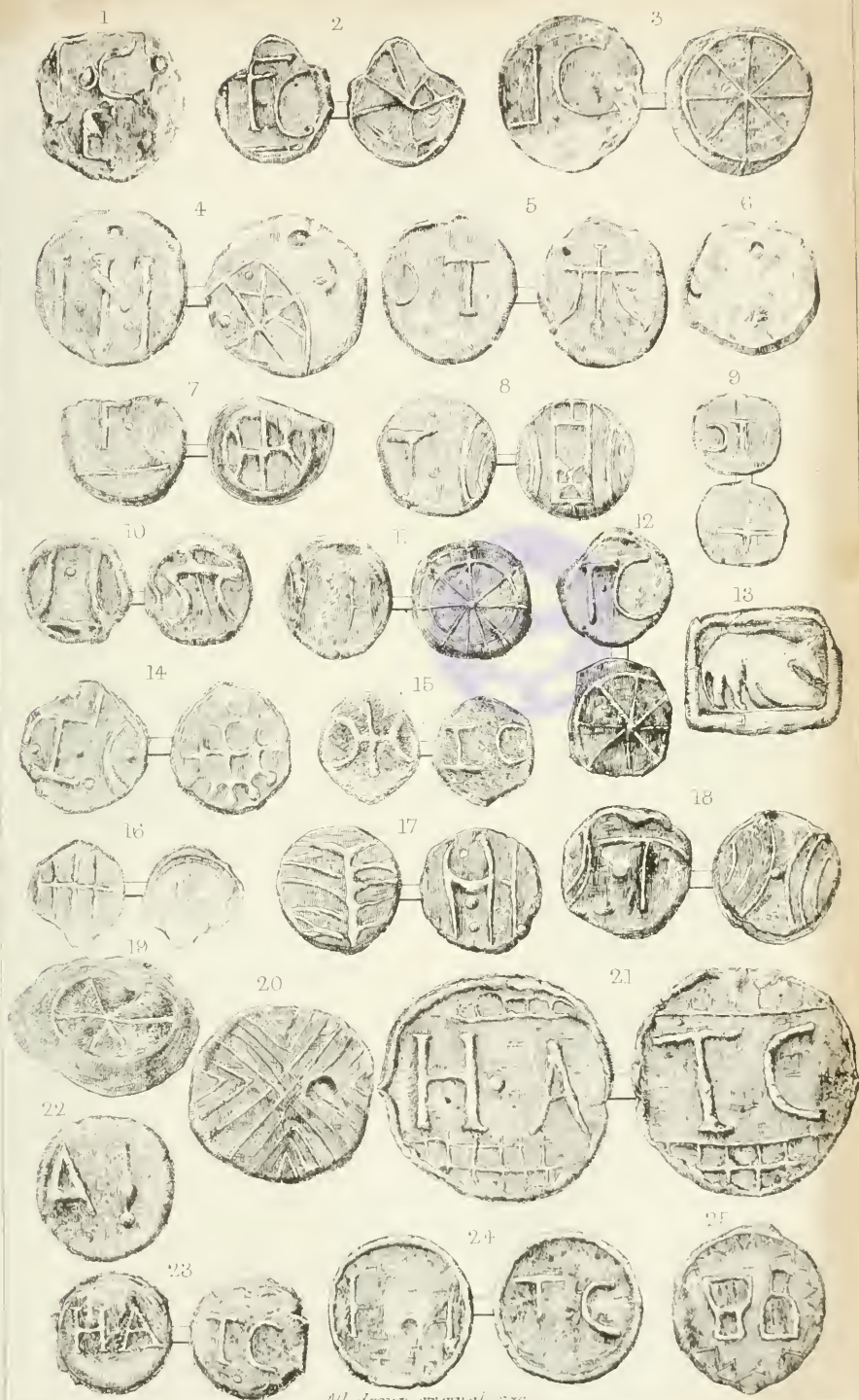
³ Vol. vii, p. 146.

Plan of a
ROMAN BUILDING
CURNARD BAY, I.W.
Discovered by Mr J. E. Smith.

1864







All drawn original size



Fig 1



Fig 2

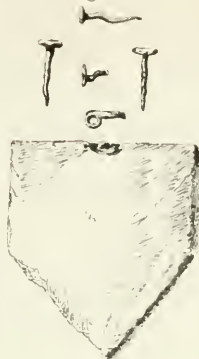


Fig 4



Fig. 3



Fig. 8



Fig. 7.



Fig 10.

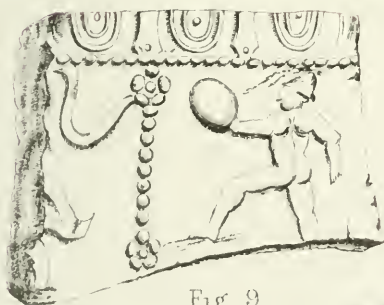


Fig 9

Fig 6



going to the length of saying that such discoveries are not possible, there can be no doubt that they always require the strictest examination.

“The Greek coins exhibited to the Association by Mr. Kell embrace a very wide range of locality. There are specimens struck in Egypt, in Greece Proper, in Rhodes, Sicily, and I think even Spain. In date they perhaps cover a period of nearly five hundred years, from a coin of Agathocles to an Egyptian one of Severus. They are all of copper, and for the most part so ill preserved that it would be very difficult to make out their correct attribution but for the knowledge acquired from better examples. Considering how very local the circulation of Greek coins appears to have been, from every town having its own coinage, and from that coinage being found chiefly in its own neighbourhood, it seems to me scarcely credible that such a miscellaneous collection should have found its way legitimately to the alleged places of discovery.

“Again, the whole of the Greek coins in question are of copper. This is a suspicious circumstance. It might be expected that if Greek coins were brought here by merchants, whether for the purpose of circulation, or for that of traffic, they would have been of the precious metals, bearing an intrinsic value, rather than of copper, which has next to none. But in ‘finds’ of doubtful authenticity we should hardly expect to have the more precious metal laid before us. I may, besides, remark that the coins have not the general appearance of ancient copper coins really found in England, the soil of which is unfavourable to their preservation, and causes considerable oxidation when they are exposed to it.

“But among the Roman specimens stated to have been found at Silchester is a copper piece of the size, and very much of the fabric, of a worn down halfpenny of George II, or of the early part of the reign of George III, bearing the name of Julius Cæsar, and roughly copied from the type of a well known Roman silver coin of the Æmilia family, with the head of Cæsar and the name of the moneyer, L. Buca.¹ If anything beyond internal evidence were required to cast doubt upon the authenticity of the ‘finds’ under discussion, it would be supplied by this piece, which is a mere modern fabrication.”

¹ Cohen, plate II, No. 17.

I fully admit the necessity for caution with respect to the Greek coins, which Mr. Bergne so forcibly inculcates; but the genuineness of the character of these cannot be invalidated by the accidental presence of a false Roman coin amongst those attributed to Silchester. Such an accident naturally has led Mr. Bergne to scrutinise the rest very closely, and it was very desirable he should do so; but I must submit that this case of the Newtown coins is beyond all doubt, for Mr. Drayson, who for years was employed on the tithe commutation, and thus had great facilities for collecting, is still resident at Lyndhurst in the New Forest, and has kindly replied to my inquiry as to how he came by the coins found at Newtown, "that he and his brother found them themselves, the greater part on the shore where the land had been washed by the sea; and when found they were covered with a thick, dark brown coating similar to any found in a bog. We were foolish enough (he says) at the time to put them in vitriol to make them bright, and afterwards gave them a good scrubbing."

The coins thus found at Newtown (formerly called Francheville) in 1840-43 are :

Agathocles, Greek.

Ptolemy 8th or 9th. Egyptian.

Another Ptolemy. Ditto.

A coin of Corinth or Syracuse. *Obv.*, the head of Venus; *rev.*, a flying horse.

A Greek coin. *Obv.*, head of Mars; *rev.*, an eagle.

A Greek coin bearing a female head.

A Greek coin. *Obv.*, Jupiter; *rev.*, warrior with a shield.

A Greek coin, probably Macedonian. *Obv.*, a female head; *rev.*, Jupiter seated.

A Byzantine coin and two others, probably Greek.

A Greek colonial coin. *Obv.*, head of Antoninus Pius; *rev.*, a wreath and letters s.c.

Also a coin of Constantine, an Urbs Roma, and a Caligula.

I adopt, therefore, the Newtown "find" as an evidence that a Greek traffic with the Isle of Wight existed; and I proceed to shew the grounds on which I found my belief that a trade in tin was carried on by the Romans, who brought the article from Cornwall into Hampshire, thence into the Isle of Wight by our newly discovered house at Gurnard Bay, then by the Rue-street across the Island to Niton,

whence it was taken to the coast of France, and transported to the Greek colony of Marseilles to be distributed in the Mediterranean. I have already quoted Mr. Roach Smith's opinion that the lead *bullæ* are merchants' tickets; and if it is considered that my conclusions as to the route of the tin-trade are tenable, it will scarcely be doubted that these seals were used by the merchants to mark their ownership of the goods in transit.

In the very excellent address of Colonel Sir Henry James on "The ancient British Tin-Trade," at a *conversazione* of the Polytechnic Institution at Southampton in 1864, reasons were adduced for considering St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, as the mart at which it was conducted; and I was adverted to as holding the opinion that the Isle of Wight was the locality alluded to by Diodorus Siculus. As one side of the argument has been so ably handled, I will endeavour now to put forward my own view, although in almost the same terms as I have already done elsewhere.¹

It cannot be precisely ascertained when the tin-trade of the ancient British inhabitants of the Isle of Wight commenced. It may have been as early as 300 years B.C.; but it is more generally placed 200 years B.C.; and it continued till the entire conquest of Britain by the Romans supplied other and more convenient marts. The circumstances under which it originated were the following. The Phœnicians carried on, as is universally allowed, a trade in tin with the Cassiterides, or Scilly Isles, some assert as early as the building of Solomon's Temple, 1012 B.C. Bockhart places it about 904 years B.C.; but at all events it must have been 500 years B.C., as Herodotus, who flourished in 440 B.C., describes it. They it was who first enjoyed this profitable commerce, and afterwards their colony (Carthage) shared in it; and, when Tyre and Sidon were destroyed, 330 B.C., pursued it alone with the greatest vigour. In the meantime a Phœcean colony from Greece, which had been dislodged from an attempted settlement at Corsica by the Carthaginians, established themselves at Marseilles. The spirit of commerce was strong in them, and having established commercial relations with their Gallic neighbours, they aspired after a participation in the lucrative trade in the stores of the tin-mines, the locality of which the Carthaginians so long concealed.

¹ Davenport Adams's *Garden Isle*, p. 222.

It is said that the spirited geographer, Pytheas of Marseilles, who about 330 years B.C. visited Britain, gave the first intimation of it to his countrymen. The Carthaginians, however, with their colonies along the borders of the Mediterranean, and their superior navy, were masters of the ocean ; and as the Massilians could not go to the Britons in Cornwall by sea, they prevailed on the Britons to bring their tin to the nearest and most commodious place of transit to the coast of France, which was obviously the *Isle of Wight*. The mode in which the tin was conveyed is detailed in two passages of Diodorus Siculus with much particularity, in the first of which he describes the tin as brought by this route to Marseilles ; and in the last, across Celtica, to *both* Marseilles and Narbonne, marking a second epoch in the tin-trade, when Narbonne, a Roman colony, had also part in the traffic, and when another route through Celtica had been employed.

The first passage in Diodorus Siculus, to which I allude (book 5th, c. ii), runs : “They that inhabit the British promontory of Belerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilised and courteous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people which make the tin, which, with a great deal of care and labour, they dig out of the ground ; and *that* being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it. Then they cast it into regular blocks, and carry it to a British isle near at hand, called Ictis ; for at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they then convey over in carts abundance of tin. But there is one thing more peculiar to these islands, which lie between Britain and Europe ; for at full sea they appear to be islands, but at low water, for a long way, they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to France ; and for thirty days’ journey they carry it in packs, upon horses’ backs, through France to the mouth of the Rhone.”

The other account is,—“Above Lusitania there is much of this metal, that is, in the islands lying in the ocean over against Iberia, which are therefore called the Cassiterides ; and much of it likewise is transported out of Britain into Gaul, the opposite continent, which the merchants carry on horseback through the heart of Celtica to Marseilles and the

city of Narbo, which city is a Roman colony, and the greatest mart-town for wealth and trade in those parts."

The graphic description thus given by Diodorus Siculus of the transmission of the tin from Cornwall through the Isle of Wight (the Ictis here mentioned) to the coast of France has been generally received. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, has ably shewn how this traffic was carried on by reference to the then existing lines of commerce in Britain, over which it exercised an important influence; and this opinion has been maintained by Camden, Henry, Warner, Sir Colt Hoare, Corner, Lappenburgh, and others. Dr. Borlase, on the contrary, asserts that the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus was one of the larger Scilly Isles, now submerged. Polwhele, in his *History of Devonshire*, triumphantly exposes this hypothesis, shewing that the tin was obtained by the Massilian merchants from Cornwall and Devonshire, *as well as* from the Scilly Islands; that to send it to one of them by carts, for embarkation to the coast of France, was to send it, by all that distance, out of the way. *He* conjectures that the Ictis of Diodorus was St. Nicholas Isle, at the mouth of the river Tamar: the neighbourhood of which, and also of Dartmoor, abounded with tin; but he adds that "his ideas are theoretical, and that circumstances only give a plausible air to his hypothesis." The Isle of St. Nicholas, though exhibiting the phenomenon of a peninsula at low water, is, in fact, only three miles in extent.

Another hypothesis which has met with more favour, and has been supported by Sir C. Hawkins, Dr. Maton, Dr. Barham, etc., is, that St. Michael's Mount is the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus; but the objections to this hypothesis are still greater. In the first place it is exposed to the difficulty of the two preceding, in that it does not answer to the description which Pliny gives (lib. 4, cap. xvi, vol. i, p. 233) when he represents the historian Timæus stating that "Ictus was six days' sail *inward* from Britain." I quote the passage to which I allude: "Timæus historicus a Britannia *introrsus* sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim in qua candidum plumbum proveniat." "Mictim" is here obviously put for "Ictim," by a mistake of some copyist iterating the final *m* of the preceding word, "insulam." St. Michael's Mount is, moreover, too insignificant in size for so extensive a mart, being, as it stands now, a mere ocean rock, and but

three or four hundred yards long, and from thirty to forty yards broad, which corresponds not at all to the description by Diodorus Siculus of *a large portion of ground* ("polun topon"). And though I do not lay much stress on the historian's remark, that "these islands between Britain and Europe" appear only islands at high water, and that when the tide is out the intervening space is left dry, and they seem to be peninsulas; yet this description does not so well apply to the *solitary* isle of St. Michael's Mount as to the Isle of Wight, near which are the islands of Portsea, Hayling, Thorney, etc., which at ebb become peninsulas. But the objection, which is *fatal* to the St. Michael Mount theory, and which supersedes the necessity of any further reference to it, is that there is abundant proof that St. Michael's Mount *did not exist as an island* in those days, but was "part and parcel" of the mainland of Cornwall. Florence of Worcester says "it was originally enclosed in a very thick wood, distant from the sea *six miles*, affording the finest shelter for wild beasts." It is described in the charter of Edward the Confessor as St. Michael's *near the sea* ("juxta mare"); and tradition affirms that St. Michael's Mount was called "the hoar rock in the wood," and once stood in a forest. The Mount must therefore have been, by some inroad of the ocean, severed from the mainland, and authentic history records the particular period. The *Saxon Chronicle* states (Gibsoni *Chronicum Saxonicum*, A.D. 1099, p. 207): "In this year (1099), also on St. Martin's festival, the waves of the sea made great inroads, and occasioned more loss than any one had ever known them to do before."

Another writer (Simon of Durham), speaking of the same catastrophe, says that "it (the storm) took place on the 11th of November, *destroying towns* and men in great numbers, and oxen and sheep innumerable." Confirmatory of the above statements is the fact that the geological formation of the Mount demonstrates it to have formed a portion of the mainland *too recently* to leave it an open question whether it was the island Ictis. Dr. Borlase states that "on the strand of Mount's Bay, *midway* between the piers of St. Michael's Mount and Penzance, on the 19th of January, 1737, the remains of a wood (which, according to a tradition, covered a large tract of ground in Mount's Bay) appeared." Sir Charles Lyell thus describes these remains: "Between

St. Michael's Mount and Newlyn there is seen, under the ground, black vegetable mould full of hazel-nuts, and the branches, leaves, roots, and trunks of forest trees, all of indigenous species." (Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, vol. i, p. 418, 3rd edition.) Sir Henry de la Beche confirms these statements in his report of the geology of Cornwall and Devonshire, by similar observations of the discovery, on this spot, of (undecomposed) insects, displaying the most beautiful shining colours. The hazel-nuts, be it noted, correspond in their state of maturity exactly to the time of year when the submersion occurred (November).

I have thus, I think, shewn the insuperable difficulties to the theories of Borlase and Polwhele, and to that also which maintains that St. Michael's Mount is the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus; and until some magician's wand shall evoke another island from the "vasty deep," there remains no alternative but to accept the conclusion to which the most obvious construction of the wording of Diodorus leads us, that the Isle of Wight is the Ictis of which he makes mention. By placing the digamma (the *v*) before this word, it becomes, by a not uncommon orthographical change, the *Vectis* of the Romans, as we find the Greek word, *is* (force), is changed into the Latin *vis*.

And what reason is there that we should lose ourselves in fanciful conjectures when almost every circumstance of which the nature of the case admits, conspires to support the more obvious reading? The Isle of Wight is palpably the most direct line of route for the tin from Cornwall to its final destination, Marseilles. There is, probably, an ancient British road (*certainly* one used by the Romans) from Cornwall to Lepe, the part of the Hants coast opposite the Isle of Wight, from which the tin was conveyed to it.

Traces of names associated with the tin-trade still linger at various parts of the route, such as "Stansa Bay" and "Stans Ore Point," adjoining Lepe, where the ore left the mainland on its crossing to Gurnard in the Isle of Wight,—names obviously derived from the Latin word *stannum* (tin). There are also places in the line of the British road through the Isle of Wight, the names of which (Rue-street and Gonneville-lane) are evidently derived, according to common practice, from places on the French coast, viz., Rue, the chief town of the district near the Somme, and Gonneville on the

Seine, whither the tin was to be transported. The Isle of Wight has this time-honoured and picturesque British road nearly direct across it, in the track of which Greek and Roman coins have been picked up; for it must be borne in mind that after Marseilles had been subdued by Julius Cæsar, 49 B.C., the traffic was carried on under Roman auspices. There is, too, the proud old Caer at Carisbrooke; not on the highest eminence, but in the centre of the Island, and the most commanding position on the line to guard the treasure on its convoy. There are Chillerton-street and Chale-street on this British road, and the tin-mart itself in a most sheltered spot in a part of Niton fields, near to Puckaster, where the tin-merchants might draw up their carts, and arrange their sales with the foreign purchasers. There is the port of Puckaster (evidently a Roman name), whence the tin was embarked, which was sufficiently capacious for that purpose; probably even large enough, in those days, to harbour a Roman fleet. A most exact historian, Rohan von Muller, states that the Roman fleets cruised in the Channel, or stationed themselves at the Isle of Wight. (Muller's *Universal Dictionary*, book 8, chap. v.) It has been demonstrated by an accomplished French writer, M. Poilly, that there was on the opposite coast of France, between the rivers Somme and Authie, a colony of Greeks from Marseilles, ready to receive the tin as it arrived, and forward it to Marseilles; and another French author, M. Howell, has shewn the existence of a Greek colony in the neighbourhood of the Seine.

And what are the formidable objections to the Isle of Wight being the Ictis of Diodorus? That it is difficult to believe that the Britons would convey their tin from Cornwall, in carts, to so distant a spot. But who that bears in mind the far-famed British chariots and gallant steeds, the admiration even of imperial Rome, will express surprise that those who were thus perfect in what may be termed the carriages of those days, should be able to drive a cart two hundred miles? How much easier was such land-carriage than the transport of the same tin from the boisterous regions of the Land's End,—an oft tempestuous voyage to the Mediterranean by nations who were ignorant of the compass, and obliged to hug the dangerous shores of the British Channel on the coasts of France and Spain.

And how easy would be the transmission of the tin by

the Belgæ on the south of England, to their brother Belgæ on the other side of the Channel, especially where all parties had a pecuniary interest in the undertaking? And where, again, is the great difficulty of supposing that the Isle of Wight was alternately an island and a peninsula, according to the state of the tide? Have we not similar instances now in various islands on the coast of Cornwall; in St. Michael's Mount, Normandy; St. Catharine Isle, near Tenby; Lindisfarn, etc.

And have we not numerous illustrations of such temporary peninsulas having become islands altogether, when, on some extraordinary rush of tide, or violence of tempest, the intervening land had given way, and a current had been originated, the force of which continually widened the breach and deepened the channel, as is the case with this same Solent sea, which has been widened and deepened even within the present generation. It may be as well objected that Tacitus¹ is not to be believed when he describes Agricola, in the invasion of Mona, as ordering those soldiers who were well acquainted with the *shallows* between the Isle of Anglesea and the mainland, to dash across the channel with their horses, because the depth of the intervening sea would not *now* allow such a feat to be accomplished; as that Diosdorus Siculus is not to be credited when he describes the passage of the tin by land, at the ebb of tide, from Hampshire to the Isle of Wight.

At my last visit to Gurnard Bay, Sept. 15th, 1866, the vestiges of the Roman building had entirely disappeared. The same inroads of the Solent sea, which had undermined the hill on which it had stood, and which had probably carried away considerable portions of it before it was discovered, still continuing, the proprietor of the estate has erected sea-groining to some extent, before the spot, to prevent the foundering of more land; and has cut the face of the cliff to make it slope to the shore, thus strengthening the foundations of the cliff at the expense of demolishing the traces of the building. These alterations on the site have also covered over the spot where the majority of the interesting leaden seals were found. The bulwarks against the encroachments of the sea, however, tend to the preservation of that portion of the building which there is reason to believe extends into

¹ De Vita Agricole, caput 32.

the contiguous cottage garden, as the walls of the Roman building perceptibly enter the under part of the bank of the garden hedge. In the meantime Mr. E. J. Smith continues closely to observe the shore, and has discovered at low water Roman pottery of various kinds, and numerous pieces of iron and lead, extending over a space of nearly a quarter of a mile to the north, and five or six hundred yards to the eastward. After a westerly gale, a portion of the shingle is removed; and then, if smooth weather intervene, these relics are constantly laid bare. The coins are usually found in the immediate vicinity of the relics of the building. Of Roman coins there have been recently discovered five,—a Faustina, and four much corroded, one of which is probably a Posthumus. The whole list of English coins found at Gurnard, from 1844 to October, 1866, consists of—three small silver coins of Elizabeth; three of Charles I or II, halfpence, and twenty farthings of Charles I; one coin of the Commonwealth, 1653, silver; two small copper tokens, one dated 1636; one ditto, no date, about the size of a three-penny piece; one ditto halfpenny, Isle of Wight, 1669; one ditto, Grompton, 1682; two halfpence of William and Mary, 1694; one of William III; one halfpenny and one farthing of George I; and about twenty halfpence of George II. They are, no doubt, accumulations from the sea-washed site of the destroyed fort called Gurnard Castle.

ON THE BROUGH OF CLICKIMIN

IN THE LOCH OF CLICKIMIN, NEAR LERWICK,
MAINLAND OF SHETLAND.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

FEW of the districts of North Britain present more interesting and curious antiquarian remains than the British Scandinavian province of Orkney and Shetland. Originally colonised probably by Quains, and possessed alternately by Picts, Romans, Picts, and eventually recolonised entirely by Norwegians, each have left some memorial on the bleak moorlands of the "Old Rock."

The monuments which strike most forcibly the eye of the visitor to these islands are the so-called "Pāāchs," or "Pakes," Brouchs, or houses, generally placed on some high point of land running out into the sea or on some lake island. They have long attracted the attention of writers, but scarcely yet received the study and attention which planning and drawing affords so as to deduce any historical truth relative to them or their builders.

The only persons who can be said to have entered much into the subject have been, in Orkney, G. Petrie, Esq., and J. Farrer, Esq.; in Newcastle, Dr. E. Charlton; and Sir H. Dryden, Bart., of Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire, who has made a large collection of careful plans and drawings of brouchs and other antiquarian remains in Shetland and Orkney, including St. Magnus' Kirk; and a large number of sketches of the scenery. Beyond these I cannot say that any collection has ever been made; a few drawings scattered in the possession of various persons must, no doubt, be excepted.

In the year 1861 the Shetland Literary Society was formed in the town of Lerwick, the capital of Shetland, and, excited by Mr. Farrer's discoveries at Maeshow, in Orkney, the members subscribed some small fund, with which, under the direction of the late Robert N. Spence, W.S., their antiquarian secretary, excavations were made in the Brough of Clickimin, which, placed on a small island in the loch of

Clickimin, lies about three-quarters of a mile from the town of Lerwick.

The island is approached from the land on the south side of the lough by a series of large stepping stones, extending in a slightly curved line a distance of 140 feet (A-B on the plan, plate 24). On one of them (B), near to the brough, is the impression of a pair of feet, slightly sunk in the very hard stone. On reaching the island, the remains of a rude, strong, stone wall (here 13 or 14 feet thick, and about 4 feet high), is seen surrounding it; the entrance through the wall (c) was opposite the stepping stones, 7 feet 9 in. wide at the outside of the wall, diminishing at about the centre to 4 feet 6 ins., and on the inside of the wall to 3 feet 9 ins. On passing the entrance we are again confronted by a guardhouse with a narrow entrance in the centre (D on plan), and remains of rough walls joining it to the outer wall. The front of the guardhouse on its convex wall measures to the right of the door 21 feet, and the end is 9 feet 6 ins. wide. To the left of this door the width is 20 ft., and the end is 7 ft. 6 ins. wide; the door itself is 2 ft. 3 ins., but increasing on the inside to 2 ft. 9 ins. wide, and on the right, on passing through the concave or back wall, is 16 ft. 6 ins., and on the left 13 ft. 6 ins. From the extreme front of the guardhouse on the right to the wall of the brough is 18 ft. 9 ins., and on the left 17 ft. There were narrow guard chambers to the right and left of the passage; to that on the left there was an entrance from above the main passage; but from the amount of fallen stonework, I was unable to discover the entrance to that on the right.

The east end wall is still about 8 feet high, and all the walls of this building, together with those of the Brough, are built tapering or battering, similar to Egyptian architecture. There is no opening in the wall of the brough opposite to this guardhouse; on passing from it, round the brough, to the left hand, or west side, a series of bumps and hollows, grown over with grass, marks the site of a number of bee-hive huts. They are connected with a passage leading to the entrance of the brough, which was in the west side, and is similarly placed in many others, perhaps from the west wind being generally the warmest in this latitude. Two of these beehive rooms next the entrance were ex-

cavated, and from the entrance a circuitous, narrow, passage was found to lead through the outer wall to the water (F G). A "bink," or bed-place, was found quite perfect at F; it is about 5 ft. 10½ ins. long, and is a sort of solid bench, built of dry stones, when in use covered over with soft "feals" or "pones" of earth. Such bed-places were in use even down to very recent times in Shetland, and termed locally "binks." Here were found several stone troughs, or mortars, for bruising grain, and the oval beach stones, or pestles, 6 to 10 ins. long, used for pounding in the troughs, and great quantities of small fragments of coarse black earthenware, full of specks of mica. Had the rest of these small rooms been excavated, much curious matter might have come to light. From the passage between the two excavated rooms the entrance (H) runs inwards through the wall of the central brough, which wall is here about 20 ft. thick. The passage at first is 6 ft. high, but on reaching the face of the wall, sinks to 4 ft. 9 ins. by 2 ft. 3 ins. wide, and runs 10 ft. forward. At this point the edges of two large jamb-stones built upright in the side walls, slightly project, with a threshold stone on edge rising above the floor, while inside the jamb stones in the roof of the passage a recess is left, evidently intended for a heavy clamped wooden door, the top of which went up into the slot in the roof; below, slightly further inwards, in the wall on the right hand, about a foot from the floor, is a square hole in the solid wall for a wooden beam bolt to slide back into and to draw out across the inside of the door; the depth of this hole was longer than my five-foot rod would reach. Within the door the passage widens out; and here a lintel stone has given way, and the buttress has been recently built to support it. This wider portion inside was most likely to give additional space for the defence of the wooden door and passage. At a distance of 10 ft. 2 ins. from the jamb-stones is the entrance into the central area of the brough (I-J in plan). The tower or brough is about circular as to its exterior, and is 67 ft. 6 ins. in diameter. The walls vary in thickness at the bottom, from 16 ft. 6 ins. on the north to 20 ft. on the south; but there has been a large addition to the inner face of the tower, 7 ft. wide on the north-west, and 1 foot on the east, which makes the area on the ground-level an oval. Its diameter from south-west to north-east

is 26 ft. 9 ins., and from north-west to south-east is 20 ft. 9 ins. In this court, on each side of the door, is a large stone on edge, 3 ft. 10 ins. wide, and it appears probable that the whole area was thus divided into compartments. The dividing stones project from the walls about 2 ft. 6 ins., and are in height about 2 ft. 3 ins. on an average. In the division next on the right on entering, when opened, and even so lately as when I took the plan, lay quantities of "beach" stones of an oval shape, in length from 6 to 10 ins., procured from the shore close at hand, and used for bruising grain (probably "bare") in the small, rude, stone mortars (or "knocking stones"). In the space on the left hand of the door there was a fire-place, and a stone which had every mark of being in its original position, built into the solid wall of the brough, projected as a prop to one of the thin dividing slabs. Next to this was the entrance door, 2 feet 9 ins. wide, and 3 ft. 8 ins. high, to a small chamber, perhaps a pantry. In the inside of this, up in an opening of the rude walling, I found a peat. It had evidently been cut by a metal instrument, as at present done, only thicker.

Placed roughly in the centre of the area remained the fire-hearth, of a square form, 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 11 ins., slightly sunk below the level of the floor on three sides, protected by a thin stone on edge, with a roundish lump set up at each corner of the back side. The hearth was paved, and the ashes remained in the crevices. At the south side of the brough remained in excellent preservation a stone "bink." It measured 5 ft. 7 ins. long by 2 ft. 8 ins. wide at one end, and 2 ft. at the other, and was 2 ft. 2 ins. high. At the farthest end of the area, and to the left of the fire-place, was an entrance to what we may suppose was the state bed-chamber of the Celtic squire of the brough (L). It was entered by a passage which had at its entrance two steps up. The passage was 2 ft. 4 ins. wide, and 2 ft. 9 ins. high, and was in length 4 ft. 6 ins., opening into a chamber 12 ft. long by 5 ft. wide, and about 5 ft. 6 ins. high, whose roof was roughly formed by overlapping stones until brought near enough together to be covered by one at the top. On the right hand of its entrance a stone set on edge fenced off the foot of the bed. Of mortar, the only appearance was about 6 inches from the floor, where a little whitish clay had been filled into the wall-joints, evi-

dently to prevent the cold wind blowing through the straw, and under the blanket beneath which the happy pair reclined.

It is just possible that then, as was the case until recent times in Shetland, fine soft moss was collected from the moorlands, dried, and prior to winter, carefully filled into all the upper interstices of the stone work. The other end of this chamber extended a short distance beyond the entrance, thus, I suppose, giving the required room for wardrobe, etc., if we may suppose such a convenience to have existed in those days.

Returning to the centre area, at a height roughly about 5 and 6 ft. from the floor, is a ledge all round, formed by setting the upper wall back; on this had evidently rested a wooden floor to form a story above, and at the end of the bink next the entrance had probably been an opening left to get up. On this upper floor there was an entrance to a room in the thickness of the wall (m in plan), and also to a passage which led round to the left to a small window looking to the eastward, while on the right of the entrance, and over the chamber, is a stone staircase leading to another passage on the other side. Of these stairs 14 steps remained. On getting down into the chamber, which now must be entered from above, it is evident that a considerable alteration and rebuilding of the brough must at some time have taken place, as it originally had an entrance from the inside of the brough, low down at the floor of the chamber, but which is now closed by solid walling.

Above the entrance, from the outside, are four openings. The two lower ones are recesses about 8 ft. in depth, and from 2 ft. 9 ins. to 3 ft. in width at the mouth. The two upper ones open into the upper gallery (see section). Parts of the upper two were repaired when the brough was excavated. As there was only about one course or so of stone between the lower one and the entrance-passage, I suspected that it might have been used to assist in the defence, by putting down spears through the bottom, to attack any one who forced the doorway; but I ascertained that there was no opening that could have been so used.

On the north side of this floor there was another entrance to the brough, high up in the wall (o in plan). Opposite this, the outer encircling wall is indistinct; and possibly it curved round up to the tower, and excluded an "ayre," on

which boats might be drawn up. The bottom of this entrance is 7 ft. 4 ins. above the water-level. The entrance is 3 ft. 7 ins. high, 2 ft. 5 ins. wide at bottom, and 1 ft. 9 ins. at top.

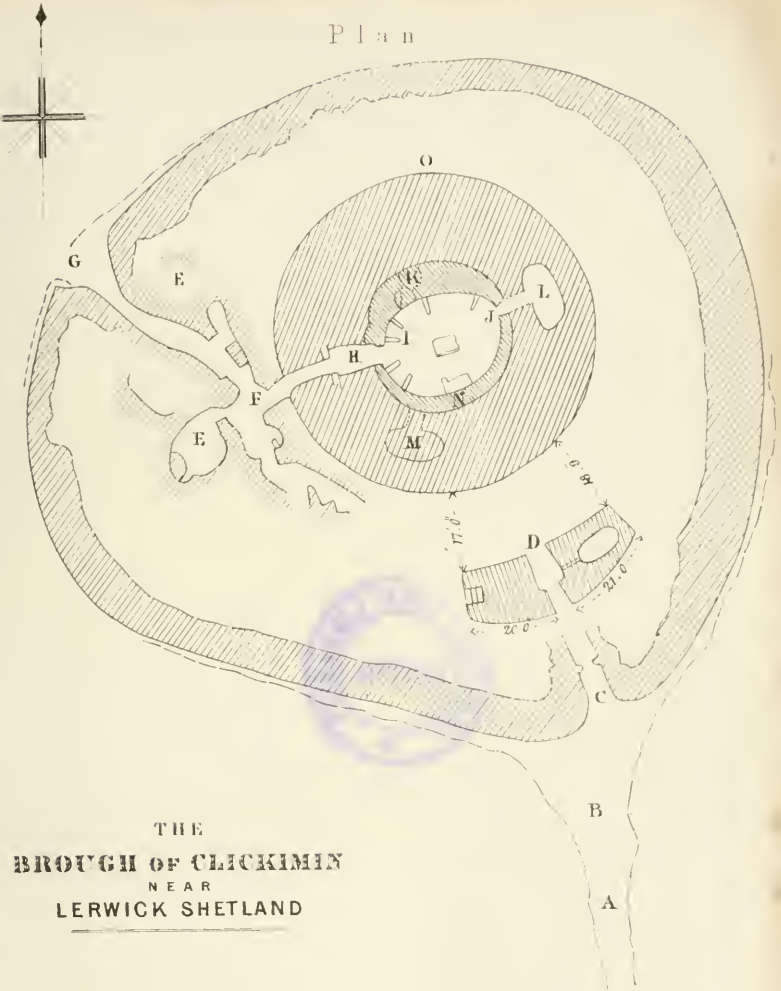
Inside of the entrance, at 8 ft. 9 ins. from the exterior, on the east, was a staircase, of which twenty-one steps remain, going up to galleries now destroyed; while at 13 ft. 3 ins., on the west, was a guard-chamber. The passage, after passing inwards for about 6 ft. 6 ins. more, opens on to a space (κ) having the remains of a chamber very perfect on the east (or left) side.

Somewhere about 6 ft. above this floor another rough ledge remains, on which, perhaps, a second floor of wood had rested; but of the arrangement of this nothing certain is left. I suspect that this story was covered over by a conical roof covered with "pones" and straw "tecket," protected from the force of the stormy winter winds by straw bands, having stones hung at the ends, as on the cottages of Shetland at the present day. At the apex of the cone would be the "lumb," through which the smoke got out as it might, and on which, when the "reek" below became, even to those native to it, unbearable, the "bairn" would be sent up to "skyle," if I may replace the unknown Celtic words by their Gothic successors of the present day.

The remains found during the excavations were of little value to settle the date of the building. Quantities of shells of shellfish used as food from the earliest age to the present, great quantities of small fragments of coarse, blackish pottery with mica spots in it. Of these, one piece, now in the Shetland Museum, has marks of stamped ornament similar in character to what is found on pottery considered Saxon in England. Peats for firing; great quantities of long, oval-shaped beach-stones for bruising grain; several of the small stone mortars; two or three "elemel" (potstone) whorls for the distaff, exactly such as are used to the present day in Shetland; one or two thin, flat pieces of slaty stone broken into a round shape, evidently as covers to earthenware jars; and lastly, one very much corroded iron instrument, perhaps the long, sharp, iron hand-spear used to be thrown by the Gothic sailors in sea-fights.

I very carefully sought for any marks of runes or oghams, but not the slightest trace could I find except a single

Plan



THE
BROUGH OF CLICKIMIN
NEAR
LERWICK SHETLAND



Section on E.H.L.



Section of Brough on M.O.



Section of Guard House

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 10 feet



scratched line in the small chamber F; and it appeared that the late Mr. R. N. Spence sought also carefully at the excavation, with lights in the darker parts, but ineffectually.

There seems no reason to believe these Brougs to be in any case earlier than the second century; and they ceased, probably, to be built about A.D. 500. Most likely the greatest part of the standing stones in these islands are of the same date.

Although not so large in size as the brough of Mousa, I believe, as far as perfection of arrangement of outworks goes, this will be found to be one of the most interesting remaining in Shetland. It would be very desirable to get a complete list of those in Shetland, in Orkney, and in Caithness and Scotland generally, as well as in the western isles. Roman articles have been found in those in Orkney; and Samian ware is preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, found in one on east side of Scotland. Except in the case of Mousa, there is little notice of their use by the present Gothic inhabitants, who seem to have looked with contempt almost on stone castles, although, as in the case of Mousa, they appear to have been impregnable.

I must return my thanks to Sir H. L. Dryden for having furnished me with a copy of his plan of the remains of this brough, taken in 1866; from which the present plan is formed.

The cubic contents of dry stone walling in the central brough was probably 2,400 cubic yards.

REMARKS UPON SOME ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE CITY OF CHESTER.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, ESQ., M.D.

It is my object, on the present occasion, to bring under the notice of the Association some relics of the Roman period, which have been discovered at various times within the city of Chester, but more especially of some found in the years 1863-4. This communication may be, to some extent, looked upon as an appendix to a paper on the "Roman Remains at Chester," which was read at the Congress of the Association, in 1849, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, and is printed in vol. v of the *Journal*.

Hypocaust pillars.—In the year 1863 some remains of a Roman building, or buildings, of considerable magnitude, were discovered in Bridge-street, one portion of which comprised the sites of several apartments. The floors of these were of the class known as *suspensuræ*, and were supported by *pilæ* formed of single pieces of sandstone roughly hewn into square pillars, having expanded caps and bases similar to the woodcut figured in the *Journal* (vol. v, p. 216). This form of hypocaust-pillar appears to be peculiar to Chester: a well-known example still exists at the so called Roman bath in the same street. In one of the apartments, however, there was a singular exception to this rule; and the stone pillars were intermingled with others built up of tiles ($7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. square, and 2 ins. thick), a layer of clay separating each tile. The tiles bear no distinguishing mark; and this is the case with nine-tenths of the building articles manufactured in clay, which have been found in Chester, and probably also at the majority of Roman stations in Britain.

Flue-tiles.—Some fragments of these may be mentioned solely for the purpose of saying that they are of the same character as those found on most Roman sites. None have been discovered possessing the decorated, stamped pattern such as London and some other places have yielded. A less common form possessing a double channel, is, however, found; the front surface, instead of being roughened by a series of lines made by a tooth-shaped instrument, so as to

enable the wall-stucco to adhere more firmly to it, has a series of intersecting incised lines forming a diamond pattern. Each channel is 5 ins. square. The anterior one alone possesses a lateral opening, circular in form, and 2 ins. in diameter, and was intended for heating the apartment through which it passed; whilst the posterior was probably for the purpose of conveying heat to another apartment, or as a separate smoke-flue. A deep stain of rust at the upper part of one of the sides points out the place where the tile was fastened to the wall by means of an iron cramp, which, however, can scarcely have been of the T-shaped variety found at Wroxeter and elsewhere. When found, each channel was filled with rough, red concrete, evidently for the purpose of being used as common building material. This was the case also with a flue-tile of similar construction found in St. John's churchyard in 1864.

Herring-bone pavement.—Several specimens of the herring-bone pavement have been found at various times in Chester, inclusive of one discovered amongst the Bridge-street remains, which had apparently formed the site of a courtyard; and exhibited evidences of considerable traffic, as the majority of the small bricks were not only much worn, but the pavement had also been patched in many places with irregular-shaped pieces of common tiles. The whole had been bedded on a thick stratum of concrete, having a sub-layer of rubble. One of the most perfect of the bricks differs very little from those found on other Roman sites. It measures 4 ins. long, 1 in. broad, and 2 ins. deep. During the past year a small example, measuring only 32 ins. long by 21 ins. broad, was found lying adjacent to a fragment of ordinary tessellated pavement in Northgate-street. Its peculiarity consisted in being enclosed or embedded in a square, thick slab of the red sandstone of the district, in shape like an ordinary sink-stone. Its position, when found, afforded no clue to the purpose it had originally served; but from its size, it may have formed the entrance-step to a doorway. Those who have read that delightful little *Guide to Uriconium*, penned by our worthy Vice-President, Mr. Thos. Wright, may recollect the extensive employment of this kind of pavement in that Roman city.

Antefixæ.—The archaeological discoveries in Chester have

been unusually rich in the number of *antefixæ* which have been brought to light; and this may be accounted for to some extent. Whilst the various building excavations made within the city of Chester have revealed the presence of large quantities of fragments of *tegulæ* and *imbrices*, which had entered into the construction of the roofs of Roman dwellings, no example of the thin, hexagonal stone slab used for a similar purpose at Wroxeter, has yet been found; so that whilst the roofs of the former required the continuance of the antefix, to hide the unsightly line of junction formed by the *imbrex* covering the up-turned edges of two contiguous *tegulæ*, in those of the latter city such a decoration was unnecessary. Caerleon (J. E. Lee's *Isca Silurum*, plate 21) and York (Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, plate 15, and p. 119) have yielded examples. One of the finest that has ever been found in England, is in the museum attached to the Water Tower in Chester, and is figured in the *Journal of the Association* (vol. v, p. 231). Two others, of a most interesting character, have now been discovered. Their decoration is in relief, and consists of the abbreviated name of the 20th Roman legion (LEG. XX); below which is the figure of a boar, the special emblem of this legion; whilst above there is the *verillum*, the pole of which, in one example, springs from the letter G, whilst in the other it is continued through the letter to the figure of the animal. Two other varieties have been found in Chester, and are figured in the *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society* (vol. i, pp. 153 and 423). This proves that they were made upon, or near to, the site of the Roman Deva; and either by, or under the superintendence of, the Roman legion stationed there. They are, it is believed, the only examples of *antefixæ* hitherto found in this country, which possess distinctive legionary marks.

Legionary marks.—In addition to those already noticed, Chester has produced a great variety of legionary marks, impressed in relief, on articles manufactured in clay, and intended for building purposes. The usual formula is LEG. XX.V.V. Mr. C. R. Smith, in the *Journal of the Association*, whilst stating that the V.V. has been interpreted as “Valens, Victrix,” inclines to the belief that it was intended for “Valeria” or “Valeriana Victrix,” as Dion Cassius calls it by the latter; and, moreover, there was “a twentieth legion

styled 'Valens, Victrix,' as would appear from an inscription, but not relating to Britain." Both terms are mentioned, as applicable to this legion, in Goltz (*Thesaurus*, p. 96); whilst in Gruter's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ* (p. 492, No. 5) there is the fragment of an inscription ("Parmæ in Liguria fragmentum") commencing thus, PRAEF. LEG. XX. VALEN. VICT.; two average examples of which, impressed on *tegulae*, were found during the excavations in Bridge-street. Occasionally one *v* is absent, as in a *tegula* impressed with a legionary stamp, where the distinct boundary line enclosing the inscription shews the latter to be complete. This example presents some other peculiarities, to be presently noticed. One of this character appears as the first illustration of the Roman inscriptions found in Cheshire, in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; and at p. 314 of the copy of the work in the British Museum is the following manuscript addition, "the letter *v* may be wanting as not having taken the impression on the brick." This copy originally belonged to Dr. J. Ward, and the addition is probably in his handwriting; but in this instance the inscription was, it is likely, complete without the second *v*. This is corroborated not only by the Chester specimen, but also by examples mentioned in the works of Goltz (p. 96) and Gruter (pp. 391, 513, 555, and 557). The inscriptions are nearly always rude in character; but this remark applies even more to those instances in which the impression is a reversed one.

The most singular legionary mark that Chester has produced, is in the possession of Mr. Fred. Potts, and as a specimen is unique. The impression (an unusually perfect one) is on a tile 2 ins. thick. At the termination of the customary legionary formula there is a double letter, which at first appears intended for CE, and has led to the suggestion that it denoted "Castra," "Cestria," or "Ceaster,"—a very unsatisfactory explanation, as apart from the unusual way in which the two letters are joined, it must be recollected that it was not until after the termination of the Roman occupation of Britain that Chester was known by any name of this kind. It appears more probable that the letters are intended for DE (the D being reversed), to denote Deva, the headquarters of the twentieth legion. If this explanation be accepted, it will serve as a second instance of the name of

a place being recorded in one of these marks, the first being the well-known London example (C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, pp. 31, 32). There appears to be but one reasonable objection to this interpretation. It is remarkable that Roman inscriptions on altars, memorial stones, pottery, etc., although frequently containing letters which are reversed, and joined to one or more others, yet the letter D appears to form a striking exception to this rule; and although an extensive search has been made, including the inscriptions in Horsley's work (*vide* particularly the "table of the principal ligatures and complications of letters" at p. 189), in one instance only has it been found reversed; and this occurs in the initial letter of a previous name, written in minute characters on the back of a Roman painter's palette found at Wroxeter, and described in the *Journal* of the Association by Mr. Thos. Wright (vol. v, p. 316, and plate 28); and in one instance only joined to another letter, but not reversed (C. R. Smith's *Catalogue of Roman Antiquities*, p. 46). The non-occurrence of a reversal of this letter may, perhaps, be accidental only; but, on the other hand, it is by no means unlikely that the Romans, in consequence of its frequent employment *per se*, at the commencement of funeral and other inscriptions, to denote their deities, looked upon it in a more sacred light than they did upon the rest of the alphabet, and from a superstitious feeling forebore either to reverse it, or to band it with others.

Inscription.—On one inscription I am desirous of obtaining the opinion of the members of the Association as to its probable meaning. The specimen is at present in the museum of Mr. Fred. Potts of Chester, and is preserved in a wooden frame having a glazed front, and sealed at the back; moreover, the only aspect of it visible has been coloured, so that it is impossible for a satisfactory examination of it to be made. On the back of the frame is the following: "Inscription from the centre of a mosaic pavement found near the Castle A.D. 1803. From the collection of the Rev. T. Crane." This is in the handwriting of the late Mr. Samuel Gardner, a well-known Chester antiquary, and there appears no reason to doubt the genuineness of the specimen. The inscription is incuse, and arranged in two lines. In its present condition it cannot be determined whether it be carved in stone, or is only the impres-

sion from a stamp, which latter appears to be the more probable.

C. VTI . L . A . R

PESCENNINI.

Accidental markings on tiles, etc.—There are found on tiles, pottery, etc., in addition to the mark made by a mould or die, a series of impressions and irregular markings which have scarcely met with the amount of attention they deserve. For convenience they may be divided into three classes,—the first consisting of the impressions of the feet, etc., of animals, and of the human subject; the second of marks made in the soft clay by the tile-makers, etc., for some definite object; and the third, of all other marks of a miscellaneous character, including those made by lookers-on in the brick-field, as well as the inscriptions scratched on pottery after firing.

Under the first heading is a *tegula* containing several impressions of the feet of a dog, marked with unusual distinctness; also the distinct marks of a *caliga*, or hob-nailed boot, upon the tile bearing the legionary mark, to which attention has already been directed as containing only one *v*. Specimens of Roman boots or sandals capable of producing such marks have been dug up in London and at some of the stations of Hadrian's Wall.

The second class comprises the various incised and lined markings on flue-tiles; also the various semicircular markings frequently found on *tegulae*, which were made with the tips of the fingers, and were evidently intended as a guide to the roof-constructor.

The third or miscellaneous classes include inscriptions rudely written on tiles, such as the name of Bellicianus four times repeated on a *tegula* at Caerleon (Lee's *Caerleon*, plate 24, fig. 1); the three written lines on a *tegula* found at Reculver (*Archæologia*, vol. viii, p. 80); and the inscriptions scratched on baked pottery (C. R. Smith's catalogue of his museum, p. 47). For additional examples, see Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, pp. 360-61 and 291-96. Of the cursive or semicursive writing of the Romans, we know but little; but a careful examination of examples such as those just mentioned, and a comparison of them with the well-known wall-inscriptions of Pompeii, as well as with the markings found upon the Romano-Gaulish *ficilia* (*Collect.*

Antiqua, vol. vi, pp. 68 et seq.), would perhaps materially extend our knowledge in a direction which hitherto has been almost untrodden by archæologists. The irregular marking on the *tegula* containing the impression of dog's feet may have been intended for a letter. A sketch of a rude finger-drawing on a *tegula* from the same locality, is in my possession.

Stamps.—Notwithstanding the immense numbers of impressions of stamps on tiles and pottery that have been found, the moulds or dies for producing them appear to be amongst the rarest of Roman antiquities yet discovered, more especially of that description employed for marking the more common articles made of clay. In the instance of Samian pottery, both the ordinary as well as the master moulds have been found made of earthenware (Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, p. 352-354, and C. R. Smith's *Coll. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 75). Metal punches, also, for impressing the patterns upon these moulds, as well as for stamping the potters' names on some of the finer kinds of this ware, have likewise been discovered (Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, pp. 241, 242-354; C. R. Smith's *Roman London*, p. 99). Mr. J. E. Lee (*Caerleon*, p. 43) describes a rude legionary mark as having been struck with "a wooden impress." It is true that wooden stamps could be carved with tolerable facility, but unless made of very hard wood, must have soon evinced symptoms of decay; but there are certain indications in the individual letters of the stamped inscriptions, more especially of those impressed on tiles, which go far to prove that the dies were of metal, and probably of lead. We have abundant proofs of the common use of this metal in Britain during the Roman period. On a careful examination of the markings on tiles and common pottery, we find that the more rude their character, the more frequently are the straight portions of the letters, at the junction of their vertical and horizontal lines, prolonged beyond their proper boundary, and the letters are also joined together with greater frequency. Many of them, also, needlessly intersect each other, as in the case of the *xx* in the inscription, partly defaced by a caliga; and the lines of some letters bisect each other unnecessarily, as in the instance of one of the inscriptions found in Bridge-street, where the first *v* looks like an *x*. It is true that all

these errors might have been committed when forming a wooden die, but they are much more likely to have occurred in one of lead, especially when it is considered with what ease the latter could be made; for all that was necessary was to select a thick piece of lead, of the size required for the stamp, and to sink the shape of the letters in it by means of a blunt chisel struck with a hammer. It is obvious that if the artisan was not contented with the depth of the line, he might repeat the blow so as to deepen it; but if in doing so the chisel slipped on one side, a fresh mark would be made, and this actually appears to have been the case with the second *v* in the more perfect inscription from Bridge-street. Again, the bifurcated terminations of the letters in two of the inscriptions exhibited, and the singular formation of the distinguishing mark of the *g* by a separate curved line, point to the use of a metallic mould. A most interesting specimen of a leaden stamp was found in Chester a few years since, and is in Mr. Potts's museum. The letters are reversed and in relief, and appear as though they had been carved out of the metallic block. The handle is short and perforated. The inscription is of two lines; the first consisting of a centurial mark followed by the letters *CLAVG*: and the second having these letters only, *VIC* (*Centuria Claudii Augusti Vietricis*?).

It is now difficult to assign the purpose for which this stamp was originally intended, particularly when it is borne in mind that the letters upon it would give a sunken impression instead of a raised one, as usually found on tiles and pottery. The suggestion is hazarded, that it may have been employed for stamping certain articles of daily consumption or use. Amongst the miscellaneous contents of baker's shop uncovered at Pompeii, there were found cakes of bread impressed with a stamp; and it does not seem improbable that the stamp under notice may have been for the purpose of marking the bread made for one particular century of the Roman soldiery of *Deva*.

Urn.—Amongst the “finds” is a small urn of graceful form, having two handles, which is of the black or smother-kiln variety of pottery. The interest attaching to it consists in the fact that although it had been employed for funeral purposes, evidenced by the quantity of burnt bones it contained; yet it was found within the Roman boundary

of the city. It is known that the Romans usually had their places of interment beyond the town walls, and at Chester it appears to have been situated along the line of road on the opposite side of the Dee; nevertheless, several tile tombs, and also a sepulchral monument (*Coll. Ant.*, vol. vi, plate 8) have been discovered within the walls of the city.

Columns.—Amongst the Bridge-street remains, the most imposing were those of two rows of architectural columns, some of the bases of which remained in their places; whilst portions of shafting, two mutilated capitals and portions of others, were also found. A full description of these has been prepared for, and is about to appear in, the third volume of the *Journal* of the Chester Archæological Society, so that an extended notice on the present occasion will be unnecessary. A ground-plan of the remains is given, plate 25; also in plate 26 a drawing of the most interesting portion of one of the capitals, which is seen to consist, at the upper part, of the bust of a figure with one hand resting on the bosom; and at the lower part, of an acanthus-leaf well executed, one of a set which encircled the capital just above the necking.

Iron Rivet.—Excepting a small bronze figure to be presently noticed, the only article of metal that was found amongst the excavations in Bridge Street, was a large slender iron rivet, twelve inches long, having a large head, and the whole of it thickly encrusted with rust, containing particles of stucco and wood charcoal. The site of the remains appears to have been ransacked at a very early period, and all available articles removed. The preservation of this specimen was owing to the circumstance that one of the capitals was lying upon it. It may here be mentioned, that in the dowel-hole of the under side of this capital there was found impacted a large fragment of wood charcoal.

Penates.—In the *Journal* of the Association for September 1865, is a paper by our lamented late Treasurer, Mr. Pettigrew, “On Roman Penates discovered at Exeter;” two specimens, very similar in character to these, have been found at different times in Chester. The first to notice is one probably intended for Mars. It was found a few years ago, and is now in the possession of Dr. Hastings. It is of bronze, three inches in height, and although much eroded, is

tolerably perfect, excepting the right arm, which has been broken off at the elbow. A comparison of it with the figure in plate xi A of Mr. Pettigrew's paper, would almost lead one to suppose that they had been cast in the same mould,—the latter, however, is shorter by half an inch. A somewhat similar example, but having in addition a loose mantle thrown gracefully over the shoulder, was found at Wycomb, and is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1864.

The second figure, also of bronze, was found in a rubbish pit of the mediæval period, containing ashes, rubbish of all kinds, and pipes (of the period of the sixteenth century), which had been made in the corner of the first hypocaust uncovered at Bridge-street in 1863. It belongs to Mr. John Peacock of Chester. Originally it must have measured three inches in height; it has, however, been much mutilated, having both legs broken off at the knee, and wanting the right arm also. At first sight it seems to be quite nude, and without a single distinguishing mark. On comparing it, however, with a perfect statuette of Mercury, one inch and a half taller, also found at Exeter (plate xi, accompanying Mr. Pettigrew's paper), it will be tolerably evident that it was intended for the same god. It is true, the head is destitute of wings, but it has been so rubbed and eroded that their absence may be accounted for; the body is postured in the same attitude; and moreover, a careful examination of the Chester example reveals the existence of the remains of a cloak, which, resting on the left shoulder, passes behind it, and then curves over the front part of the arm, as in the Exeter one. In the *Archæologia* (vol. xxviii, plate 5) is an engraving of a "bronze figure of Mercury found in the bed of the Thames, 1837" (five inches in height!), in which the attitude of the body and the disposition of the cloak, bear a close resemblance to the two statuettes just described. The close similarity of these figures, found in different parts of England, is remarkable; and whilst assisting to prove that the same model was copied, it also increases the probability of their manufacture having been carried out at the same place abroad, from whence they were imported into this country.

Inscribed slab.—The last archæological specimen from Chester is, perhaps, the most interesting one. It is a portion

of a large incised slab, and was found lying adjacent to the external wall of the Roman apartments uncovered in Bridge-street. It was being carted away amongst some rubbish, but was fortunately recognised by Mr. John Peacock, who at once obtained possession of it, and to whom I am under much obligation for permitting its exhibition to this Association. It is of a square oblong form, measuring 18 ins. long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in its widest breadth, and 2 ins. thick, and is in two portions, which fit each other accurately. Its posterior surface is rough, and portions of concrete still adhere to it; whilst its anterior is highly polished, and, when wetted, reveals the characteristic structure of Purbeck marble. It contains the remnants of two lines of an inscription, the upper consisting of portions of the letters O G and perhaps A; whilst the lower contains the letter DOM, with a point before the D. All of these are well cut, are remarkably sharp, and bear full evidence of having been painted red. Between the lines on the left side is the mark of a blunt weapon, with a crack proceeding from it. Several of these points may briefly engage our attention.

1st. *The material*, Purbeck marble. A writer in the *Archæologia* (vol. iv, p. 105) states,—“Though marble was much used in buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it does not appear by history or examples that it was used before that time either by the Saxons or by the Britons in Roman times.” Other antiquaries have also uttered their belief that the Romans did not use marble in this country; but the discoveries of the last few years have disproved their assertions, portions of pilasters of white marble having been found in London and Richborough, a capital at Silchester, and an inscribed slab at Bath, of the same material, all of which, however, were imported from abroad. A sepulchral slab of “native green marble” was dug up in London (C. R. Smith’s *Roman London*, p. 24); and a fragment of a sepulchral inscribed slab was exhumed in the same city, of which Mr. C. R. Smith says it “is worthy of remark, that the material is Purbeck marble” (*Coll. Ant.*, vol. i, p. 139). Further than this, one of some kind of marble has been discovered in Sussex (*Sussex Archæol. Collection*, vol. x, p. 175); so that these, with the Chester example, prove the employment of native marble by the Romans (*vide* also Artis’ *Durobrivæ*, plates 14 and 26).

2nd. *The letters*.—Those of the upper row must have been nearly 6 ins. high, and those of the lower 5 ins.; in size amongst the largest that have hitherto been found in England. It is extremely uncommon for the letters of an inscription to be coloured in the manner of the specimen under notice. At Caerleon an inscription was found on a slab of grey sandstone, the letters of which were 4 ins. high, and referred “to some building which had gone to decay, and had been restored by Severus and Geta his son.” This is the only instance recorded where the letters have been “coloured with *minium*, or red paint,” similar to the Chester specimen. (*Remains of a Roman Building at Caerleon*, by J. E. Lee, p. 24.)

3rd. *The object of the inscription*.—The few remaining characters of the inscription afford us no clue either to their meaning or to the probable contents of the rest of the slab. The DOM. of the lower row may possibly have been a proper name; but as inscriptions frequently contain the words *domus* and *dominus*, it would be idle to attempt any explanation. Taking, however, all circumstances into consideration, viz., the large size of the Roman building on the site of which it was found; the evident care displayed in selecting a durable material, and in subsequently giving its surface such a high polish; the unusual size of the letters, and their colouring; and the large size of the original slab; we have sufficient data for offering the conjecture that it formed a portion of a dedicatory inscription on the erection or restoration of the building to which allusion has just been made.

REFERENCE TO GROUND-PLAN AND SECTION, “ROMAN
REMAINS DISCOVERED IN CHESTER,” 1863-4.

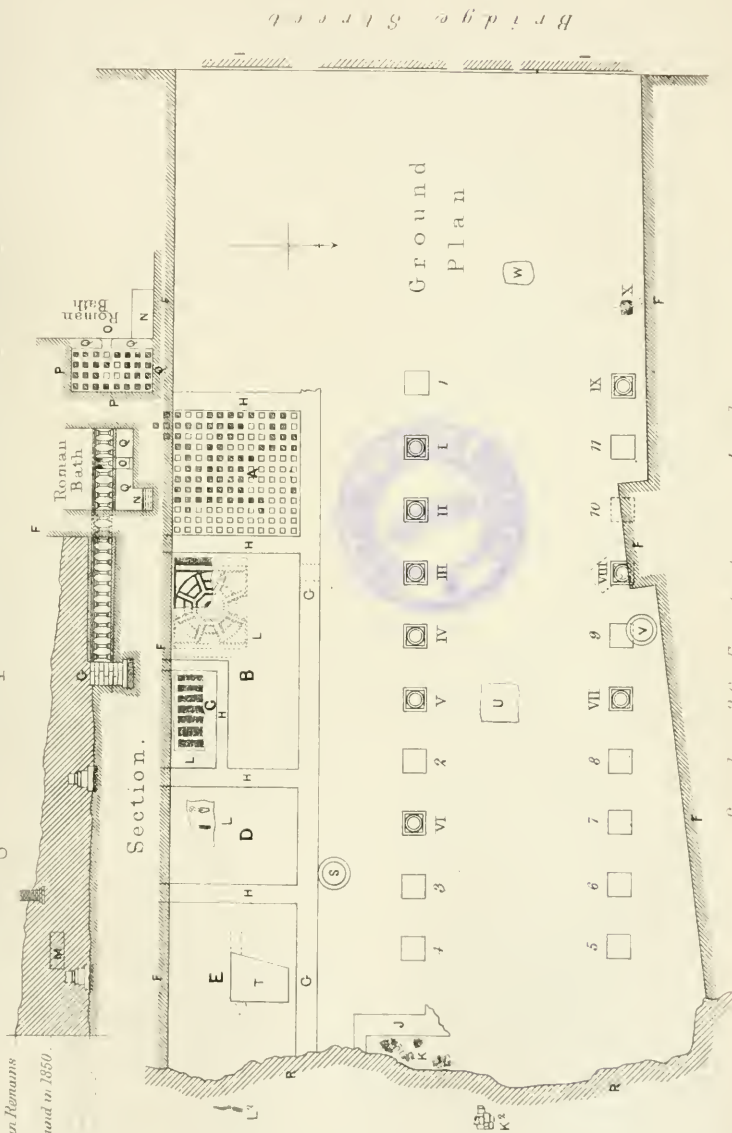
PLATE 26.

- A, B, C, D, E.—Sites of Roman apartments, A being the one first discovered, and containing the most perfect hypocaustal arrangements.
- F, F.—Line of buildings limiting the excavations; that to the south bisected the whole of the apartments; the base being a mediæval stone wall upon which the modern buildings had been erected.
- G, G.—Main wall of Roman building. The dotted line shews the position of a square opening in the base of the wall.
- H, H, H.—Divisional walls.
- I, I.—Fragments of Roman foundations *external* to the present line of Bridge-street.

- J.—Fragment of a wall having two angles at the eastern extremity of the bases.
- K.—Portion of herring-bone paving much worn and patched.
- K².—Continuation of same, with portions of common tiles (*lateres*).
- L, L, L.—Portions of tessellated pavement found in the apartments B, C, D.
- L².—Portion of another tessellated pavement, proving an extension of buildings towards the east.
- M.—Portion of stone column lying horizontally in rubbish, *above* the level of the other remains.
- N.—Excavation in solid rock, considerably *below* the level of all the other remains.
- O.—Doorway opening into the hypocaust still preserved and known as the "Roman Bath."
- P, P.—Walls bounding this hypocaust, evidently of Roman work, and continuous with the wall, H, to the extreme west.
- Q, Q.—Walls bounding the same hypocaust, not of Roman work, but apparently of same date as the wall, F, to the south; which latter, in fact, appears to be the north boundary of this hypocaust.
- N, O, P, Q.—Refer to the existing hypocaust known as the "Roman Bath." The whole of the other remains (*viz.*, those uncovered in 1863-4) have been removed, and the site built upon.
- R, R.—Unexcavated portion of rubbish covering Roman remains.
- S.—Well.
- T.—Stone-pit, afterwards employed as a cesspool into which drains emptied.
- U.—Square excavation in the rock.
- V.—Circular stone well or cesspool, T, U, V, contained burnt wood with Norman and early pottery, *but no Roman remains*.
- W.—Irregular excavation containing animal bones.
- X.—Large portion of Roman concrete of same character as that under walls G, H.
- I to IX.—Bases of pillars discovered in their original positions. No. VIII had been displaced, but a portion of the square excavated site remained.
- 1 to 11.—Square excavations where bases had originally stood.

Ground Plan and Section of Roman Buildings, discovered in Bridge Street Chester, during the Years 1863-4. Shewing their relative position to the site of the Roman Bath.

*Height of Rubbish covering Roman Remains
 Level of Row
 Level of Mediaeval Pavement found in 1850.
 Level of Present Street
 Level of Roman Pavement
 Undisturbed Ground.*



Scale 36 Feet to an Inch



PART OF A ROMAN CAPITAL
 Found at Chester
Drawn from a Cast

10 inches



SEAL OF RICHARD DE BURY, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

THE ENGRAVING PRESENTED BY W. SIDNEY GIBSON, ESQ.

ON the last evening of the Congress held at Durham (p. 303 *ante*), Mr. W. Sidney Gibson read a copious memoir of this bishop, which he designs to complete and publish in a separate form. Mr. Gibson has, however, placed at the disposal of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association the cut, by Mr. O. Jewitt, of the elaborate and beautiful seal of the bishop which forms plate 27. This seal is the finest in the whole episcopal series.

When reading his memoir, Mr. Gibson acknowledged the eloquent eulogium on Bishop Richard de Bury which Lord Houghton had pronounced in the great hall of the Castle on the first evening of the Congress, and remarked that the life of the good bishop, while presenting many points of especial interest to a Congress assembled in his ancient cathedral city, had more than a merely local interest, inasmuch as he was reputed the most learned Englishman, and was the greatest book-collector of his time; wrote a treatise, the *Philobiblon*, which is unique in the literature of the middle ages, and is remarkable also in having been one of the very first books given to the world after the invention of printing; and he was altogether one of the noblest and most commanding among the princely bishops of Durham and the great statesmen of the reign of Edward III. Mr. Gibson read the good bishop's characteristic account of the facilities afforded to him for acquiring manuscripts by the chancellor's office, and of their being brought to him by suitors, but not as bribes; and spoke of the delight with which he, the most ardent book-hunter of the age, must have looked upon the venerable manuscripts which were then, as they are now, the boast of the church of Durham; upon the magnificent and illuminated folios of the Bible, massive like the Norman architecture itself, which his great predecessor, Hugh de Pudsey, had given; upon the Codex enriched with Norman pictures, in which he was shewn a portrait of Cari-

leph, the prelate architect who began the cathedral; upon the manuscripts which the monks believed to be in the handwriting of the Venerable Bede; and upon that manuscript of the Gospels known as *The Durham Book*, which had been written for St. Cuthbert himself, and illuminated at Lindisfarne, and had accompanied the monks in their wanderings in days when Durham was a wild forest, and Oxford a desert amidst the floods. De Bury's continued employment in affairs of State and various embassies, had given him access to what he called the hiding-places of books in foreign monasteries; and in acquiring manuscripts he was aided in particular by the Dominican friars. His object in collecting books was to found a public library at Oxford. At Auckland the bishops of Durham have had a castle from very early times; and at Auckland, which stood preeminently forward as a seat of learning in the days of De Bury, he collected such a quantity of manuscripts that even the floors of the chambers were covered with books. His literary ardour, however, did not end with the acquisition of books; his own treatise shews that he read and used them. Mr. Gibson adverted to De Bury's zeal for education, and to the good bishop's love for the society of the learned companions whom he loved to maintain around him, and then passed to the closing years of his life, which he spent for the most part in his diocese. It was to the old wood-environed palace at Auckland that he retired to finish his work, after making the circuit of office and power. He was not spared to rejoice in the victories of his royal friend and master at Creci and at Neville's Cross, for on April 14, 1345, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, he passed to immortality. He bequeathed to Durham College (the Benedictine foundation which preceded Trinity College) at Oxford his vast collection of books. His Register, an impression of his seal, and a chest in which his arms are emblazoned, remain at Durham; but his sumptuous monumental brass in the cathedral was destroyed in the Great Rebellion.

In modern times various short memoirs of this distinguished man, one of the principal lights of learning in his own day, have appeared;¹ but none of them more interesting than the biography by the old chronicler who carried on the acts of the bishops from the time of Richard de Bury, in

¹ Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*; Hutchinson's *Durham*, etc.

continuation of the chronicles of Robert de Graystones and Gaufrid de Coldingham. This old biography it seems quite worth while to repeat here, in its original language, as published by the late Dr. Raine for the Surtees Society,¹ accompanied by two legal instruments, extracted by the same gentleman from the Durham archives,² concerning the delivery to the sacrist of two horses and a mule which had borne the body of the deceased bishop to his grave, and the recovery from the executors of the bishop of certain vestments detained by them, but bequeathed, as it appears, to the church of Durham.

Ex Willielmo de Chambre.

“Ricardus de Bury natus fuit in quadam villula prope Edmondisbury, patre domino Ricardō Awngewille milite; et a suo avunculo domino Johanne de Willyby rectore exhibitus est primo ad scolas grammaticales, et postea ad studium Oxoniæ, per aliquod certum tempus; deinde assumptus ad instruendum Edwardum de Wyndesor, tunc Principem, qui postmodum dictus Edwardus tertius; postmodum ordinatus est principalis receptor patris ejusdem Edwardi in Wasconia. Quo tempore dictus Edwardus fugit cum matre Parisius; quibus expensis deficientibus, venit ipse Ricardus clam cum magna summa auri quam collegit in officio prædicto. Qua de causa insequabatur eum locumtenens Regis cum viginti quatuor lanceis usque Parisius; ubi, præ metu mortis, absconditus est in campanili Fratrum Minorum per septem dies. Post hæc ordinatus est coferarius Regis, deinde thesaurarius de wardrop, postea clericus Privati Sigilli, per quinque annos. Quo tempore bis adiit summum Pontificem Johannem.³ Et primo tempore, quo sibi advenit, ordinatus est ab ipso capellanus principalis capellæ suæ; et recepit ab eo rochetam in loco Bullæ, pro proximo episcopatu vacante ex post in Anglia. Et eo tempore promotus est de beneficiis ecclesiasticis; [ad] quod potuit expendere ad valorem quinque millia marcarum. Et secundo tempore quo [prædictum] summum Pontificem adiit, adeptus est ab eo trescentas gratias [et septem] pro clericis promovendis. Et omni tempore quo venit ad præ-

¹ *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 127; Chronicle of William de Chambre.

² Appendix to the above, Nos. cxii, cxiv.

³ Pope John XXII resident at Avignon.

sentiam summi Pontificis sive Cardinalium, venit ipse cum viginti clericis suis in vestibus unius sectæ, et triginta sex armigeris alterius sectæ. Post hæc, cum rediret Angliam, audiens Parisius de morte Lodowici episcopi Dunelmensis, et Regem misisse literas ad summum Pontificem pro ipso episcopatu sibi acquirendo, multum dolebat. Insuper cum quidam clericus ipsius, nomine Willielmus de Tykall, rector de Stanhop, instigaret eum mittere literas ad Cardinales et ad alios amicos suos in Curia, pro prædicto episcopatu habendu, respondit se nec pro illo episcopatu nec pro aliquo alio literas missurum. Dominica ante Natale, XLVI ætatis suæ anno, consecratus est episcopus Dunelmensis ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Johanne Stretford, in Abbathia Nigrorum Monachorum de Cherdsay. In qua consecratione Episcopus Lincolnia, Henricus Burwesch, fundebat omnes expensas, jussu domini Regis. Post hæc factus est Thesaurarius Angliæ; et eodem anno, [quinto die Junii, per Willielmum Cowton Priorem Dunelmensem] est installatus. In qua installatione fecit grande convivium; ubi interfuerunt Rex et Regina Angliæ, mater Regis Angliæ, Rex Scotia, duo Archiepiscopi et quinque Episcopi, septem comites cum uxoribus suis, et omnes magnates citra Trentam, multi milites et armigeri, plures etiam Abbates et Priores et viri religiosi, cum innumera multitudine communitatis. Eodem anno institutus est cancellarius Angliæ. Et infra triennium ex post ter adiit Regem Franciæ Parisius in nuncio Regis Angliæ, ad vendicandum regnum Franciæ. Postea adiit Handewarpe, et alia vice ad Braban; et ita fatigatus fuit per diversa loca pro prædicta legatione novem annis. Et medio tempore fuerunt omnes libertates Dunelmensis ecclesiæ conservatæ sine aliquo detrimento. Post hæc Angliam rediit.

“Multum [enim] delectabatur de [comitiva] clericorum; et plures semper clericos habuit in sua familia. De quibus fuit Thomas Bradwardyn, postea Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, et Ricardus Fyzt Rauf, postmodum Archiepiscopus Armachanæ, Walterus Burley, Johannes Maudit, Robertus Holcot, Ricardus de Kylwyngton, omnes doctores in theologia; Ricardus Benworth, postea Episcopus Londoniensis et Walterus Segraffe, postea Episcopus Cicestrensis. Et quolibet die in mensa solitus erat habere lectionem, nisi forte per adventum magnatum impediretur; et post pran-

dium singulis diebus disputationem cum clericis prænomi-
natis, et aliis suæ domus, nisi major causa impediret. Et,
aliis vicibus, aut servitio divino aut libris vacabat: nisi
foret ex causis arduis impeditus. Omni etiam septimana
distribuit in cibos pauperum octo quartaria frumenti pista,
præter fragmenta solita domus suæ. Et, si plures super-
venirent, post distributionem dictæ elemosinæ, contulit
singulo obolum. Præter hæc, veniens aut rediens a Novo
Castro usque Dunelmum, aliquando duodecim marcas con-
tulit in elemosynis, etiam a Dunelmo usque Stokton quan-
doque VIII marcas, et a Dunelmo usque Aukland v. marcas,
a Dunelmo usque Middellam c solidos. Post ejus obitum
inventâ fuit una de suis capsellis plena lintheaminibus, cami-
siis et braccis cilicinis; in qua putabatur thesaurum inve-
niri.

“Præterea præfatus dominus Ricardus, in floribus vitæ
suæ, contulit duo vestimenta ecclesiæ, unum rubeum, de
velveto, cum tribus capis ejusdem sectæ, subtiliter brou-
datis, et aliud de nigra camica, cum tribus capis ejusdem
sectæ, cum largis orariis decenter ornatis: plura proponens
ecclesiæ reliquisse, videlicet unum de rubeo velveto, quod
sui executores vendiderunt domino Radulpho de Neville,
qui postea, conscientia motus, illud reddidit ecclesiæ; aliud
etiam dedit, de alba camica, cum tribus capis ejusdem
sectæ, quod fecit in honore sanctæ Mariæ, nobiliter brou-
datum, quod Sacrista, post ejus mortem, de ejusdem execu-
toribus cum multa difficultate conquisivit.¹ Item, in exequiis
ejus, sicut patet per instrumentum publicum inde factum,
habuit Sacrista duos equos magnos portantes corpus ejus
in lectica, et unum equum mulum portantem capellam.²
Habuit etiam idem Sacrista duas cistulas, unum baculum
pastoralem, unam mitram, annulum et sandalia, duo can-
delabra argentea, unum thuribulum argenteum et deaura-
tum, cum una navicula, item 1x bawdkyns de panno serico
rubeo cum vitibus [et literis] intextis, item 1x pannos sericos
cum quadrupedibus habentibus pedes et capita deauratos,
item unum pannum viridem cum gallis albis et rubeis
intextum. Ex quibus omnibus facta sunt vestimenta ad
magnum altare et alia altaria in ecclesia. Item ex quatuor
sigillis ejusdem factus est unus calix deauratus; ut patet
per hos versus sub pede ipsius inscriptos,

¹ See the second deed annexed.

² See the first deed annexed.

RI. DUNELMENSIS, QUARTI, NATU BURIENSIS.

HIC CIPHUS INSIGNIS FIT PRÆSULIS EX TETRA SIGILLIS.

“Item, dum, quadam die, sederet ad mensam, apud Eboracum, cum VII comitibus, subito superveniens dominus Johannes Wawham, nunciavit sibi dominum Robertum de Graystones fore defunctum; qui tantum de ejus morte condoluit, quod præsentiam nunciantis ferre non potuit. Quem cum comites interrogarent, quare tantum doleret de morte ejus, ‘Certe,’ inquit, ‘si tam bene novissetis industriam ejus, quantum ego novi, credo quod tantum quam ego doleo doleretis.’ Et addidit, ‘Fuit enim habilior ad Papatum, quam ego vel omnes mei consimiles ad dignitatem minimam in ecclesia sancta Dei.’¹ Multum etiam affectabat retinere secum in familia filios generosorum Episcopatus sui. Quod factum nutrit magnam amicitiam inter ipsum et ipsius patriæ generosos; et monachos Dunelmensis ecclesiæ semper habuit in maximo honore.

“Idem Ricardus de Bury fuit sufficientis literaturæ, in regendo familiam discretus, in convivando extraneos dapsilis, in erogando elemosinam sollicitus. Iste, audito quod displicuit, fuit faciliter provocatus, sed facillime revocatus. Iste summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum. Plures enim libros habuit, sicut passim dicebatur, quam omnes Pontifices Angliæ. Et, præter eos, quos habuit in diversis maneriis suis, repositos separatim, ubicunque cum sua familia residebat, tot libri jacebant [sparsim] in camera qua dormivit, quod ingredientiæ vix stare poterant vel incedere, nisi librum aliquem pedibus conculcarent. Iste ornamenta ecclesiastica quamplurimum pulchra et decentia contulit ecclesiæ Dunelmensi; plura proponens, si vixisset diutius, contulisse. Cum, igitur, episcopatum Dunelmensem, quem habuit ex provisione Apostolica, rexisset in tranquillitate competenti, cæteris partibus Angliæ contributionibus et angariis multipliciter fatigatis, per xi annos, duos menses, et

¹ Robert de Graystones, to whose memory Bishop Richard de Bury offers this noble testimony, was sub-prior of the monastery of Durham, was held in the highest regard by the monks, and was elected by them to the see when the vacancy was caused by the death of Lewis Beaumont. Thus he was a competitor with Richard de Bury himself for the see. It was not without reluctance amongst his friends, that his own modesty caused him to resign all his pretensions; which probably, too, he was well aware could not be maintained against the influence of such a man as Richard. This Robert de Graystones is the chronicler who compiled the continuation of the earlier Durham Chronicle down to his own time.

xii dies; in anno duodecimo, longa infirmitate decoctus, apud Aukland diem clausit extremum, xiv die Aprilis, anno Domini MCCCXL quinto, qui xxi die ejusdem mensis fuit, quodammodo honorifice, non tamen cum honore satis congruo, coram altari beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad australem angulum Dunelmensis ecclesiæ tumultatus."

"Instrumentum de Equis portantibus Literam et Capellam Episcopi.
A.D. MCCCXLV." (*Lib. Sacrist.*)

"In Dei nomine Amen—Appareat—quod anno ab incarnatione Domini—MCCC quadragesimo quinto—die vicesima mensis Aprilis, in mei Symonis de Charryng notarii publici et testium præsentia subscriptorum, infra Prioratum ecclesiæ Dunelmensis, in quodam stabulo inter magnam portam et bracinum Prioratus ejusdem constructo, constitutus personaliter venerabilis vir et discretus magister Johannes de Whytchyrche, rector ecclesiæ de Seggeffeld, Dunolm. Dioc., executorem Testamenti domini Ricardi de Bury nuper Episcopi Dunolm. se dicens, liberavit executorio nomine supradicto, ut dicebat, et tradidit fratri Waltero Gategang monacho et sacristæ ipsius ecclesiæ Dunelm., præsentī tunc ibidem, duos equos magnos griseos, qui literam, in qua jacebat corpus dicti domini Episcopi tunc defuncti, portabant ad ipsam ecclesiam Dunolm., ecclesiasticæ tradendum ibidem sepulturæ; et etiam unum equum mulum, videlicet qui capellam dicti defuncti ad ecclesiam portabat eandem; quos omnes tres equos memoratos idem magister Johannes asserabat ex consuetudine debitos esse Priori et Conventui ecclesiæ Dunolm. occasione portacionis et sepulturæ prædictarum. Præsentibus tunc ibidem domino Wilhelmo Pichecoc capellano, ac Petro de Clif, Thoma Brounesgrove et Wilhelmo Page testibus."

*"Littera directa Episcopo pro Vestimentis quæ nobis contulit
Dominus Ricardus de Bury Episcopus Dunolmensis."*
(*Reg. II, f. 127b.*)

"Pateat universis, per præsentēs, quod cum quædam contencio fuisset mota inter nos Priorem et Conventum ecclesiæ Dunelmensis super vestimentis quæ nuncupantur alba et serico brudata, videlicet una casula, una dalmatica, et una tunica, tribus capis, et duobus frontellis, ex largicione domini Ricardi de Bury dudum Dunolmensis episcopi, ad nos et

ecclesiam Dunolmensem pertinentibus, et in possessione nostra existentibus, quæ præfato Domino Ricardo, dum vixit, pro vita sua gratanter accomodavimus, et quæ dominus Robertus Calne, Willielmus de Hemmyngton et Willielmus de Assh, executores testamenti dicti defuncti occupant et detinent minus juste, petentes, ex parte una, et dictos executores contradicentes ex altera, conquievit in hunc modum : videlicet quod dicti executores omnia vestimenta et frontalia supradicta nobis traderent, restituerent, et de eisdem satisfacerent ad plenum ; ita quod non ipsos executores erga quouscumque, occasione premissorum, conservaremus indempnes. Cujus concordie pretextu dicti executores nobis vestimenta prædicta cum frontellis supradictis tradiderunt et liberaverunt ; et nos eodum pretextu cavemus et obligamus nos per presentes ad conservandum dictos executores semper indempnes ratione hujus deliberacionis dictorum vestimentorum cum frontellis, ut præmittitur, erga omnes. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus est appensum. Data Dunolmi, xxi die mensis Septembris anno, etc., xli^{mo} quinto."

ON DURHAM WILLS AND INVENTORIES.

BY THE REV. GEORGE ORNSBY.

I AM about to say a few words on the subject of wills and inventories—the wills and inventories belonging to a period extending over something like two centuries ; that is to say, from about the latter part of the thirteenth to the latter part of the fifteenth century. And I almost fear that it may be thought by some that I have selected a topic which promises little but dry details, and holds out but a scanty prospect of popularising the study of that branch of our country's antiquities.

I venture, however, to hope that I may be able to raise a few points connected with the subject I have chosen, which may serve to show that the bequests contained in the will, and the catalogue of items presented by the inventory are neither devoid of interest, nor undeserving of the attention of ordinary readers.



SEAL OF RICHARD DE BURY, BISHOP OF DURHAM.



In the first place, a man's will must always have a sort of pathetic interest attaching to it, if we view it at all apart from a mere business point of view. It is the last link which connects the interests and affections of the living man with that earthly futurity on which, for him, death has closed the door for ever. It is, moreover, one of a class of documents in which there is necessarily an endless variety—in itself a charm—for it is a record which oftentimes indicates much individual character; a record sometimes of religious feeling and opinion, of humility and devotion, at other times of ostentation and pride; sometimes of folly and spleen, sometimes of strict justice, at other times of its reverse, and not unfrequently of kindly feeling and Christian charity and noble and well-directed munificence. And as regards those earlier testamentary dispositions with which I am now more particularly concerned, they give us a key of no small value to the understanding something of the daily life of our ancestors—of those whose names we bear, whose lands we have inherited, and whose manners and customs have left a stamp behind them which, in a more or less modified form, survives even to the present hour.

I have not selected this subject with any presumptuous idea of giving new information to those who are already experts in the science of archæology; but if I rightly understand the object of meetings like these, held year after year by the British Archæological Association in different parts of the country, they are intended not only to afford opportunities for the learned archæologist to have a personal inspection of the ancient structure, the book, the medal, or the manuscript of whose character or existence he has hitherto been cognizant only by reading or by hearsay, but also to foster among those who simply love that which bears the stamp of antiquity and the impress of the past, a more intelligent appreciation of that which possesses for them so great and undefinable a charm.

The observations I have to make, must of necessity be somewhat superficial, and anything but exhaustive of the subject, for it would require a regular treatise to do justice to it, and the limits of a paper like the present forbid anything but a very cursory treatment. One thing only I would premise, that however superficial may be the view we are able to take of what lies before us, we, at all events as far

as our view extends, arrive at *truth*. It is no fancy picture which we draw when we take these documents for our guide.

My observations are grounded upon portions of that most valuable series of wills and inventories published by the SURTEES SOCIETY, a Society which assuredly ought to have its due meed of honour given to it in an assembly like that to which I present the subject, met together in the city which gave it birth, and for the purpose of viewing the many objects of interest which the great antiquarian whose name it bears, and to perpetuate whose memory it was founded, has enshrined as a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰ* in his most valuable *History of the Palatinate of Durham*. Now we shall find, I apprehend, that the wills and inventories of our ancestors throw much valuable light upon, 1, the materials in which their wealth consisted; 2, the disposition of that wealth; 3, their literature and education; 4, the inquiries of the genealogist; and, 5, some of their customs and habits.

In directing our attention to the materials in which their wealth consisted, I do not think I need say anything as to *land*. This, from all time, has been the most coveted and cherished possession, and of course the original source of wealth of whatever kind, since all the various articles which are interchanged amongst men in the operations of commerce are more or less directly the results of its possession. In most of the wills and inventories before us we are carried back to a more patriarchal state of things than is now existing in almost any country in Europe, unless indeed it may be in Hungary or Servia. The great nobility and the higher ecclesiasties, as well as the *moyen gentilhomme*, the secular priest on his country living, and the yeoman on his forty-shilling freehold, were possessed of exceeding many flocks and herds which grazed upon those wide tracts of uninclosed land which then spread like a vast fringe around the comparatively small nucleus of cultivated ground, of which the baronial castle, the episcopal residence or the monastic house, the rectory or the vicarage, the manor-place or the grange, was the centre. The country did not present to view the same general subdivision of land into farms and holdings that it does now. The lord of the soil had a whole army of retainers, of various ranks and degrees, who had

charge, directly under himself, of his horses, his sheep, and his oxen. John, lord Neville of Raby in 1386,¹ leaves 500 marks to be distributed at the discretion of his executors amongst such of his servants as do not take specific bequests under his will, and he particularises their ranks and degrees: *armigeri, valetti et garciones*—his esquires, his body-servants or yeomen, and his pages; and he directs that 200 marks out of the sum mentioned are to be divided amongst his ploughmen and his waggoners, his "*hyne, nethirdes, et shipperdes*." The number of the individuals comprised in these classes must have been very great, if we may judge from the amount of the bequest, which, in the currency of the present day would come to something like £2000. The number of the flocks and herds they tended must therefore, as is obvious, have been proportionably large. But indeed the same document gives us some direct idea of the wealth of the lord of Raby in flocks and herds. He bequeaths (*inter alia*) to his eldest son all the animals employed in his ploughs, carts, and harrows, and besides these (of which no small number would be required for his various manors) he particularises 200 cows, 200 slots and stirks, and 2000 sheep. And this eldest son Ralph, who was the next lord of Raby, leaves to his wife Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt, a bequest of a like kind, one which would be but a cumbersome legacy to a modern great lady. My lady was to receive 100 cows, 24 beasts of burden (*jumenta*), and 1000 sheep.²

The inventory of John Fitz-Marmaduke, lord of Horden, in this county, taken in 1312,³ gives a very minute and curious record of his possessions, with prices attached. Cattle and sheep formed in his case also a large proportion of his wealth. He had 239 horned cattle of various ages, 938 sheep, 32 horses, mares, and foals, and 76 pigs. It may be interesting to mention a few of the prices. A sheep was worth 18*d.*, a draught ox 13*s.* 4*d.*, 5 stirks are set down at 10*s.*, a cow 5*s.*, a white horse is estimated at 40*s.*, wheat is given at 8*s.* a quarter.

In an inventory of the possessions of the Prior of Durham in 1446⁴ we have a similar record. In this we have an account of the farming stock in his various manors, and

¹ Wills and Inventories (Surtees Society), p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

we learn that the ground sown with wheat and "blandeorn" (a word still in use in Yorkshire) was valued at 7s. 6d. per acre, that with beans and oats 3s. per acre. Legacies are frequently bequeathed in the shape of animals. I select a few at random from the will of Henry Lord Percy in 1349.¹ He leaves to John de Hoton a good mare with her foal; to Sir Thomas de Rokeby a mare and foal which were at Alnwick; to the Rector of Petworth 6 cows with their calves, to be selected from the best of those he has at Petworth. And he remembers his friend Master John de Creyk, Rector of Spofforth, by the legacy of a good mare and foal in the park of Spofforth, which the Rector probably had sometime or other admired. The Lord Percy, indeed, must have been a great horse breeder. He gives a mare and foal each to a number of his friends. The Prioress of Stanfeld has a black colt and 6 cows bequeathed to her.

Take also the inventory of a *moyen gentilhomme*. Amongst the possession of John Sayer, of Worsall, Esquire,² we find his chief wealth consisting in his horses and cattle. With the exception of a few articles of plate, and some furniture of an humble description, a chain and cross and signet of gold, which were to go as heir-looms to his eldest son, there remains but the record of his live stock: 3 young horses and 3 fillies, a bay mare and foal, 3 mares and their foals, 2 old mares, 3 bulls, 8 stotts, and 15 calves. The draught oxen are 20 in number, and he has 30 stirks and 46 milk kine and calves; and he, too, leaves legacies out of these possessions to his little grandson 2 mares and 2 cows, and other bequests of a young mare, a black mare, and 3 cows.

But it must obviously occur to the inquirer, what did our ancestors do with the money which they received from the sale of their horses and oxen, the sheep and the wool which they produced? Horses evidently were bred in great numbers, and we can easily understand that there must have been a great demand for them during the wars which so often prevailed, to say nothing of the frequent progresses made by the great barons from one manor house or castle to another, attended by numerous bands of mounted retainers. There must have been great difficulty in finding eligible security for money. No doubt there were needy

¹ Testamenta Eboracensia, p. 57.

² Wills and Inventories, p. 109.

men then, as at all times, and we find in the will or the inventory lists of debts, of sums lent or money borrowed. Sometimes we find a man lending to the prior and convent of Durham, and this no doubt would be looked upon as an admirable investment. As regards the great nobility, I think it extremely probable that they invested not unfrequently in foreign securities. The intercourse with foreign countries consequent upon the crusades, would probably lead to the more extended knowledge of business matters, which would induce them to venture upon such a step. I ground this idea upon the fact that Anthony Beek, the great Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, invested largely in this way. During the course of little more than a year (1308) he deposited various sums in the hands of the company of the Bellardi at Lucca, amounting in the whole to £4060:13:4, or upwards of £60,000 of our money.¹

One great mode, however, of investment of money was in the purchase of plate. The quantities of silver cups, dishes, salt-cellars, spoons, and every conceivable form into which that precious metal could be manufactured, which were possessed by the great nobles, the rich churchmen, and other opulent persons, was something enormous, and, as we might expect, they are often made the subject of bequest. Silver-gilt cups and ewers, *e.g.*, are left to each of his daughters by Ralph, Lord Neville, already mentioned. Rings, jewels, and girdles also occur very frequently. The Baron of Greystock leaves his daughter-in-law a ring and brooch of gold, set with sapphire and diamond, in addition to a flock of ewes and their lambs, and a cup of silver gilt, with a white eagle sitting on the cover. We have often a very minute description of them, and of the inscriptions upon them. *I. H. C.* was frequent, as was also *M.* "*Benedictus Dno in donis suis*" was not uncommon. There were also other mottoes of a genial type, such as "*Drynk and fyll zytt.*" Another goes a little further: "*Drynke deepe*"; whilst a third counsels, as it were, a more moderate degree of hilarity, "*Be mery and welcome.*" Sometimes they seem to have given a pet name to a favourite cup. John de Wessington, Prior of Durham, 1416-1446,² had one

¹ See Raine's *Auckland Castle*, p. 20.

² Wills and Inventories, p. 94.

called *Herdewyk*, another *Abell*, and a third *Beda*. The Master of Sherburn Hospital in 1299¹ has one which he calls *Chanteplure*, and the same dignitary has many rings which he bequeaths to his various friends—the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, Norwich, and Sarum, etc., set with great rubies and sapphires. He also leaves his niece, we may remark in passing, a cup of cocoa nut set in silver, for such no doubt is the meaning of a cup “*de nuce Indye, cum pede et apparatu argenti*.” *Nuces cum pedibus argenteis et deauratis* were, indeed, not at all uncommon as drinking cups. A “*nigrum nott*” set in silver is mentioned. Glass never occurs, but we meet with drinking horns set in silver. The Master of Sherburn just mentioned leaves one to his sister to remain in the family as an heir-loom for ever. I may mention here one piece of plate bequeathed by a canon of York in 1436² to a Mistress Ellen de Pykeryng, which gives one an idea of more refinement and luxury than one is apt to associate with that period; it is what he calls a “*puff*” of silver for scattering rose-water round a room. I may also mention that we find *silver forks*, gilt, named in the will of Henry Lord Percy in 1349.³ But I must remark that the wills and inventories of the Yorkshire nobles, gentry, clergy, merchants, and tradesmen, more especially those of the city of York itself, present a very marked difference to those of the same social position in Durham and Northumberland. There was evidently more wealth, greater luxury, and more refinement, arising in part, no doubt, from the pre-eminence of York as a seat of trade and commerce, and partly from the greater security of property by reason of their distance from the Border, and consequent immunity from the troublesome incursions of the marauding Scottish barons and their wild bands of moss troopers.

But the wealth of our ancestors was laid up in another form besides that of gold and silver cups and ewers, costly rings, and jewelled girdles. Vast quantities of robes, bales of velvet, silk and broadcloth, gowns, kirtles, furs, form the subjects of bequests, and swell the lists of the inventory. Tapestry and embroidered cushions, curtains, and coverlets for the beds, are of frequent occurrence also; many of these

¹ Wills and Inventories, p. 6.

² Test. Ebor., vol. ii. p. 15n.

³ Ibid., p. 59.

pieces of arras and hangings being the result of the diligence and taste of the lady of the castle or the manor-house, and of the industry and skill of her gentlewomen and her handmaidens. Pious mottoes were wrought on them, and the shield of the lordly baron whose halls they adorned was skilfully depicted in all the glory of its heraldic blazonry, gleaming amidst branching flowers, popinjays, peacocks, and all manner of curious adornment. The furniture, even in great houses, had not the modern profusion and variety of character. A Flanders chest is a common article, benches, and what is still called the long settle in a farm-house kitchen, formed the seats. An *iron* chair is named in the Lord of Horden's inventory already mentioned, and the old warrior left behind him a long list of pieces of armour, helmets, corslets, swords, haquetons, gauntlets, lances, bows, and furniture for his war-horses. We note also among his goods three sets of chess men, and a pair of tables for the game of draughts. The mention of armour reminds me that the churchmen of that day often had a goodly array of arms, offensive and defensive, in their houses. The Master of Sherburn Hospital bequeaths all the armour which might be at that place at the time of his decease to be divided between the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers,¹ stipulating only that the share assigned to the latter should at least amount to the value of four marks. The Vicar of Gainford in 1412² appears to have been of a warlike turn. He bequeaths arrows, a first-rate suit of mail (*loricam optimam*), a breast-plate, a "vawm brace," and "vere brace," a "basenet" with "aventayle," and a pair of gauntlets of plate. But the beds, with all their proper garniture of curtain and canopy, mattress, bolster, blanket, and embroidered coverlet, were evidently amongst the most costly and valued of their household goods, always excepting the garments which clothed their own persons, and, above all, the magnificent vestments which arrayed my lord's chaplain at the altar of his private chapel.

We may now, however, turn to the manner in which our ancestors made their testamentary dispositions, and the way in which they bequeathed their goods and chattels, their plate and robes and money. I pass over, of course, bequests to wife or children. There is nothing remarkable

¹ Wills and Inventories, p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 54.

to be observed about these, except that we may note, *en passant*, the sort of provision made by a great baron for his younger sons. In 1436 the Baron of Greystock¹ leaves a charge upon his property of 100 marks per annum to each of his three younger sons, until they shall obtain, either by marriage or in some other way, an income of that amount; they are otherwise to receive that annuity during life. The provision was not a very meagre one.

What I wish, however, chiefly to draw attention to, is the nature and extent of the bequests made either for religious or charitable objects, purposes of public utility, such as promoted the kindly charities of social life, or such as are curious in themselves, and throw light upon the customs and manners of the time. I would place in the foremost rank the bequests made *to the poor*. Whatever else may be passed over the poor are never forgotten. We cannot but acknowledge that the ancient Church of this country most assuredly taught her children to give with an ungrudging heart and an unsparing hand to the support and comfort of the poor and the afflicted, the leper and the bed-ridden, the lame and the blind. In those days, as every one knows, there was no legal provision for the poor, but if we may judge from the fact that not one alone, but I think *every* will that we take up, from that of the great noble to the petty tradesman, contains a bequest to the poor, coupled with the daily alms that were given at the gates of the many religious houses of the land, there is room for a doubt whether the indigent in our own time are so very much better off than they were in these days of the middle ages, for the munificence of the gifts is extraordinary. To take the first in point of magnitude, though not the earliest in date. Bishop Skirlaw, one of the many princely prelates who have worn the mitre of the see of Durham, leaves instructions to his executors to distribute, in beds and other necessaries, 1000 marks to 1000 poor people,—a bequest which would not fall much short of £10,000 of our present money.² In 1344, Walter Percehay, lord of Ryton,³ leaves £40 for distribution among the poor on the day of his interment, and lays a most stringent obligation on his executors, that, on peril of their souls, no poor person shall go away without

¹ Wills and Inventories, p. 84.

² Test. Ebor., 313.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

receiving a penny, or bread to that amount. Sir Herbert St. Quintin (1347)¹ leaves a like sum. Henry Lord Percy, in 1349, leaves a hundred marks for distribution.² Robert Playce, rector of Brompton, in 1345³ makes especial mention of the poor and indigent widows in his parishes of Brompton and Wynteringham. Hugh de Tunstede, rector of Catton (1346),⁴ leaves ten quarters of wheat in bread, or money to that amount, to the poor on his day of burial. Emma, wife of William Paynot of Esingwold,⁵ leaves to each widow in that place 3*d.*, and she estimates the sum required to fulfil this bequest at 10*s.* 9*d.* Seven of the widows are singled out by name. She remembers also the poor in S. Leonard's Hospital at York, and to a sister in S. Nicholas' Hospital she leaves 20*d.* I may just mention that Mrs. Paynot had thirty godechildren, to whom she bequeathed 3*d.* a piece. A rector of Staunton (1346)⁶ leaves ten marks to the *nativi*, or born slaves, of Sir Galfrid de Staunton, his brother. Isabella, wife of Sir William Fitz William, leaves ten quarters of wheat to the poor.⁷ Henry Lord Percy, besides a hundred marks to the poor on the day of his burial, directs that £20 shall be provided, to be distributed to the poor *per vias*,⁸ as his corpse was on its way to its place of sepulture at Salley Abbey. One testator, having doubtless observed many instances of the abuse of gifts in money, makes a proviso that the legacy he gives to the poor shall be in *bread*, not money, "*quia non indigentes petunt sicut indigentes.*" Four houses of lepers in the suburbs of York often receive bequests; and it is somewhat touching to meet with special bequests to particular forms of human infirmity and sickness; the paralytic, the bed-ridden, the lame and the blind,⁹ are thus distinguished. Nor are the widow or the orphan left unheeded, or the prisoner in the dungeon forgotten. The list might be extended *ad infinitum*, but I must pass on to other matters.

Amongst the bequests to objects of a religious character,

¹ Test. Ebor., p. 40.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 17.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 50.

² *Ib.*, p. 57.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 21.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 57.

³ *Ib.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 28.

⁹ There is a bequest in the will of Richard Bury of Bylburgh which shews a tender care for those who, by reason of this and other infirmities, could no longer minister at the altar of God,—"*Item lego presbiteris cæcis vel leprosis, seu aliter languentibus, qui non valent celebrare circa divinum officium celebrandum, et aliis pauperibus eodem modo languentibus et jacentibus x*ls.**"—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 192.

the building and repairing of churches holds, as might be expected, a prominent position; and foremost amongst these bequests we may place those which were made to the fabric of York Minster, which are very numerous, and present to our view amounts varying in magnitude, but shewing, from the different *status* of those who left them, how deep and wide-spread was the interest taken, from one century to another, in the rearing of that magnificent structure. The great baron and the wealthy churchman leave their £40 or their £20, a clerk of lesser degree his half-mark, whilst we find a husbandman bequeathing his 1s.; and it is somewhat affecting to find a poor leper in the hospital at Monkbridge leaving his 6*d.* to the works which were going on at the great mother church of York.¹ The same husbandman who gives his 1s. to these works, leaves also 1s. to the building of Fridaythorpe Church, and three rams to the building of the church of Wettewang.

Church restoration was a work that went on very briskly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and we constantly find legacies to the repairs or additions that were making to the parish churches. In many cases the particular work is specified, sometimes an east window, sometimes a roof, at other times a bell-tower or a chantry-chapel. It would be curious to make a tour of inspection, and trace out these works, which doubtless remain in many cases, and mark their character. When a date can be accurately ascertained, much light is thrown upon architectural developments.

But besides the fabrics of the cathedral and the parish church, the rearing of the one and the upholding of the other, we find a vast amount given in the shape of garniture for the altars which those churches enshrined, and for the priests who celebrated at them. I have already mentioned the immense quantity of robes, velvet and silk, and cloth of gold, which were laid by in store, and the embroidered vestments for the private chapel of the knight or the baron, which formed so prominent a feature in the lists of their possessions; and these were perpetually bequeathed "*ad ampliandum cultum divinum,—ad decorem Domûs Dei*", and they are often minutely described. All sorts of decorative embroidery glistened upon the chasuble, the tunicle,

¹ *Test. Ebor.*, p. 414. This negatives the statement which is sometimes put forth, that a leper could not make a will.

the stole, the cope, and the alb. Sometimes they were adorned with images of saints ; at other times with the less appropriate emblems of human pomp and pride, the heraldic bearings of the lord of the castle or the patron of the living. Yet we may not too hastily condemn. We find, indeed, a great noble like the Lord Latimer, whose heiress married John Lord Neville of Raby, directing in his will that each parish church in his patronage should have a cope of cloth of gold or silk, embroidered with his arms :¹ and it almost wears the semblance of the great baron clothing the priests who served them in his livery, as though they were *his* servants instead of the servants of God's altar. But we find in another will an incidental explanation, which tells us what was, no doubt, very frequently the reason. Richard Watere, a citizen and merchant of York, orders his executors to buy a cope of ruby velvet to complete a set of vestments of that colour and material in St. Saviour's Church ; and he desires that his executors will cause a shield of his arms to be wrought on the *libellus* of the cope,² "câ intentione ut populus specialiter oret pro animâ meâ."

A word as to the colours of these vestments. The Church of Rome now appropriates certain colours to certain days and seasons, and some members of our own Church are careful to vary their church decoration in a similar manner, on the score of presumed conformity to the ancient usages of the Church of this country ; but I can see little trace of these distinctions existing as a rule, with the exception of purple or black in the season of Lent, or in times of mourning, and an instance which occurs in the will of Sir Thomas Chaworth (1458), of a bequest of a vestment of white damask, and three copes of the same colour and material, "for to serve on our Lady dayes in lovyng and worshipping of hir." If any colours preponderated, they were red and blue (*de bloodio colore*), green frequently, but not so commonly as the two just mentioned.³ But all sorts of colour, material, and

¹ Test. Ebor., p. 114.

² *Ib.*, p. 274. The *libellus*, or rather *labellus*, of the cope was the broad border of embroidery which formed the decoration of each of its sides in front.

³ In going through the volumes of wills and inventories, in preparation for this paper, I noticed the colours of 125 *vestimenta*, and out of that number the proportion of colours is as follows,—red, 49 ; blue, 34 ; green, 20 ; white, 14 ; and black, 8. The word *vestimentum* had a technical sense. It usually signified the full set of vestments used by the priest and his assistants, and is often explained in wills and inventories thus,—"*vestimentum*, i.e. a chasuble (*casula*),

device, were used. Besides the ordinary colours which have been mentioned, others occur, such as "murrey," "tawny," and yellow. A man would leave his robes, or the web from which they had been cut, to make a vestment for the church. Sometimes they used a combination of colours. A vestment was sometimes chequered and sometimes *paly*, as a herald would call it, of two colours, *e.g.*, white and green, red and white, blue and white; sometimes broidered with archangels, sometimes with stars, at another time with eagles, griffins, peacocks, or flowers.

Much as our ancestors loved their church, and freely as they gave to the structures which enshrined her holy rites, and to their internal adornment, they were not insensible to the necessities of their age as regarded other things. Hence we find many bequests for the building or keeping up of bridges and the amendment of roads. Sir William Vavasour of Haslewood (1314)¹ bequeaths 20s. each to the building or repairing of the bridges of Wetherby, Boulton, Stutton, and Aberford. Ralph Lord Neville of Raby, whom I have more than once mentioned, leaves 100 marks to build a bridge at Winston, and £20 to finish the bridge of Ulshaw near Middleham, if not completed in his lifetime. Cecilia Underwood, wife of a Durham merchant (1343)² leaves bequests for a bridge over the Skerne, and for one at Haughton; for another called Walkebrigg, and for bridges between Norton and Hardwick. Sir Richard de la Pole (1345)³ makes a provision for repairing the king's highways leading out of London northwards, and out of Hull towards the west. Such are a few specimens of the attention paid to works of public utility; and I may mention that the great churchmen were ever foremost in their promotion. The ancient bridges which span the stream whose waters flow past these walls of Durham city, were the work of churchmen. One was built by Pudsay towards the latter part of the twelfth century; the other, at the northern entrance of the town, is usually attributed to Bishop Flambard, who undoubtedly built one

2 tunicles or dalmatics, a stole, amice, and maniple"; adding occasionally three or more copes, and sometimes an altar-frontal and a hanging for the lectern. But it is clear that "*the set*" were all of one colour. It rather upsets one's preconceived notions to find a "vestment of *white* fustian for *Lent* mentioned." (See *York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, p. 275.)

¹ Wills and Inventories, p. 13.

² *Ib.*, p. 23.

³ Test. Ebor., p. 7.

connecting the Castle with the borough of Framwellgate. The existing bridge is, however, in all probability the joint work of Bishop Skirlaw and the Prior of Durham, soon after 1400, when the old one was almost entirely carried away by a flood.

But it is time to direct our attention for a few moments to the *books* which our ancestors possessed, and endeavour to gain some idea of the extent of their learning and the subjects of their reading. The list of those which were possessed even by the higher ecclesiastics is meagre in the extreme. The catalogue of books possessed by those great prelates, Bishop Karileph and Bishop Pudsey, would not fill an octavo page; and a century after Pudsey's death a single book or two are usually all that occur in the will of any single individual. No list, unfortunately, remains of Bishop Bury's books. It would have been highly interesting to have known the particulars of the library of the author of the *Philobiblon*; for he was a prelate who, as William de Chambre tells us, was universally reported to be in possession of a greater number of books than all the bishops of England put together. A coeval copy of the *Philobiblon* is preserved in Bishop Cosin's library. I will mention a few of the more prominent bequests of books. There are numerous legacies of service-books of various kinds, and books of private devotion, Missals, Graduals, Psalters, and Primers; but these it would be tedious to particularise. I will only mention that amongst these a *Portiforium* is one of the commonest subjects of bequest. It is, I believe, the same thing as the Breviary. One of these legacies is a touching one. Thomas Walleworth, a canon residentiary of York, and rector of Hemingburgh by the presentation of the prior and convent of Durham, bequeaths to his chaplain (or, as we should now call him, his curate), in appreciation of his long and faithful service, "parvum Portiforium meum, cum quo sepulchrum Domini nostri Jesu Christi peregrè visitavi."¹ The well-worn book of devotion, doubtless, had a double value in his eyes, from having been used as he knelt at the very tomb of the Saviour whom he loved and served.

But to return. Among the more prominent bequests of books are the following: in 1345 Robert Place² mentions

¹ Test. Ebor., p. 354.

² Ib., p. 9.

"*bibulam meam in Romanam linguam translatam.*"¹ He also bequeaths a book "*de lege Terræ.*" "Decreta" and "Decretals" occur not unfrequently. The Earl of Warren in 1347 leaves to his son William a bible which he had had made in France,² to remain in the house of which his said son was prior in memory of the donor.³ In 1348 John de Harpham, vicar of Outthorne,⁴ leaves to Nicolas, an apothecary at Beverley, "*unum librum de Phisicâ,*" a very appropriate bequest. In 1349 we have the head of the great house of Percy leaving his daughter a book "*de naturâ animalium, in gallico.*"⁵ One solitary book (with the exception of a psalter) would appear to have been all the literature to be found in the princely mansion of the Percy. A chaplain of St. Martin's in Coney-street, who makes his will but a few years later, far exceeds the great baron in the extent of his library. He mentions several books, and particularises three: one "*de Commemorationibus et de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*"; a book concerning the seven wise men of Rome, and Marcus son of Cato, with other contents not specified; and a third which appears to have recounted the deeds of Titus and Vespasian. Books "*de Grammaticâ et de Dialecticâ*" are in the possession of an advocate of the Court of York in 1369; and in 1372 we have a legacy to Merton College of a book "*de Distinctionibus Mauricii*", and the "*Compotus Johannis de sacro Bosco*"—a Kalendar, and Bracton *de Juribus Angliæ*. The same testator leaves to Baliol College his Bible bound in red. It would be

¹ The language of this translation was, no doubt, French. Ducange gives many illustrations of the use of the term. It may be sufficient to mention one or two. He quotes from Albericus in Chron. ann. 1177,—"*Multos libros, et maximè Vitas Sanctorum et Actus Apostolorum, de Latino vertit in Romanum.*" He says further: "*Philippus Clarevallensis de Miraculis S. Bernardi, cap. 4, § 15, Eberhardum Germanum inducit Romanam linguam, Gallicam vocantem*"; and he explains *Romanum verbum* as *lingua Francia communis*, citing the following passage from *Statuta Eccles. Nannetens. apud Marten.*, tom. 4, Anecd., col. 931, num. 3, "*Baptismus cum omni reverentiâ et honore et cum magnâ cautelâ fiat, maximè in distinctione verborum et prolatione, in quibus tota virtus sacramenti consistit, scilicet, Ego te baptizo, etc. Et in Romano verbo sub hac formâ laicos doceant sacerdotes debere frequenter baptizare pueros.*" Yet it does not appear to have been exclusively applied to the French tongue, for he observes, "*Etiamnum Belgæ linguam Romanam vocant Wollonicam: et Brabantia et Flandriæ regiones, ubi lingua Wallonica obtinet, le Roman pays.*"

² Test. Ebor., p. 43.

³ William de Warren, natural son of the Earl of Warren, was prior of Horton in Kent.

⁴ Test. Ebor., p. 49.

⁵ Ibid., p. 59.

curious to ascertain if these books yet remained in the custody of those societies. In 1420 we have that curious item in the lady of Dalden's will, which has been often quoted, and occasioned a good deal of speculation as to its meaning: "j romance boke is called y^e Gospelles".¹ The same lady bequeaths a book which is really romance in the sense that we attach to the word—a book "yat is called Tristram", the Sir Tristram of Thomas the Rhymer, edited in 1804 by Sir Walter Scott from a MS. in the advocate's library. A former rector of Houghton-le-Spring in 1427 possesses a Chrysostom on S. Matthew, and a book with the very dubious title of "Belial". Thos. Hebbeden (1435) Dean of S. Andrew, Auckland, bequeaths to Isabella Eure a French book called "Launcelot".² We learn from his will, moreover, a very interesting piece of information, namely the sum required to purchase two "Gradalia" for his church at Auckland. He bequeaths for this purpose no less a sum than ten marks. The college, by the way, over which he presided at Auckland, had a very interesting collection of books in 1498, a list of which is in existence, but it would occupy too much time to recount the titles of the volumes. It is the more interesting, because that the members of that collegiate foundation appear to have had a

¹ Surtees asks, "Did a romance ever actually exist under this strange title? Or had the lady of Dalden met with one of Wicliffe's Bibles, and conceived the Gospels to be a series of fabulous adventures, in which our Saviour and his apostles were introduced to act and to moralise, like the goodly personages who figure in the ancient mysteries, or in 'Les Jeux du Roi Renè d'Anjou.'" (*Hist. Durham*, i, ii, 5). Dr. Raine, in his note upon this will (*Wills and Inventories*, i, 65) suggests that "perhaps nothing more is meant than the Gospels in English, of Wicliffe's translation"; and Maskell, who quotes the passage in his *Monumenta Ritualia* (ii, xlv), offers no explanation. But there can be no doubt that the word has the same meaning as "*Romana lingua*" mentioned above, p. 412. Ducange explains "*Romancium*" as "*Gallica lingua vulgaris*", and cites several passages in support of this signification of the word. He says also "*Romancium* etiam appellant Hispani vulgare suum idioma, quod ut et Gallicum et Italicum, à Romano seu Latino sumat originem"; and to this he appends the following illustration,—"*Statuimus, ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi Testamenti in Romancio habeat, et si aliquis habeat . . . tradat eos loci Episcopo comburendos, quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tanquam suspectus de hæresi . . . habeatur.*" (Jacobus I, Rex Aragon, in *Constitutionibus Catalanæ MSS.*) Had the lady of Dalden lived in Spain, she could scarcely have ventured upon openly bequeathing such a legacy as "a boke of y^e Gospelles" translated into the vernacular. In her case, though not in English, it was nevertheless in a language with which the higher classes in this country were probably so far conversant at that period as almost to entitle it to the appellation of a "vulgar tongue," as regarded their acquaintance with it. We find many wills drawn up in French.

² Wills and Inventories, p. 84.

school in which many of the young nobility and gentry of the north of England received their education.

We come now to another matter on which light is thrown by the wills of our forefathers, which is genealogy. There are few points with regard to which persons so willingly deceive themselves, or on which they accept with readiness information for which there is scarcely a shadow of testimony, as that of their own genealogies. It is so now, as a book professing to be the *History of the Landed Gentry of England* can abundantly testify, in which histories are given of the origin and descent and by-gone social status of many families which would be very difficult of proof. And it was the same in the days of the heralds' visitations. The herald, no doubt, put down correctly enough the date of birth of the existing representative of the family, the maiden name of his wife, and the names and number of his children, and we may usually rely also on the account given of the man's immediate progenitors. But there correctness often ends. The earlier descents in a pedigree are frequently very little to be relied on. And here it is that the will steps in with an account on which we may depend. In the first place, one of these old testators does not tell you what he is not. If he is only a yeoman or a tradesman he does not describe himself as a knight or an esquire; and if he specifies the names of his children, or tells who his daughters married, or mentions such and such a person as his kinsman, you may take it for granted that his statements are true. The records of the genealogy may not unfrequently be corrected by the bequest contained in the will.

There remains to be noticed the indications of religious feeling, and some of the religious usages, as also some of the customs and manners of our forefathers, of which we obtain an idea through the medium of the documents to which we have been directing our attention. With regard to certain religious usages which are commonly mentioned, it is unnecessary to say much; *e. g.*, we all know that it was the constant habit to direct masses to be said for a certain time after the death of the testator; yet it is, perhaps, worth mentioning that two years is the usual time for which the celebration of these masses is directed to be continued: "*sicut mos est pro defunctis celebrare*" is the expression in one will where the testator thus limits the time.

• One thing is very striking as regards the religious feeling of those times, namely, the immense popularity of the four orders of friars—the Carmelites, the Preachers, the Friars Minors, and the Augustines. It is very rare to find during all the long period from the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, a single bequest to any of the great monasteries of the old foundations, the Benedictines or the Cistercians; whilst, from the humblest person who has any thing to leave, to the lordly baron with his wide extent of manors, scarcely one will is to be found which does not contain some legacy, of varying amount, to the houses of the friars; and as I need not tell you they had houses in all the great towns. Newcastle, York, Hartlepool, Scarborough, Beverley, Hull, Bristol, and of course London, all are mentioned.¹

Almost every will begins with a religious preamble or expression of belief. But I do not think that this is to be regarded, generally speaking, as an expression of the personal religious feeling or thought of the testator. There is such an identity of terms in almost every will, bequeathing the soul to God, to Blessed Mary, and to all the saints in heaven, and the body to be buried as directed, that one is led to the idea that it was simply a customary phraseology used by the chaplain, the notary, or the scribe who penned the will, and had little more to do, in reality, with the man's religious sentiments than the formula of "In Dei Nomine, Amen," which has survived as the ordinary commencement of a testament almost to our own time. Now and then, no doubt, the will was dictated by the testator's own mouth, and then we get at a genuine expression of religious feeling. I know not that a better example can be given than the preamble to the will of Allan de Newark, Master of Sherburn Hospital, in 1403:² "Seeing that in this vale of tears I have no continuing city, but am seeking

¹ The Friars Minors came to England in 1226, two years before the death of their founder. It is not difficult to account for their popularity, for they were missionaries preaching to the poor, and living like them. They erected their convents in the most squalid localities, and occupied themselves in every work of mercy, nursing and tending the leper, and were constant in their endeavours to alleviate every form of human misery. They spread most rapidly. Within thirty years after their arrival in England, their numbers, in this country alone, amounted to 1,242, and they counted forty-nine convents in different places. For a most interesting account of them, see Professor Brewer's preface to *Monumenta Franciscana*.

² Wills and Inventories, p. 51.

for another, which, as I hope, through God's infinite goodness, will be an abode of blessedness, and since dust I am and to dust I must return, but when, or where, or how, is known to God alone, and because I would fain dispose of the perishable goods which I have gathered up towards the refreshment of the poor, the greater honour of God's service, and the salvation of my own and others' souls,—I do make and ordain my will in manner following :—I bequeath my soul to God's boundless mercy, and to the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, and to St. John the Evangelist, and to all the saints of God, by whose intercessions I firmly believe that I shall have eternal life." He then proceeds to give instructions as to his interment in York Minster : "Juxta altare Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangelista magistri mei." Sometimes there is a solemn brevity and simplicity about these preambles, which is striking. "I bequeath my sowll to God," says Thomas Swinburne, "and my bodye to be buried wher it shall please God to visyte me."

The restitution of money unjustly retained, chiefly for forgotten or unpaid tithes, is not unfrequent. A curious bequest as to restitution occurs in the will of Henry de Percy in 1349. He leaves £200 to satisfy any claims that might be made throughout the whole of England, wheresoever he might have passed in time of war or peace, if any one could allege and bring satisfactory proof that a debt was owing to him, or that he had sustained any loss or damage through the violence or plunder of either the testator or his followers. The legacy represents, you will bear in mind, about £3000 of our present money. The same great baron leaves another curious bequest. It appears that he had been minded to go to the Holy Land (for God's honour and service, as he expresses it) and had provided for his journey 1000 marks of sterling money, "*in florenis de Florentiâ*," and he directs that if his son Henry de Percy should wish to make the expedition in his name he is to have the money which he has laid by for the purpose. In this case age or infirmity probably prevented the testator's own personal completion of his purpose; but we find curious indications that *pilgrimages*—those common devotional acts of the middle ages—were sometimes done by proxy. Thomas de Ridell, a burgess of Berwick-on-Tweed,

leaves five marks to a certain man who is making a pilgrimage in his name to the shrine of St. James.¹ Nay, this deputy pilgrimage, curiously enough, was sometimes to be performed after the testator's death. Sir John Lumley, of Lumley (1418), directs his executors to find two men to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury (no doubt to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine) on behalf of himself and Felicia his wife, who had died sometime before him.²

There is a strong religious feeling portrayed in this mode of making a nuncupative will by Sir William Crathorne of Crathorne, in Cleveland (1346). He is about to set out to join the expedition to Scotland, and he goes solemnly into his parish church, and there he declares by word of mouth a short and simple will. He bequeaths 20s. to the repair of the church roof, his armour to a friend, and all the rest of his goods to his wife and children. He joined the army and was slain at Neville's Cross.³

The notices of funeral customs are curious and interesting. Some of the wills contain pictures so graphic, that we can almost see the funeral train in all its picturesque pageantry passing before our mind's eye. Take, for example, that of the Lord Neville of Raby (1386) with the twenty-four men in russett gowns bearing as many torches, the coffin covered with a pall of russett ensigned with a cross of red, and five tapers of ten pounds weight each burning around the bier.⁴ A rector of Catton orders four poor men in black gowns and hoods, whom he mentions by name, to stand around his corpse, and he directs that the cloth that covers his bier is to be divided amongst four poor widows, whose names he also gives. Round the body of the rector of Sutton-on-Derwent the clerks are to sing, and the widows to watch and pray. Six poor men in russett gowns are to sit and pray round the corpse of Sir Robert Swylyngton until his burial (1379).⁵ Elizabeth Lady Wortley⁶ provides that twelve poor women in *white* gowns and hoods shall stand round her corpse during the celebration on the day of her sepulture. White dresses and hoods are still the attire at a maiden's funeral in some of our rural districts, but it appears from the Lady Wortley's will that white was not always then the distinctive mark of mourn-

¹ Wills and Inventories, p. 28.

² *Ib.*, p. 62.

³ Test. Ebor., p. 21.

⁴ Wills and Inventories, p. 41.

⁵ Test. Ebor., p. 123.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 107

ing for an unmarried person. Sometimes thirteen poor men are to bear thirteen wax tapers. The number was doubtless significant, and chosen in memory of our blessed Lord and his twelve apostles. Again, *five* tapers are ordered in numberless wills to be burnt around the bier on the day of interment. This number recurs so frequently, that it is obvious it must have some peculiar significance, and two of the wills give a clue to the reason. John of Gaunt¹ bequeaths to each of certain orders of friars ten marks of silver, of which five marks, he says, are in honour of the five principal wounds of our Blessed Lord, and the remaining five in honour of the five joys of his Blessed Mother. He gives other bequests with like significance: to each house of lepers within *five* leagues of London which have charge of *five* afflicted persons he gives *five* nobles in honour of our Lord's wounds, and to those which have fewer inmates, he gives *three* nobles in honour of the Blessed Trinity. Then a chaplain at Newark (1467) bequeaths to four brother chaplains who shall carry his body to its burial *5d.* each "in honore quinque vulnerum Domini nostri Jesu Christi." The "five tapers" we so often meet with were dictated doubtless by a like feeling.

The expenses of funerals were very great, and immense provision was made for the entertainment of those who came to follow the body to the grave. John Fairfax, a rector of Prestecote,² orders six oxen, twenty sheep, six quarters of wheat, and ten of malt, to be provided for his funeral dinner; nobody was to be invited to his funeral, but all comers were to be welcome. It is clear that a goodly company were expected to arrive.

Some ineffectual attempts appear to have been occasionally made to limit this profuse funereal expenditure. Thomas Beck, Bishop of Lincoln (1346)³ forbids his executors, on pain of eternal malediction, to keep his body above ground more than eight days, or to make a pompous funeral, and desires that they will be contented to have only 100 wax tapers upon the occasion. Thomas de Bukton, an advocate in the Consistory Court of York (1360)⁴ orders only two tapers of wax, one at the head, the other at the foot of his corpse, and forbids any excess of expense at his funeral; but he bequeaths 100s. to the poor.

¹ Test. Ebor., pp. 228-9.

² Test. Ebor., p. 186.

³ Ib., p. 24.

⁴ Ib., p. 77.

It was by no means uncommon for persons to leave a specific sum for the purchase of a stone or marble slab to lay over their place of sepulture, and to give minute instructions as to its character and decoration. We have all of us seen stones remaining with a chalice graven on them, showing that they cover the remains of a priest. In the will of William de Driffild, chaplain of S. Martin's in Coney-street (1361),¹ we get the precise sum which he estimated his own would cost. He leaves 20s. to buy the stone, and 3s. 4*d.* for workmanship and sculpturing a chalice thereon.

Relics are occasionally mentioned. The rector of Kirkby Misperton bequeaths a precious cross, "*de ligno crucis.*" No doubt it inclosed a minute portion of what was believed to be the true cross; and another testator makes mention of a "*vera crux,*" doubtless one which had that epithet for a similar reason.

We here and there get a glimpse of the dress and amusements of the secular clergy. The former appears to have been oftentimes gay in colour. We find them bequeathing their apparel to a friend or neighbour, and tunics of apple-bloom, tawney, blue, and scarlet, occur as items of these legacies. Hawking was evidently an amusement which was not thought inconsistent with the gravity of a churchman's character. A canon of York, Thomas de la Mare (1358)² bequeaths two falcons to a brother and a cousin respectively. He mentions also his falconer amongst his servants, and leaves him a "*laner*" and 20s. As a matter of course this lover of falconry had some gallant horses whereon to pursue his sport, and we can ascertain the names they bore. One was called "*Turnebull,*" another "*Bayard de Wirethorp,*" and a third "*Morell de Welwik.*" We get something like the value of a falcon from another will. Sir Wm. de Vavasour (1311) leaves a falcon "*laner*" to Adinet le Fauconer, or 20s. in lieu thereof.³

But I must conclude, though the mine from whence I have drawn my illustrations is very far from being exhausted. One great subject which the wills and inventories opens out—viz., statistics, prices of provisions, corn, cattle, produce of all kinds—I have barely touched, here

¹ Test. Ebor., p. 73.

² Ib., p. 68.

³ Wills and Inventories, p. 15.

and there, in the course of the very imperfect sketch of the general character of their contents which I have had the honour to lay before you. But it is a branch of inquiry which will well repay a careful and prolonged examination.

ST. CUTHBERT AND HIS PATRIMONY.

BY THE REV. J. H. BLUNT, F.S.A.

INVITED to read a paper before the British Archæological Association at the Durham Congress, I felt at first that my time was so preoccupied that it would be impossible for me to devote so much of it to research as would enable me to offer anything worthy of acceptance. On reconsideration, however, it occurred to me that a large number of visitors to Durham, on the occasion, would be making acquaintance with it for the first time, and that it would be pleasant to them to carry away with them some general information about the old city, and the locality of which it has been for so many centuries the metropolis. While, therefore, I felt that I had nothing to say which would be novel to learned and experienced archæologists, I had some hope that there might be a considerable portion of my audience who would not be uninterested in the humble contribution which I have made in this paper about the Durham of past history,—the city and the ancient palatinate, St. Cuthbert and his patrimony.

The known history of this grand old northern Zion and its belongings begins with a period so recent in the eyes of archæologists as A.D. 999, only 866 years ago. Some of our ancient cities, Gloucester for example, seem as if they had almost had no beginning at all. We take down modern houses, and find the pavements of mediæval ones; we pull up the mediæval stones, and there are Roman tiles underneath; take away these, and there is a still lower stratum of man's handywork, in which we find traces of a yet more ancient city of an aboriginal period. But it is not so with Durham. It is possible that the Castle mound might offer indications of British origin if it were properly examined; but, as far as we can at present trace the ancient history of the city, its site appears to have been uninhabited until

within about half a century of the Norman conquest. Previously to that time it seems to have been only like others of those picturesque little hills, and groups of hills, which one sees so frequently in the district around, as at Pensher and Warden Law; in this case, a wild pasture ground with woods sloping down in a rapid steep towards the river. Thus the first known event in the history of the old city is its occupation as the shrine of St. Cuthbert at the date I have mentioned. The story of that occupation has been often told; but I will venture partly to tell it again, for it is mixed up with the whole subsequent history of the city, and gives a character of its own to it which distinguishes Durham from all other towns in the north, or, indeed, in England. That occupation was the starting-point in the history of a mediæval territory; and, indeed, in the reclamation of what soon became an important district, from a condition of savage border desolation, such as continued for some centuries longer in the adjoining counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

From the year 999, then, we must date the first foundation of this ancient city, and the dawning greatness of the ecclesiastical territory of which it then became the centre, the bishopric—never till modern times called the county—of Durham; of that palatinate in which the prince bishops were scarcely more subjects of the kings of England than the grand dukes were subjects to the emperors of Germany. In that year, 999, a weary procession of clergy and laymen made their way to the hills on which the city now stands, carefully guarding a wooden coffer, in which they carried what remained on earth of a great and good bishop who had lived three centuries and a-half before; a procession like that which made part of the exodus from Egypt when “Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you.” So did the founders of Durham wend their way from Ripon (whither they had fled from Chester-le-Street on account of the Danes), bringing what there was to bring of St. Cuthbert with them, and finding a home for their relies and for themselves on these beautiful heights, embosomed in woods, and girded by the silver belt of the Wear.

This was the beginning of the city and the palatinate of Durham. But to understand it rightly we must go back three hundred and fifty years, and glance at the history of that carefully guarded coffer which the founders of our northern greatness carried, and of that which it contained, both of which are known, on good evidence, to remain in the cathedral after twelve centuries have passed away. That which was thus borne to the hills of Durham in 999 had been the living shepherd boy Cuthbert in the year 651. In that year this young shepherd (little knowing of the history that he was going to begin by the act), knocked at the door of Melrose Abbey, and asked for what seems to most Englishmen or Scotchmen of this day no great boon—the *privilege* of becoming a monk. What had turned his thoughts that way is not certainly known. Some say, that as he kept watch on the banks of the Lander he saw St. Aidan's spirit ascending to heaven, and that this happy vision led him to take the step in question. Others allege that the story of many another Corydon was repeated in the case of the shepherd Cuthbert, that Phyllis had forsaken him, and that then, vowing he would never look on womankind again, he departed to shut himself up among those who esteemed very lightly—much too lightly—the blessings of feminine society. However this may be, it is certain that the real, though unconscious, founder of Durham gave up the vocation of a shepherd, and became a monk and a clergyman at Melrose in the middle of the seventh century. Fourteen years after he became prior of Lindisfarne, then he was made abbot of the same place, and later on in his life Bishop of Hexham, a see which he exchanged directly for that of Lindisfarne. He was the sixth bishop of that see, which had been founded in 635 by King Oswald, and of which the apostolic Aidan became the first pastor. When Oswald was slain at Oswald's-tree, in Shropshire, his head was brought to Lindisfarne, and afterwards with St. Cuthbert's body to Durham, and it still lies in the coffin of the latter. St. Aidan was also brought to Durham, and reposes beneath the flower-beds in the Dean's garden, once the eastern end of the chapter-house floor.

I need say little more of the living St. Cuthbert, for though an excellent, zealous, and holy man, his living career had comparatively little direct influence on the fortunes of

the district. He was Bishop of Lindisfarne for two years only; when, thinking that old age and the approach of death were unfitting him for his duties, he gave up his see and retired to Holy Island, without a pension, where he lived a solitary life for nine or ten years. His departure from life was that of a humble Christian, singularly at variance with the fame and glory which were afterwards connected with his remains. But he exacted a promise from the monks that if they were driven from their home in Lindisfarne by an incursion of the Danes, they would carry his body with them to their new abode, and it was the exaction of this promise which led to the ultimate foundation of Durham, for it was carefully kept by several generations of monks when driven from one place to another by the Danish pirates.

And now I hope I shall not try your patience too much if I give you a summary account of the migrations of the deceased St. Cuthbert before he finally settled down at Durham. He was buried at Lindisfarne Abbey on March 20, 687, and there he reposed till 698, when the monks opened the grave for the purpose of placing the bones in a coffin which they had prepared for greater respect. To the astonishment of all who were present, they saw, not mere bones, but an entire body, and that looking rather as if it were asleep than a lawful prey to the grave. No doubt they saw what they say they saw; but the preservation of the good bishop's remains need not be attributed to supernatural causes. If there was good evidence for believing it supernatural, of course we must believe it; but the evidence only goes to shew that the emaciated body of an aged and ascetic hermit had not, in ten years, become a victim to the chymistry of the grave, and was still recognisable. Such cases have often occurred. An archbishop's tomb was opened in York Cathedral, after the great fire, and his body was found quite perfect, and looking as if only recently laid there, although he had been dead more than three hundred years. That of Charles I was examined by Sir Henry Hallford and other eminent persons in 1829, and the head, at least, was found so perfect that a most characteristic portrait of the king was taken from it. In 1782 the *Annual Register* (1788, p. 126) tells us that some ladies opened the leaden envelope in which the body of Queen Catharine Parr was laid, in Sudley Castle, Gloucestershire, when "they disco-

vered the features, and particularly the eyes, in perfect preservation," and were very much frightened at what they saw. They did not know so much of these things in that distant seventh century, or for many ages afterwards, and so they and thirty generations, at least, after them set it down as a miraculous occurrence consequent on the special holiness of the departed man. The result was, that from the end of the seventh to the middle of the sixteenth century the body of St. Cuthbert was looked on as the special treasure of the north country; and his shrine in this city became the resort of pilgrims from all parts of England, and even from distant lands, their wealth making the seven hills of Durham grand and glorious with the towers which are still before our eyes.

The Danes invaded the north of England in the year 793, and on the 7th of June in that year they pillaged the Abbey of Lindisfarne. The monks and people of the island held out against such ravages for nearly a century; but they became at last unbearable, and in 875 the bishop and all on Lindisfarne fled to the mainland; and, according to the promise made, carried with them the remains of the saint. Many a weary mile they wandered, till they reached the home of their saint's first love :

"They rested them in fair Melrose ;
But, though alive he loved it well,
Not there his relics might repose ;
For (wondrous tale to tell !)
In his stone coffin forth he rides,
A ponderous bark for river-tides ;
Yet light as gossamer it glides
Downward to Tillmouth cell."

"Light as gossamer" is a bit of poetic license. Tillmouth people shew you the two halves of the stone coffin, which is 10 feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and 4 inches thick, and say that some one tried it as a boat before it was broken, and found no miracle was required to swim a human body in it. In this matter-of-fact age we say it is all a question of "displacement," and a thin stone coffin *might* possibly float, if it were washed into the river by an inundation, as well as the four-inch thick ironsides of a *Warrior* or *Defence*. But I doubt the story altogether, for I do not believe St. Cuthbert ever lay in a stone coffin at Melrose or anywhere else; part

of the original wooden one, dry as a mummy-case of Thebes, still existing at Durham under a glass case. The seven stout and zealous laymen of Northumberland, who wheeled the carriage containing the body of the saint over the fells, would hardly have been content with so heavy a burden as a stone coffin. But whatever led to the departure from Melrose, it is certain that the saint's body, and the then bishop of Lindisfarne and the clergy, were settled down at Crayke in Yorkshire in the autumn of 882, during the reign of King Alfred; and that there they remained till 883, when they returned northward, at the request of King Guthred, until they came to Chester-le-Street, which lies midway between Durham and Newcastle. There they rested, and built a new cathedral; and henceforth the bishops, who formerly took their name from Lindisfarne, became, for more than a century, bishops of Chester-le-Street.

Everybody knows that King Guthred was a sort of tributary king of the north country under King Alfred. Both of them seem to have had special reasons for loving the memory and name of St. Cuthbert. Legends say that the saint appeared to King Alfred while he was hiding in the good wife's cottage, of whom the burned cakes story is told, and promised him victory over the Danes,—

" 'Twas he, to vindicate his reign,
Edged Alfred's falchion on the Dane."

Perhaps Alfred himself thought so, for he put the name of Cuthbert on his coins, and marked them with the cross peculiar to the saint; and he gave special command to his grandson, Edmund, to reverence and honour the saint's memory, which Edmund did by taking a pair of gold bracelets from his arms in 945, and placing them in the coffin which enshrined his remains,—bracelets still to be seen in the cathedral after 920 years. The daughter, too, of the same great Alfred worked vestments for the saint's body, portions of which are also preserved. The famous jewel of Alfred, preserved at Oxford, has also been called a portrait of St. Cuthbert, but I think by mistake. Yet for some reason or another there was wondrous influence in the name of this simple shepherd, hermit, bishop, and saint, when even the great and good Alfred thus venerated his memory out of the far south of Somersetshire.

In 995, and for the last time, the Danes drove from their

home those who had hitherto so religiously observed their promise to St. Cuthbert. They kept it still, and carried him from Chester-le-Street to Ripon, where they sojourned for four months, and then began to turn homewards again. No doubt they intended to return to Chester-le-Street, but some vision, or some accidental circumstance, supposed to be supernatural, altered their purpose, and they halted at Durham, where the wandering saint at last found a permanent resting-place in 999.

“Chester-le-Street and Ripon saw
His holy corpse, ere Wardilaw
Hailed him with joy and fear ;
And after many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear.”

Here, then, may be seen the original foundation of this venerable city. A colony of fugitive monks journeying back again towards their home, at the end of the tenth century, find some good reason (perhaps the strength of its position) for halting on the brow of these Durham rocks, and raise there a church to the glory of God,—a home for the lifeless but venerated body of their most famous bishop, and a dwelling-place for themselves, in which they may live unmolested, according to their rules. A small village, with the church and monastery for its centre, was no doubt soon to be found clustering on the top of the hill; and when, seventy years afterwards, the Castle was built by William the Conqueror, a city began to spread around in its neighbourhood, until it rapidly extended its borders to almost its present dimensions.

The present Castle of Durham dates chiefly, as may be seen at a glance, from the century succeeding the Conqueror, although, of course, it has undergone many alterations, and received some important additions. Though not of the largest of our English castles, it is yet 500 feet altogether in length, 90 feet in width, and 75 feet high. Such buildings are called small by comparison with others; but any one who tries to build one of such a size, or any private body of persons endeavouring to do so, will soon find how mighty a work it is to raise it even ten feet above its foundations; and how much toil and money and time must be

expended before the top stone can be put on with rejoicing.

The greater portion of the Cathedral of Durham, as it now stands, was built between the years 1093 and 1130; but the whole of the choir and transept, with the aisles, in the first seven years of that period. A hundred years before, on the 4th of September, 999, Bishop Alduine had consecrated the first cathedral of Durham, which must have been a building of considerable size, and which was the one standing when William the Conqueror visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert. This was pulled down by Bishop Carileph (whose portrait you may see in an illuminated letter of a book which he gave to the library, and which still remains there) to make way for the present splendid and solid structure. But Carileph built his church with a semicircular east end, such as Norwich Cathedral has; and this was pulled down one hundred years later, to make way for the magnificent transept of the Nine Altars, which has been one of the most glorious structures of stone and marble in England. With this exception, the interior shell of the building must present much the same aspect to us who live three hundred years after the Reformation, as it did to those who lived three hundred years before it; and, as if to mock the power of time, part of the pavement still remains with which the original semicircular east end was floored, very near to the grave of St. Cuthbert, behind the altar.

For about fifty years the mediæval masons were at work, under some architect whose name neither he nor any one else thought it worth while to record, in building a structure which remains to this day as a monument of artistic taste and mechanical skill. Do we pride ourselves on the genius of our age in engineering and other arts which unite power of hand and power of head? Let us also concede a full measure of praise to those long ago intellects and strong arms which in the face of all difficulties succeeded in piling stones after such a manner as they appear to this day in cathedrals like Durham. It is easy to build a pyramid, or to carve temples out of the solid rock: but those who built many pyramids might have been astonished had they been set down to the task of erecting a cathedral.

For half a century, then, the clever heads and the strong arms of those distant eleventh and twelfth centuries were

at work in setting up the pile of stones which we now, to speak generally, behold as they set them up. Who put them at work? It is common to record the different stages of progress in a building like this by the chronology of the bishops' names who occupied the see at the time. Carileph was probably one whose name might be so recorded with justice as well as honour, for he seems to have been the actual master mind to which the original design was owing. But the next bishop to him was Ralph Flambard, a red hot political bishop, who bought the bishopric of Durham of William Rufus for a thousand pounds, and did all he could while he held the see to bring the church to dishonour and to make a purse out of its spoils. He was prime minister to Rufus, but Henry the First took from him this and his other dignities, and shut him up in the Tower of London. He managed to make his keepers drink more wine than was good for them, and then slipping down a rope to the damage of his episcopal hands, gained his liberty and fled to Normandy. After a while the flaming Ralph was restored to his see, and remained bishop of Durham until 1128, when he undid some of the mischief which he had managed to do to his church, and went his way to account for the rest. He built Framwellgate bridge, and it was in his time that the cathedral begun by Carileph, and forming the greater portion of what we now see was constructed. But I do not believe that Flambard had anything to do with the work. There was a very learned Prior Turgot in those days (we call priors by the name of deans now), who wrote a valuable history of Durham, and seems to have been a man of much taste and energy. He became Bishop of St. Andrews eventually, but came back to lay his bones in Durham Chapter House. Most likely it was he who spirited up the monks to get the money and the architects to spend it, and the connection of the old cathedral with the name of Bishop Flambard is a mere form of speech.

For above fifty years, then, hands, heads, and hearts—I am sure there must have been heart at work as well as head on these glorious old structures—for fifty years these were at work on the old church; and when the labours of those founders were ended, two generations passed away without seeing any substantial additions made to their work. Then came Bishop Pudsey, one of those

princes episcopal of whom I have before spoken as raising the power and dignity of his quasi-royal office to its very highest pitch. He was, in fact, of royal line, being related to King Stephen, and as some say his nephew. He was just twenty-five years of age when he became Bishop and Prince of Durham; but he was not without episcopal experience, having already been Bishop of Winchester. They that wear purple are in kings' houses! He was bishop for forty years, during which the stirring time of the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket forms the central point of interest and horror. Pudsey was by no means a bad bishop, though somewhat over sumptuous in his ways, and rather too fond of being a prince, even as a bishop here and there, in later days, may have been said to have shown greater aptness for being "my lord," than for being "father in God" to his flock, lay and clerical. Just before Bishop Pudsey's time, the once glorious Chapter House was built, in which lie the remains of bishops and priors from the time of St. Aidan, and which was once the finest in England.

Talking of this Chapter House, I should tell you the manner of its end; for you can now only see a small relic of the original building. There were odd ideas of duty abroad among dignified clergymen of the last century; ideas which evidently centred in the conviction that duty begins where charity begins. They used to wear copes in England, or at least in Durham Cathedral, up to the latter half of the last century—you may see them still in the library—and the Dean and Chapter used to meet, as they do now, for official business, in the Chapter House. Warburton, however, afterwards Bishop Warburton, found the collar of his cope interfered with the comfort of his wig, and as he had a firm belief in ugly wigs, and a very shallow belief in beautiful vestments, he cast the latter aside with strong language such as clergymen have left off using, and which Warburton could use as well—or as ill—as anybody, and would never wear them more. Others following his example, the copes are laid up in lavender, and only exist to afford High Churchmen a proof when they argue in favour of modern sacerdotal adornments that a white and black parson is an invention of modern days, and not of the Reformation age. All this, *à propos* of the Chapter House, which the same generation of dignitaries considered it a

duty to themselves to alter into a comfortable parlour. It was a large hall, eighty feet long by about half that number of feet wide, with a beautiful arched roof, arcades around the walls, splendid carvings about the doorways and windows, a venerable stone chair in which the bishops were installed one after another for eight centuries, and innumerable brasses and marbles on the floor commemorating the ancient fathers of the church of Durham. The same generation whose personal wigs quarrelled with their official dress, and got the best of the fight, found also that this fine old hall was chilly and full of draughts; and that when the said generation was comfortably warmed with fine old dignitary port—they dined early in those days—it was very unpleasant to go and sit in that Chapter House looking over leases, signing orders to one's treasurer, and generally managing extensive money matters and estates which would lose some portion of their zest if they could only be got at through an atmosphere charged with rheumatic dangers. So they set to work and pulled down half the Chapter House (the apse, and where the old stone chair, and the finest part of the roof were), plastered over all the rest, put square sashes into the windows, and a comfortable ceiling, tore up all the brasses and marbles so that not one remains, and then, sitting down around the fire, felt a proud consciousness that at least one cathedral chapter had done its duty by making its own precious self comfortable, whatever public property it had thrown to the dogs. What would Prior Turgot, and old Bishop Galfrid who built the Chapter House, and Prince Hugh Pudsey, and Patriarch Anthony Beck, and Prior Melsonby, and the rest, what would they have thought of their successors if they could have seen the destruction?

As I have said already, the building of this once magnificent Chapter House just preceded the advent to the see of Durham of the Right Reverend Hugh Pudsey, a venerable youth of twenty-five summers growth. Young as this Bishop was, he lived to be respected, and before he died he left his mark upon Durham on a very large scale, for he rebuilt the greater part of the castle, while the whole of the Galilee and Elvet bridge are his work, and so was a large portion of the city wall, to say nothing of churches like St. Cuthbert's at Darlington; and leaving his mark not only in



stones and lime, he left it also in a large Bible, the most magnificent, perhaps, that exists in all England, a Bible in four great volumes, containing many splendid pictures, and containing many more until the nursemaid of Dr. Dobson (one of the last century canons again) cut them out for the amusement of the little Dobsons whom she brought to play in the Chapter Library.

The Galilee, which was Bishop Pudsey's most important work on the cathedral, nestles under the west front, down among the rocks, and looks like a nursling church under the wing of its loving parent. The bishop began to build it on the east end, but there the foundation gave way, the old rocks having made up their mind that only a much nobler structure still, the Nine Altars transept, one of the finest and most thoroughly English pieces of architecture in the land, should rest on their moss-covered shoulders. It was probably intended as a chapel for women, the sexes being very generally separated in divine service, and it is said they were not allowed to go nearer the bones of St. Cuthbert than the great blue cross. So goes the tale, though I myself believe this great cross was the starting-place for processions.

But the Galilee became also the shrine of the Venerable Bede. There was a time when high value was attached to the bones of saints: although Bede's rightly belonged to Jarrow, they were stolen thence and transferred to Durham. When they were first laid to rest at Jarrow a certain monk was commissioned to write a Latin epitaph to place over them. Not much gifted with a faculty for versifying, he put together a few trite words successfully, but could not manage to fill up a blank in the second line. "Here," he wrote,

"Here, beneath these stones
Lie Bede's bones."

That was all straightforward and to the point, but how to fill up? He bit his pen, he looked up at the ceiling, he looked down at his sandals, he fidgetted in his chair, and then—fell asleep. And while he was asleep an angel came who was more gifted in Latin composition than he was, and supplied the wanting feet by writing in the epithet by which Bede has ever since been known. Later ages have adopted the epitaph as well as the epithet, and there you may see now on the tomb in the Galilee,

HAC SVNT IN FOSSA

BEDÆ VENERABILIS OSSA.

Whatever may be thought of the epitaph, Bede was a man of whose bones even a Church might be proud. He was one of the earliest translators of the Bible into our mother tongue, and died anno 735, just as he had completed the last verse of the translation of St. John's Gospel. May we all die in harness as good as that!

I have not quite done with the last generation of dignitaries. When Dean Cornwallis was in London about the end of the last century, he heard a rumour that the canons of Durham, without saying "with your leave or by your leave" to their dean, had begun to pull down this noble chapel for the purpose of making a road across its site along which their wives' carriages might drive. As I have heard the story, the dean ordered post horses and never drew rein till he appeared in the Palace Green, where he saw the workmen just beginning to pull the lead off the roof of the Galilee. It was enough to put an angel out of temper, and we cannot wonder if the thing made a dean, who was also a bishop, but no angel, use very strong language. It was so strong, in fact, that the workmen took up their tools and fled, and ever after the dean had on his lips the excusable boast, "I saved it, sir; I saved the Galilee." Bede rests where he did, and chapter ladies have to drive round. Dean Cornwallis also visited the Society of Arts on purpose to make a public declaration that he had no hand in the miserable destruction of the Chapter House.

But I have been wandering away from my main subject. Let me therefore return once more to that in which all the glory and celebrity of Durham originated—the fact that it was the resting-place of St. Cuthbert.

As soon as the monks had settled on Durham as that resting-place, they set to work with that energy which they always displayed on the buildings which I have been roughly describing, and only when the Conqueror's twice-defeated army came against Durham under his own leadership did the guardians of St. Cuthbert quit their ward. Even then they returned while William was still in the castle. It is narrated that he demanded to see the body of the saint, and was just on the point of inspecting it when he was seized with either fright or fever, galloped down

Dun Cow-lane, leaving all his luggage behind him, and did not slacken speed until he was safe across the Tees, and fairly out of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

From the Conquest until now, St. Cuthbert has reposed within the walls of the cathedral, and his name for so many ages has been such a household word as no other man's name probably ever was over all the country north of Tees and south of Tweed. On August 29th, 1104, a new cathedral having been partly completed, the body was finally placed where it now is, behind the altar in an enclosure called the Feretory; and an account of an examination then made has been left so minute as perfectly to identify the ancient coffin of Lindisfarne which was then found with the remains of it again exposed to sight in 1827, and some of them now to be seen in the library of Durham Cathedral. It has been stated over and over again by writers of all ages that the body remained in an uncorrupted state, and so the Protestant officials of Henry VIII declared that they found it. But when it was brought to view again in 1827 nothing except bones remained, and there seems reason to think that all the writers in question had been misled by their veneration, which prevented them from making any other than a superficial examination of what lay under massive robes, and appeared to be an entire body rather than bones only. For the last thirty-five years it has remained undisturbed, but the antiquarian or the pilgrim may look upon a jewelled cross of gold of the form called St. Cuthbert's cross (from which the Knights Templars and the so-called Maltese cross seem to have been derived), and may behold some robes and linen which have all laid next to those venerated remains, and also the portions of the old Anglo-Saxon coffin I have already spoken of, and under all the circumstances I do not think we can look upon much more interesting relics.

Now allow me to trespass on your attention a little longer while I give some account of that substantial authority which sprung out of the settlement of St. Cuthbert here. The bishopric of Durham has always held a very peculiar position, and was, indeed, a complete *imperium in imperio* for many ages, the only example of the kind in Britain, except in the case of the Isle of Man, of which little kingdom, by the bye, Bec, one of the great prince bishops of Durham, was king.

From as far back as the period when the various provinces of England began to gather themselves under the protection of a single king up to a few years ago, the bishops of Durham have been more or less independent of the crown ; and as the history of their independence is a story which cannot fail to have interest for every antiquarian, I will go over some of its more conspicuous features.

The present diocese of Durham consists of the two counties of Durham and Northumberland, and has done so since the time of the Conquest. The bishop of Durham's authority over Northumberland during that period has been simply spiritual, like that of any other bishop ; but over the county of Durham, or "the bishopric," as it was and is still commonly called by old-fashioned people, he possessed a temporal authority as well as spiritual, the county being a county palatine, and the bishop being prince palatine, or feudal sovereign of it. Up to the time of the Reformation the sovereigns of England exercised scarcely any authority between the Tyne and the Tees ; and although the palatine power has been very much curtailed since then, it is only twenty-seven years ago that the complete government of the county was assumed by William IV and Queen Victoria.

The exact ground on which the feudal sovereignty of the bishopric was based is not very clearly made out. In the old times the claim was alleged to rest on a donation of the territory to St. Cuthbert by an ancient sovereign, much in the same manner as the Papal States were said to have been conveyed to the see of St. Peter by the donation of the Emperor Constantine. But in neither case, I believe, has the document by which the donation was made been exhibited in a court of law or equity. Title-deeds are ticklish things, and most old families know the impolicy of brushing the dust away from the face of them. True, indeed, that things which don't appear, and don't exist, come into the same category ; but has not every one of us invisible capital of some sort or other ? Visible or invisible, the capital sufficed the bishops of Rome and the bishops of Durham too for a good number of centuries ; and the patrimony of St. Cuthbert was, on a smaller scale, as independent of other sovereigns as was the patrimony of St. Peter. If we begin the story of the palatinate in the time of St. Cuthbert himself (a well authenticated personage), we must begin it before

there was a bishopric, county, or city of Durham, St. Cuthbert being bishop of Lindisfarne; what is now the county of Durham being part of the old kingdom of Northumberland; and the city not being founded, so far as we know, for more than two hundred years after the good man's death, which happened in the year of our Lord 687.

But it does seem historically true that the foundation of the palatinate jurisdiction was laid in that distant age, for in 685 Egfrid, king of Northumbria, gave to the bishop of Lindisfarne the village of Crayke in Yorkshire, with all the land within a radius of three miles; and the city of Carlisle, with so much land as might be even entitled to be called territory, namely, all within a radius of fifteen miles from the city. Carlisle remained in the possession of the bishops of Durham for some centuries, and Crayke, although in Yorkshire, is still part of their domain. Beyond this, I doubt if St. Cuthbert, or any of his immediate successors, had anything to do with what was afterwards called his patrimony. But that he had so much to do with it is proved by a very ancient copy of the original charter of King Egfrid, which still remains in that richest of all local stores of charters, the Treasury of Durham Cathedral. All the charters, which were kept in the Treasury for many centuries, are now preserved in the Library, where they can be better secured from damp. The original itself would be there, but that Bishop Flambard had the weakness to lend it to King Rufus, and when that excellent king quarrelled with his excellent bishop (birds of a feather as they were), his majesty tore the charter up in a passion, and I suppose the pieces were swept away by the housemaid when she changed the rushes of the audience-chamber floor next morning.

But the real historical foundation of this *imperium in imperio* is to be traced, I think, to William the Conqueror, who raised it on the yet smouldering ashes of the kingdom of Northumbria. Until the time of Alfred the Great, the kingdom of Northumbria included the whole of England north of Humber, Trent, and Mersey, and as far as the Frith of Forth, or, at least, very much territory on the other side of the Cheviot Hills. Alfred allowed it to be governed by King Guthrid as his tributary, until his death,¹ and then

¹ Guthrid, son of Hardicanute, was made king through the interest of St. Cuthbert, for whom Alfred had a special regard. Guthrid, in return, gave the

made it part of his own dominions; but, as a local governor in high authority was absolutely necessary on the border, the earls of Northumberland became almost as independent and absolute as the kings had been before them. The see of Durham succeeded that of Chester-le-Street (as that had succeeded Lindisfarne) about sixty years before the Conquest; but the first bishops of Durham exercised no more sovereign authority than their predecessors had done: in fact, one of the ancient inscriptions in the cathedral, placed under the statue of Aldwine, stated that the Earl of Northumberland, who assisted Aldwine in building the cathedral, was appointed temporarily governor of the new city. "*Dum necessitatem paterentur, ad tempus præstitit, quod, Comites, qui ei successerunt per violentiam detinerunt*"; from which it would appear that the earls of Northumberland exercised the palatine authority before the Conquest. Walcher, however, the Conqueror's bishop of Durham, was also made Earl of Northumberland, and governed, as such, the whole country between the Tees and the Cheviots, though it was, at the same period, divided into two counties, as it has ever since remained. Upon his death (he was killed in Newcastle Church by a Gateshead mob) Carileph was made Bishop of Durham, and Robert de Mowbray Earl of Northumberland.

Then arose a dispute between bishop and earl, the former wishing to exercise the sovereign authority which had been exercised by (Earl and Bishop) Walcher, and the Earl claiming it as his by right of his title. It would appear that King William was anxious to conciliate the earl, but not to let him win back the power of his predecessors; for he caused the matter to be compromised by the bishop paying the earl £100, and retaining palatine jurisdiction over the county of Durham, that of Northumberland being absorbed by the king himself. Although the bishops had extraordinary landed possessions in their hands at an earlier date, Carileph was thus the first of them who, as bishop, became also prince palatine of Durham.

bishop some sort of authority over the whole country between the Tyne and the Wear. This grant was confirmed by Alfred during Guthrid's life, and again after his death. There are distinct records of the purchase of lands in the tenth century (Bedlington and Sedgfield among them) by the successors of St. Cuthbert, then bishops of Chester-le-Street; and of large gifts of land made by Athelstan and Edmund, the grandsons of Alfred.

The fundamental maxim of this palatinate jurisdiction was that the bishop had the same authority within its limits as the king of England had in the remaining portions of the realm. As counts palatine and earls of Sadberge, the bishops of Durham, for eight hundred years after the Conquest, owed allegiance to the sovereigns of England as tributaries or feudal princes, but were independent to a degree which we who live in the days of reform bills and centralisation find it hard to understand. Up to quite recent times they appointed judges of assize, who acted in the name of the bishop only. Writs were issued in the bishop's name; and instead of the peace of our sovereign lord or lady, it was the "bishop's peace" against which evil doers were said to offend. Sheriffs and coroners acted under the same authority, and the bishop's attorney and solicitor-general are officers whose names are still occasionally to be met with. But in ancient days even the ultimate feudal sovereignty over freeholds was in the bishops, and not in the king; so that forfeitures, wardships, etc., went to the former in Durham, though to the sovereign in all other parts of England. So completely was the county of Durham isolated from the ordinary constitution of England, that no parliamentary representatives were sent from it until 1676; and the sending of them was then looked upon by the bishop as an encroachment upon his independence, as indeed it was. These episcopal princes levied taxes, coined money, and created barons, not in the name of the king, but in their own name as local sovereigns. They also had armies of their own, but seem to have acted in military matters only as viceroys, and not as sovereign princes, contributing a certain quota of men from their province to the royal army, or leading it into the field as generals, under the command of the sovereign of the whole realm. The Right Rev. General Polk of the Southern States of America was not quite a novelty.

In Sir Robert Bowes' survey of the English border, in the time of Henry VIII, he complained that Tynedale abounds with "theeves" (not this part of the country, further north); and he asserts that the inhabitants of Durham county were so honest that they were exempted from king's taxes on purpose that they might give their provincial service in the protection of the border. He says that a bishopric army

for service within the bishopric was usually a thousand in number; for Scotland, five hundred only. This was the number in Bee's time. For this army the warden of the marches "used to write to the bysshoppe of Durham." Sir Robert Bowes was Constable of Alnwick, and his accounts, as well as many a contemporary tract, shew that the freebooters of the border ("the Scotch theeves") made very free indeed with the flocks and herds of England. When the larder was empty, a spur was served up in a clean dish as a hint of the measures necessary to be taken towards filling it again. How far the bishopric soldiers prevailed against these hungry Scotchmen I know not. There is a story, indeed, of one of them which seems to tell rather against their soldierly habits. Before his troop started on an expedition against some borderers, he directed the village smith to rivet a steel plate into his leather jerkin over the place of his heart, which perhaps he had a care of for some one else's sake besides his own. When the ensuing encounter came off, shame to say, the Durham troopers were beaten, and in their flight our friend, Jock o'Hilton, or whatever he was called, was only saved from being skewered on the spear of a Scot by the intervention of some hard substance which impeded the passage of the weapon just above the saddle. Precipitated into a furze bush, Jock was there heard invoking many a loud blessing on the head of the blacksmith, "What for that? what for that?" said his companions, who thought to find him dead. "Ah! bless him, bless him," replied Jock, "he kna'd where my heart lay better 'n I kna'd mysel."

But sometimes the hearts of bishopric soldiers were certainly in the *right* place, for we read good accounts of them at Flodden under Sir William Bulmer, Baron of Brancepeth.

"At Flodden field as men do say
No better captain there was seen."

Bulmer of Brancepeth was one who shared with Hilton of Hilton, Surtees of Dimsdale, Conyers of Soekburn, Hansard of Eyewood, and others the honour of being barons of the bishop's creation, though their title did not give them rank beyond the limits of the principality.

The sovereign authority of the bishops of Durham reached its climax in the time of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, a relative of King Stephen, who was made Earl Northumberland for

life ; and of Bishop Bee, who was also Patriarch of Jerusalem and King of Man. The latter was a D'Eresby and collateral ancestor of Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, who some years ago placed a new brass upon the grave of his princely relative of days bygone in the Nine Altars transept of Durham Cathedral. Once, and once only, in the time of Bishop Pudsey, the king's judges visited the palatine and held an assize. But it was done by consent of the bishop, for special reasons, and great precaution was taken on both sides against making the event a precedent for the future. At the Reformation, this sovereign authority was somewhat abridged, but the palatine authority was only transferred to the Crown a few years ago, that is in 1836, by Act of Parliament 6 and 7 William IV, c. 19. Bishop Van Mildert being thus the last of the princes of Durham.

In ancient days the bishops of Durham had numerous houses and estates of the most princely character. It is told that at Wolsingham three turners made three thousand trenchers every year for the use of their "greenwood men," and until Bishop Maltby's resignation of the see, a magnificent herd of deer still kept up the ancient traditions of the episcopal forests in Auckland Park. Deer were kept there also by Bishop Villiers, but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had then got hold of the park and see, and the change so preyed upon the minds of the herd that they pined away in despair. The fine old trees are doing the same. The bishops formerly possessed the grand castles of Durham, Middleham, Stockton, Crayke, and Norham, besides the manor houses of Auckland, Evenswood, Darlington, Howden, Welhall, Riccall, and Northallerton ; and they also owned Durham House as a town residence in London. One mansion alone of all these, that of Auckland, a princely one indeed, now remains annexed to the see.

But though shorn of substantial power, some of the traditions of ancient grandeur are still preserved. Law offices of high title are still, as I have said, appointed, though I do not know whether their offices are sinecures. The bishops of Durham take precedence of all prelates except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who ranks after the royal family as Primate of all England, the Archbishop of York, Primate of England, who ranks next but one—the Lord Chancellor intervening—and the Bishop of London, who takes high

rank as spiritual head of the metropolis, though he is not, as some imagine, Metropolitan of London. The ancient style of the bishops of Durham was royal, "John, by the grace of God," etc. This is still preserved in some legal documents, but in ordinary usage it is toned down to the archiepiscopal level, "John, by Divine Providence," etc., all other bishops being by "Divine permission" only, if the distinction is to be distinguished. Then the mitre on the episcopal arms of the see is a sort of cross between a spiritual and secular diadem, the episcopal part taking the place of the velvet cap in a ducal coronet—a proud memorial of an authority and a stateliness that has now passed in its reality for ever. Another proud distinction was that no secular nobleman could assume the title of Durham, since it belonged absolutely to the bishop. In 1828, however, Mr. Lambton was made Baron Durham, and in 1833 was advanced to the earldom of the county; and it was through the interest of the first Earl of Durham and the first Earl Grey that the ancient palatinate was shorn of its distinction and splendour. At the same time that the ancient jurisdiction over the country between the Tyne and the Tees was absorbed into the crown of England, the special secular title of the bishop became one of the subordinate titles of the sovereign, and her Majesty was henceforth not only Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Duchess of Lancaster, but also Countess of Sadberge. It would have been a more honourable treatment of the ancient dignity of the palatinate if the county name had been reserved for the Crown alone as a temporal title, so that the Queen should have been Princess Palatine of Durham rather than countess of a little village which is hardly noticeable on the map.

From their independent position, the princes and bishops of Durham have been but little mixed up with the history of the court and kings of England; having, in fact, a history of their own to work out. But there have been many among them who were princely in their characters as well as by their position, and of whom much would have to be said, if we told their history. It is noticeable that six have been Lord Chancellors, three Lord Treasurers, three Lord Chief Justices, three Cardinals, one Patriarch of Jerusalem and King of Man. It is also observable that six have become

archbishops of York ; but only one, Dr. Longley, archbishop of Canterbury.

If I were to go through those names for men of mark, I should have to tell you of Flambard, Pudsey, Hatfield, Bury, Tunstall, Cosin, Boutler, Crewe, Barrington and Van Mildart. All men fit to hold their own among the Nevilles, the Bruces, the Balliols, the Percys, and other great families of the north. In Hatfield's hall, in the Castle, which saw the first general gathering of our Durham Congress, we see a splendid relic of the magnificent hospitality which they exercised. Here, for centuries, they entertained daily their scores and hundreds of retainers, clergy and guests ; and though it is shorn of its full dimensions by some thirty or forty feet, appropriated as rooms at the further end, this fine hall, nearly the longest in England, serves as a record of the extent of that hospitality which required so much room for its exhibition. And I might supplement the list with many a noble name of prior and dean, and with many whom the magnificent prelates of Durham have brought forward on their first step towards renown.

The great bishops of Durham, of the old school, ended with Van Mildart ; and he was the last who lived here. Let us hope that in the future some will even yet sit in the throne of the Princes Palatine, whose powers of mind, greatness of disposition, warm zeal, and administrative ability, will more than compensate the old bishoprick for its loss of temporal grandeur.

From the rapid sketch which I have thus been able to give of the old history of St. Cuthbert and his patrimony, it will be seen that there is a peculiar unity about the history of this interesting city and country which has separated it in some degree from the general history of the kingdom, and has made it to be less known than almost any other county in England. People have travelled northward, and remembered York and Newcastle and Edinburgh as three important national cities ; but Durham was too often only remembered by the disagreeableness of its coal pits. For my part I am glad that the isolated character of the district is passing away ; and though there is something to regret in the loss of the old traditional grandeur of the Palatinate, yet there is more to be gained by its absorption into the general system of the country. There is something to regret

in the Durham of the past; we may fairly hope that the wonderful industry of which it is now the centre will be wisely developed on old foundations, so as to make the Durham of the future a fit successor to it.

It is good for us of the busy nineteenth century often to look back on the days that have gone, and on the achievements of those who lived in them. These glances into the past remind us that we are no new men, but spring of an ancient lineage whose honour and greatness it is our duty to guard. They remind us that, as in the restoration of an old cathedral or castle, the truest course is to keep to the old foundations and walls as far as we possibly can, and introduce whatever desirable improvements the invention of later ages may render possible; so, in a city and county like Durham, or a country like England, the new is safest and most admirable when it is built up into a consistent unity with the old; when modern industry and modern science are not ashamed of those days wherein greatness and wealth were achieved out of different elements; when men of coal and iron can look back upon mediæval times with respect, and say, the men of those days were our fathers; when from the mill and the factory and the mine they can come to the old castle and cathedral, and say, "These stones, and the institutions which they represent, were as much a reality as the greatest triumph of modern art, or science, or governmental skill: they form an early link in one chain, of which the triumphs of this age are a natural sequence." But there is an unity in all, and even a county of coal pits and iron works (as Durham soon will be) may be grateful at the recollection of its former ecclesiastical history, and acknowledge that many subtle points of connexion exist between old times and new, which make the latter far from losers; and shew that archæology, when rightly followed up, is not a dry or impractical study even for a generation on which the work of ages seems to have accumulated; and further, we may venture to assure ourselves that if great men like St. Cuthbert, Pudsey, Hatfield, or Cosin, lived in our day, they would be the first to enter into the new order of things, and mould it in a right direction. They built up a Durham of the past, to the best of their ability. Were they now living it would be their highest ambition to be men of this age, such as they were of their own respective times.

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 28.

GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

IN opening the proceedings, the Chairman congratulated the Meeting on the pleasant and successful Congress held in August last at Hastings, under the presidency of the Earl of Chichester, and referred to the principal subjects illustrated and considered during the Congress week,—the Bayeux Tapestry by Mr. Planché, the landing-place of Julius Cæsar by Mr. Appach, the historical descriptions of Hastings antiquities by Mr. Cole and Mr. Levien, and the excursions to Mayfield Palace, Battle Abbey, Bodiam, Pevensey Castle, and the curious old towns of Rye and Winchelsea. The Chairman also announced that on the invitation of the Corporation of Ludlow, the Congress for 1867 will be held at Ludlow, at the end of July, and that their excellent Vice-President, Sir Charles Boughton, had consented to take the office of President.

The election of the following members was also announced :

J. Tavernor Perry, Esq., 9, John-street, Adelphi
 Dr. John Watson, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury-square
 Rev. George Rust, 31, Bedford-square
 J. W. Grover, Esq., 30, Duke-street, Westminster
 Rev. J. M. Bellew, Portsdown-road, Maida-hill
 Thomas Viner, Esq., Broadfield, Crawley, Sussex
 Colonel Henry Lane, Broadoak, Bexhill, Sussex.
 John de Havilland, Esq., *Rouge Croix*, College of Arms,
 Doctors' Commons
 Edward Hunter, Esq., The Glebe, Lee, Blackheath
 Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., 31, St. Peter's-square,
 Hammersmith
 Lucas Shadwell, Esq., Fairlight, Hastings
 John Cape, Esq., 112, St. Paul's-road, Hammersmith
 Henry W. Peek, Esq., Wimbledon House, S.W.
 George Moore, Esq., M.D., Hastings.

It was announced that the Council had returned the thanks of the Association for the following presents :

- To the Author, M. A. Lower, Esq.*, for his *Sussex Worthies*. 4to.
- To the Society* for the Report of the Quekett Microscopical Club. 8vo.
- „ „ for No. 63, *Journal of the Canadian Institute*. 8vo.
- „ „ *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, Nos. 84, 85, 86. 8vo.
- „ „ *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries to June 16, 1864*. 8vo.
- „ „ *Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association*. 8vo. July 1866.
- „ „ of Antiquaries for the Catalogue of Broad-sides by Robert Lemon. Large 8vo.
- To the Author, Thomas Close, Esq., F.S.A.* (Nottingham), for his *Account of St. Mary's Church, Nottingham*. 8vo.
- To the Society of the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, U.S.) for Report for 1864.
- To the Society* for the *Journal*, Nos. 88 and 89, of the Royal Archæological Institute. 8vo.
- „ „ for vol. xviii, *Sussex Archæological Collections*.
- To James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.*, for the following papers relating to the proceedings of the Congress of the Association held at Manchester in 1850, viz., 1, the receipt from the borough of Salford for documents lent to the Association ; 2, the Minute Book of the Manchester Local Committee ; 3, two copper medals struck to commemorate the Manchester Congress ; 4, the Signature Book of the Congress ; 5, a plan of the Roman city of Mancunium (Manchester), prepared by Edward Corbett, and presented by the Local Committee to members of the Association, with a pamphlet.
- To the Society* for the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*. 8vo.
- To Theodore Kirchoffer, Esq.*, for *Die Kunst des Mittelalters in Schwaben*. 4to. 1855.
- „ „ *Sakungen des Wurttembergischen Alterthumsvereines*. 8vo. 1843.

Lord Boston, President, sent for exhibition a curious limestone pebble of oval form, $1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{17}$; the front carved in low relief, with a full-faced bust wearing a *corona radiata* of five spikes; the features rather coarse, the ears standing out from the sides of the head, and the lips still retaining traces of the red pigment with which they were once coloured. This interesting relic was discovered long since in the sands of Egypt, and presented to his lordship by the finder.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that the sculptured pebble to which attention had been directed by our noble President, belonged to a mys-

terious class of objects which have been a source of perplexity to the learned world for the last hundred years, and respecting which opinions are much divided. Some regarded these objects as of high antiquity, whilst others pronounce them comparatively modern forgeries. Those who contend for their genuineness have severally considered them as the work of the Etruscans, Gnostics, Vandals, and Knights Templars. Mr. Cuming said that whilst the sculptures here referred to were undoubtedly of archaic type, he believed them to be of no very great antiquity, and the productions of two cognate tribes of common origin, whose homes must be sought in northern Africa and western Asia; but the question was one of too much difficulty and extent to deal with on the present occasion, and he would simply lay before the meeting a pebble of similar limestone to the one from Egypt. It measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ in height, the whole surface carved in low relief, the subjects being an Ethiop, and four other figures, in long vests, of somewhat Persepolitan character, together with a crescent and palm-trees, such as appear on ancient Carthaginian coins. Upon the hems of two of the vests, and round the base of the pebble, are incised inscriptions in a character which may be compared with the Phœnician, Etruscan, and archaic Greek, but which would require a new cast of type to give in these pages. The specimen here described is clearly the work of the same age and race as the one in Lord Boston's possession. It was once in the collection of the famous Pope Ganganelli (Clement XIV), and was brought to this country between forty and fifty years back, along with fifty-nine other pieces of sculpture of the same class. But this was not the earliest importation of such objects, for in the *Gent. Mag.* (May 1795, p. 416) are engravings of some which were found in Bevis Marks near Aldgate, and which may have been obtained by some Crusader in Syria.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., thought the inscriptions to be Etruscan; and Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., concurred in the view adopted by Mr. Cuming. Dr. Pettigrew expressed his belief in their Egyptian origin.

Mr. J. Wimble exhibited an immense quantity of Roman and other pottery, together with about 5' 6" long of the foot of an ancient pile 9 inches square, found in digging the foundation of a warehouse on the south side of Southwark Street, between Southwark Square and Winchester Street. The specimens were in a very small proportion to the quantities discovered. In a space of about 100 feet by 40 feet sixteen pits had been sunk, each disclosing Roman pottery above a number of piles and puddled clay, and when this was removed, shells, pebbles and refuse, such as is always seen along the water's edge, although the spot in question is now full 300 yards from the Thames shore. A seventeenth pit was the only one in which no piles were found.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., made the following remarks on the above-named subject:—The best thanks of archæologists are due to Mr. Wimble for having brought this discovery to notice, for it is one of far greater interest and importance than might at first be thought. I visited the locality on the 17th, 20th, and 24th instant, and in company of Mr. Wimble examined several detached groups of piles, standing erect in parallel rows in their solid bed of clay and gravel. These piles are all of oak and beech, from 5 to 13 feet in height, with their bases reduced to points. Some are the round stems and stout branches of trees, whilst others have been roughly squared, measuring on an average 9 inches thick. The upper part of some of the timber is curiously divided so as to look much like bundles of split whalebone. On the morning of the 20th, the workmen exhumed a number of masses of Kentish rag, which had been thrust down in the clay to steady some of the oak piling, just as we find large lumps of chalk employed in Moorfields for a like purpose. I feel convinced that these groups of piles once formed the supports of lake dwellings of similar character to those which doubtless formerly existed in the broad district, now known as Finsbury and Moorfields; and this belief is greatly strengthened by the fact that each group is accompanied by a kitchen-midden, which must have been accumulating from a remote period, the latest food relics being abundance of oyster-shells, which may indicate the presence of Romans in the neighbourhood. But it ought to be added that these shells are more dispersed than the bones, and, as a rule, seem to occupy a somewhat higher level. Among the animal remains may be recognised the bones of two species of the genus *Cervus* (one of great size), of a large sheep, of the ox, pig and horse. Some of the round bones have been broken to obtain the marrow, in this respect agreeing with many examples discovered in cave dwellings, among the balks of timber in Moorfield, and mingled in the kitchen middens of the North of Europe, Italy and Switzerland. From within one of the pile groups we obtained a small flat-surfaced piece of burnt clay with coarse sand mixed in it, about three quarters of an inch thick, which may be a portion of the edge of a hearth similar to what has been observed in connection with the lake habitations of Switzerland. Charcoal and calcined bones have been recovered, and also a few burnt flints, one in close contact with the presumed fragment of the hearth. The handicraft of man is shown in several divided bones, whose severance was evidently effected with great labour by repeated strokes of an axe. The few bone implements which I have examined are of the rudest fabric. Among them may be mentioned a portion of a rib of some good sized animal, which has a notch near one end as if to permit a cord to be secured round it. This rib I take to have been employed as a fishing-rod, grounding my theory on the fact that a very analogous article is made use of by the Esqui-

maux for a similar purpose. The specimen I produce in proof of this statement was obtained at Iglooklik during Captain Parry's second voyage, and consists of a curved piece of reindeer's horn, 12 inches long, with the end both notched and perforated to receive the line of twisted intestine, from which depends the hook. When the British and American implements are placed side by side, we can scarcely doubt that both were designed for the same object.

It is perhaps noteworthy as a further indication of the vast antiquity of the piles of our lacustrine houses, and their associated relics, that not a fragment, no not the slightest stain, of metal has been detected in connection with them during the excavations. In Moorfields, on the other hand, there is valid reason to believe that some of the habitations were occupied at least as late as the bronze period.

I would observe in conclusion that the discoveries lately made, north and south of the Thames, bring to mind the Prasian dwellings of the Thracian tribe recorded by Herodotus (v. 16), and manifest how appropriate and descriptive was the British name of our ancient metropolis, *Llyn Din*, the lake town.

Mr. Wimble stated that the head of the piling was about 12 feet below the street pavement, and the piles were 7 to 11 feet long. The considerable marks of oxide of iron upon the foot of the pile exhibited, he considered due to a ferruginous bed of gravel through which it had passed. The abrasion on the top of some of the piles, noticed by Mr. Cuming, was the effect of driving the piles by blows upon their heads. He added that a short distance, 135 feet from the piling lately found, but on the opposite side of Southwark Street, he had some months since discovered a pavement of red tessella, and the excavations now in progress have produced a quantity of broken fictilia, the refuse probably of the Roman villa, of which the pavement formed a part. Mr. Wimble exhibited a piece of a Samian bowl on which is a male figure, quite nude, with the arms by the side as if it were a corpse, and right and left a warrior, one holding his *husta* reversed. Mr. Wimble also submitted about half of the mouth of a vessel of rich green glass, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches diameter, the hem being tubular.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman thought the evidence of the age of the piles deficient, and this without casting any doubt upon the age of the other relics. They were, however, greatly indebted to Mr. Wimble for bringing to their notice a discovery of much interest. Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Mr. Blashill, and Mr. Gordon Hills shared in the doubt as to the age of the pile exhibited expressed by the Chairman. Mr. Cuming replied, and pointed out that no iron shoe had been used. He did not share in the doubts expressed. The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson referred to a similar discovery lately made in old London Wall, and described by Colonel A. L. Fox at the meeting of the Archaeo-

logical Institute on the 2nd of November. The piles in that instance were shod with iron, and Mr. Simpson did not think them of high antiquity. He felt the necessity for caution before admitting that a veritable lake village had been discovered.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a portion of the perforated base of a British incense cup found a few days since at Stockton heath, near Warrington. The paste is of a yellowish white hue, and has a little sand mixed with it. From the rim round the bottom, the vessel seems to have been made to stand in a different manner from the incense cup found at Lancaster Moor, engraved in this Journal (xxi, 161), and it appears to be of later date than that example.

A remarkable cylindrical alms box, found by Mr. John Lloyd, in the possession of a farmer and formerly belonging to Neen Sollers Church, Shropshire, was exhibited; and Mr. Josiah Cato promised to bring to the next meeting the drawing of one almost identical with it, which he had seen at Harbledown, Kent, and which he considered to have belonged to the ancient Lepers' hospital there.

Mr. W. Whincopp exhibited some fine specimens of celts and flint arrow heads from Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, which the Rev. W. Simpson contrasted with two hornstone celts from Denmark, the marked difference in their form being the thickness of the lateral edges of the Danish specimens. Two rude celts from Amiens and St. Acheul, also from Mr. Whincopp's collection, were exhibited, and these were compared with about half-a-dozen of identical manufacture found on the sea beach at Reculver, in Kent, and now exhibited by Mr. Cecil Brent. A further communication from Mr. Whincopp was read respecting his discoveries of ancient implements in Suffolk. Mr. Whincopp says that flint arrow and spear heads, Roman pottery, and iron relics, have lately been found near Hoxne, of the early flint celebrity; and shewing, from the mingled condition of the remains, that they existed at no distant period of time from each other. Mr. Whincopp hopes to be able to submit some of the articles themselves, of which he forwarded a rough sketch.

A drawing of a part of the beam of a *gypciére*, or purse, bearing the inscription, AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, forwarded by Mr. M. A. Lower of Lewes, was exhibited. It belongs to Mr. Honeywood of Horsham, Sussex, and in form closely resembles one exhibited by Mr. Cuming in the year 1858. (See vol. xiv, p. 136.)

The following account of the opening of a barrow at Great Shefford in Berkshire, by the Rev. J. Adams was read:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OPENING OF A BARROW IN BERKSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. ADAMS, M.A.

"About half a mile south of Great Shefford, in the county of Berks, there is a circular barrow, ninety-five feet in diameter. It stands on the brow of a hill, which has been frequently under cultivation, and



consequently it has been so much reduced by the plough that its original magnitude cannot be defined with exactness. About fifty years ago the barrow was ransacked by a farmer, with a view, of course, to the discovery of gold; and an old man who assisted in the search still lives in the neighbourhood, and remembers finding, where the 'crock of guineas ought to have been,' a hole formed by large flints, with nothing but ashes and bones in it.

"In November 1865 this barrow was reopened, and a large portion of it carefully examined. A trench, two feet wide, was first made from the north side to the centre, laying bare the natural unbroken floor of chalk upon which the barrow was raised. The excavation was then widened at the end, until a circular area in the centre, twenty feet in diameter, had been examined. Afterwards trenches were dug on the east and west sides of the mound. Much of the ground thus investigated had been previously disturbed by rabbits, badgers, and the treasure-seekers above mentioned. Where it remained unbroken, the lowest stratum consisted of chalk-rubble, from eight inches to two feet six inches thick; next of flints, from six inches on the outside, to three feet deep in the centre; and over these lay a coating of vegetable mould, from eight to eighteen inches thick. Everywhere ashes, bones, teeth, and fragments of pottery were found. In some places the ashes formed a distinct layer, from one to four inches in depth, overlying the chalk rubble; and in others they were confusedly mingled with the chalk. The bones were chiefly those of the deer, wild ass, ox, wolf, and fowl. Amongst the latter, the shank-bone of an old cock was discovered, with its spur firmly adhering to it. Most of the larger bones had been broken longitudinally, no doubt for the purpose of extracting the marrow, and one had been cut through with a saw.

"The bits of pottery must have been scattered over the barrow in the course of its formation,¹ because they were found in every part of it, and most plentifully underneath the flints; but hardly ever two pieces of the same vessel together. Not a single unbroken specimen of pottery was dug up. The largest piece was the bottom of a cinerary urn, lying on its edge, with a crust of ashes adhering to its inside. Most of the fragments were of the ordinary coarse red kind, formed by the hand, and ornamented with punctures and zigzag patterns; but some were turned on the lathe, and indicate considerable skill in their manufacture.

¹ Shakespeare alludes to the ancient custom of easting sherds, etc., into the barrow in *Hamlet* (act v, scene 1),—

"Her death was doubtful;

And, but that great command o'ersways the order,

She should in ground unsanctifi'd have lodg'd

Till the last trumpet; for charitable prayers,

Shards, flints, and pebbles, should be thrown on her."

Ophelia having committed suicide, the priest is made to argue that she ought to be buried, not as a Christian but as a pagan.

"No remains of the central interment were discovered, but several others were found ; and, as far as could be judged, they were all contemporaneous with the raising of the tumulus. In the trench on the north side, twenty-five feet from the centre, and two feet below the surface, a cist had been scooped out in the chalk, and filled with incinerated bones mingled with ashes. Part of a human jaw-bone and small pieces of a skull were the only unconsumed remains. On sifting the chalky mould contiguous to this deposit, the broken pieces of a small thuribulum, of black earthenware, were recovered, and have been successfully reunited. A few feet from this spot a curious ball of burnt clay was found, about the size of a small orange, with a hole through its axis. It appeared to have been lodged in an artificial hole on a level with the interment. Unfortunately it was smashed by a blow from a pickaxe ; but it has also been restored sufficiently to shew its original shape. Near this was found also a bone needle, or rather bodkin, two inches and an eighth long, having, instead of an eye, a notch at the point to receive the thread.

"Such were the discoveries made in cutting the trench on the north side of the tumulus. In the wider excavation, near the centre, we met with a flat mass of chalk rubble underlying the flints, as hard and solid as a pavement of stone. So compact, indeed, was it that the workmen had considerable difficulty in breaking it up, and its fragments were not unlike old pieces of concrete. On the western side, traces of at least three interments were found, in the shape of burnt bones and ashes deposited in cavities hollowed out in the chalk ; but though careful search was made, no incense cup or cinerary urn could be discovered. By the side, however, of one of those interments we turned up a nest of flint implements. They consisted of six rudely shaped arrow-points and six 'scrapers', varying in size from one inch and three quarters to three inches long, and from one inch to two inches and three quarters in width. They are all rounded at one end, and chipped to a bevelled edge as sharp as a knife. One side is quite flat, and the other more or less convex. No trace of any kind of metal was found in the barrow."

The Treasurer announced that an interesting communication from Dr. Pears of Repton, and a valuable paper on Hastings antiquities, by Mr. T. H. Cole, M.A., would stand adjourned to the next meeting.

DECEMBER 12TH.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

John Rae, Esq., 18, Queen-square, W.C.

T. H. Cole, Esq., M.A., 1, Linton-terrace, Hastings

— Main, Esq., Hanway-street
John Whitmore, Esq., 124, Sloane-street
The Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.

The thanks of the Association were returned

To the Society for the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vol. v, New Series. 8vo.

The alms-box from Neen Sollers Church, Shropshire, was again exhibited, and was compared by Mr. Josiah Cato with a drawing made by him of a similar one at Harbledown near Canterbury. The Rev. W. S. Simpson traced the history of the one delineated by Mr. Cato. His history and description are reserved, to appear in the next *Journal* with illustrations.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson also exhibited an interesting series of antiquities, chiefly of Roman date, found during the last fifteen years on the estate of Mrs. Edwards, at the Roman station of Chesterford, near Saffron Walden, Essex. The list is as follows:

1. A small paalstab celt, four inches and a quarter long, one inch and six-tenths wide at the cutting edge, without a loop; rough, just as it came from the mould.
2. A small bronze armlet resembling a twisted cord; torque; a penannular brooch with pin; an armlet, penannular, ornamented externally by small depressions.
3. Fibula, silvered; pendant, circular, with eight projecting ornaments, cross in centre; girdle-clasp.
4. Five bronze rings; an armlet.
5. Four bone pins; one, five inches and a half in length; acus crinalis.
6. Three Roman bronze pins and handle of a spoon; tegula.
7. Four iron keys.
8. Bronze purse-bar.
9. Tobacco-stopper, Charles II; crowned bust.
10. Girdle-clasp, a chevron in a bordure, and three studs or buttons.
11. Six rings found in the Borough Field, Chesterford: *a*, betrothal ring, Edward III; *b*, betrothal ring, fifteenth century, INC. NAZARENI, clasped hands, silver (a similar ring, with the same motto, is engraved in *Gent. Mag.*, 1806, plate opposite p. 209);¹ *c*, padlock-ring; *d*, ring, corded pattern; *e*, signet-ring bearing a heart in a rose, and the letters W. O.

Mr. H. S. Cumings, V.P., called particular attention to the appear-

¹ A similar ring, of the same pattern, found at the Abbey Grounds, Bury St. Edmunds, is No. 71 in Mr. Neville's (afterwards Lord Braybrooke) *Romance of the Ring*, p. 15, inscribed INC NAZARENA R. JUDEORVM, "a thick silver ring of flat band." No. 82 in the same collection is inscribed INC NAZARENU R., preceded and terminated by a star of six points. Found at Colchester, 1848. No. 96, a flat bronze ring or fibula: on one side, INC NAZAREN; on the other, AVE MARIA GRATIA PL. Found at Chesterford, Sept. 1847.

ance of the bronze paalstab, the first article on the list, and considered its unfinished condition to give to this specimen particular value.

Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited the impression of an old seal or signet-ring, which came from the collection of Mr. Robert Fitch, F.S.A., of Norwich, and described it as of the fourteenth century; the head of a female, with a head-dress of that period, being on it. Around the head was the motto, JE SVY SEL DE AMOVR LEL (I am the seal of loyal love).

He also exhibited an illuminated pedigree of the Montague family, derived from the branches springing from Sir Robert and Sir Stephen Browne, sons of Sir Anthony Browne of Richard II's time. This pedigree illustrated the paper Mr. Geo. Wright read at the Hastings Congress, in August last, on Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer to Henry VIII, and father of the first Viscount Montague, and his family. This pedigree was drawn by the Rev. E. H. Browne, a descendant of the Montague family, and kindly communicated by him to Mr. Wright.

He also exhibited the fragments of an old key from the ruins of a farmhouse lately pulled down at Dorking, the wards of which formed the letter E,—not by any means an uncommon type.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson exhibited a seal and matrix, the character similar to that produced by Mr. Wright. It bears the letter \mathfrak{T} in the centre, and round it the inscription, JE AYM LEL CVER.

Mr. J. Wimble exhibited a very ancient spindle-whorl, about one inch and three quarters diameter, formed of half of a *caput femoris* of some large animal, and found in Coleman-street with several bone implements of the kind described in this *Journal*, p. 94 *ante*.

The Rev. W. R. Burgess transmitted the following interesting objects:—

1. A very curious spindle-whorl of gray coloured stone, one inch and a quarter diameter; one of the convex surfaces being incised with a broad chevron on a hatched field, closely resembling the ornamentation occasionally seen on the bronze axe-blades of Ireland.

2. A St. Audrey necklace (a string of holy stones or fairy beads) found in a garden at Chesterton in Huntingdonshire, a few miles from Peterborough, where similar pebble-beads are frequently discovered.

3. Three agate beads of an early rosary, found in a grave beneath the pavement of Banowden Church, Rutland. Two of these beads are *gaudees*.

4. Cast of an oval metallic plaque, three inches by two, representing the heads of the Pope and the Devil conjoined at the necks, in the manner described in this *Journal*, viii, 6. This plaque is of the sixteenth century, and was found at Alwalton Hall, Huntingdonshire, a short distance from Peterborough.

The Rev. John Leach transmitted a very curious pair of early clogs

of a Turkish bride, of the same fashion as those delineated in Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. 1793, "Eastern Dresses," plate 1. They are made of dark mulberry coloured wood, inlaid with lines of lead, and devices of mother-of-pearl, with foot-straps of deep red leather stamped and worked with narrow strips of white leather. The soles have an elevation of upwards of six inches and a quarter from the ground.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited some gilded glass *tessella* from the roof of the mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople, similar to the smaller examples submitted by Mr. Cuming on April 26, 1865, but of which no mention is made in this *Journal*. Mingled with the present loose *tessella* are several fragments of two bracelets, one of blue, the other of light green glass, both having mosaic patterns fused into their substance.

Dr. Kendrick also exhibited an Egyptian *hegab*, or charm, found in a cargo of foreign bones at Widness near Warrington. It consists of a little oblong case of red leather, in which is a folded paper bearing fourteen lines of Arabic writing.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an *hegab* of similar character, which he received some years since from a native of Dongola as a parting gift before leaving England, with instructions that should Mr. Cuming ever visit the East, he was to sew this charm in his turban as a protection against the dangers of the sea voyage. This charm was written by El Hag Ali, a native of Dar el Mahass, and consists of fifty-nine lines of Arabic arranged on six small pages of stout paper.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited a pair of those singular iron objects which have been described as lamp-stands, etc., but which, from a discovery in France, are now known to be horse-shoes. A further account of these will be given, with an engraving. Mr. Bailey also exhibited a pair of shears decorated with Damascene work, silver inlaid in the steel. Among the ornaments appears to be a coat of arms, a shield bearing three chevrons inverted. This article was found on the north side of Upper Thames-street at the Cannon-street Railway Station works.

The Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., made the following remarks on the letters borne by the leaden seals from Gurnard's Bay and elsewhere, represented in plate 22 *ante*, and referred to at pages 354, 355:—

In farther elucidation of the employment of the leaden seals found in the relics of the Roman building in Gurnard's Bay, of which a representation is given in the plate accompanying the paper on this discovery in the present number of the *Journal*, I may mention that in Facciolati's *Lexicon* the letters T. C. (which occur so often on these seals) are the initials of the following Latin words, and stand as their abbreviations:

T. C. Terminus constitutus.

| | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| „ | Testamenti causâ. |
| „ | Testamento cavetur. |
| „ | Testamento constituit. |
| „ | Testamento curavit. |
| „ | Titulum curavit. |
| „ | Titus Crispinus. |
| T. C. | } Tunc. |
| T ^c . | |
| T ^c | |

I may add that T. C. for Tiberius Cæsar is a possible explanation.

Several of these Latin phrases may be conceived as suitable for seals to merchandise. I apprehend it would be taking no unwarrantable liberty with this lexicographer if the case of the noun or person and tense of the verb were altered to suit better the purpose of translation. The above phrase "Titulum curavit" is strange Latin, and may be somewhat loosely translated "Some person bestowed attention on a label." It may be remarked, in support of this translation, that T. F. C. in Dr. Andrews's *Lexicon*, is given as the abbreviation of "Titulum faciendum curavit," which is good Latin; and it is not unlikely in the case of the leaden seals the F may have been omitted for brevity. A still better explanation of the letters T. C., however, would be that they stand as the initials of "Testimonio constat." This means "*applied as evidence, proof.*" This translation is so suitable to the purpose I consider contemplated in the use of the seals, that I offer but one further explanation. "Tributum collectum," or "collatum," offers another, but less likely solution of the meaning of the initials T. C. For the explanation of the letters H. A. found on the reverse of several of the seals on which T. C. occurs, Ainsworth and other dictionaries supply in their list of Latin abbreviations, the words "Hoc anno," and these words may not be unsuitable to mark the *time*. Some may regard H. A. as the initials of a person's name engaged in the transaction. It may be conjectured that the wheel, or parts of a wheel, represented on most of the seals, may have been suggested by the mode of conveyance of the tin by carts. I cannot but think that these suggestive letters on the leaden seals found in a Roman building in the very line of the route considered to be that of the traffic of the Ancient British tin trade through the Isle of Wight, is favourable to the supposition of the employment of these seals for the purposes of merchandise, and that their discovery may corroborate the opinion of Mr. C. Roach Smith on the same use of somewhat similar leaden seals found at Brough in Westmoreland, and figured in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, pl. 32, and vol. v, pl. 16 and 17.

Mr. Kell also gave the following account of some recent excavations at Southampton :

"In some recent excavations for the new streets on land on the east side of St. Mary's-road, Southampton, belonging to Queen's College, Oxford, long occupied as a market garden, a considerable number of the ancient Saxon bone-pits have been discovered, similar to those described in the *Journal*¹ as existing on the west side of this road, and indicating the extension of the ancient site of Southampton to that spot. These Saxon pits are usually of an oblong form, and from six to nine feet deep. Some are round, and were probably the water-wells. Large quantities of bones of edible animals, as found in the former pits, with deer-horns, oyster-shells, etc., have been discovered in these pits. No coins have yet been brought under observation; but some Romano-British and Saxon relics have been found, of which the following is a brief account. They are in possession of our associate, Robert Jennings, Esq., W. J. D. Smith, and myself.

"This piece of land is about a quarter of a mile east of the Roman station, Clausentum, and of the river Itchen, which separates it from Clausentum. Although a Saxon site, its proximity to a Roman station will account for a slight intermixture of Romano-British relics.—Three pieces of British ring-money; clay whirl used in sinking nets, probably Roman; part of a Roman fibula; knife found with oyster-shells, stone, doubtful,—somewhat similar to a Roman knife, No. 325, of C. Roach Smith's catalogue of Roman antiquities; bronze clasp, probably Saxon; Saxon key; counter of Henry III and Edward I's time, curious in the treatment of the lion; various fragments of glass of the sixteenth century. There were found also many small fragments of crockery like the coarser Roman pottery, probably manufactured by those who had inherited the process from their Roman predecessors."

Mr. Alderman Thomas Ross, of Hastings, forwarded for exhibition a little convex disc, or button, of copper, with its field of black and border of green enamel. It had a shank at back, and appears to be one of a pair of link-buttons employed in closing the mantle at the neck. It was lately found in the foundation of a house pulled down at Hastings, where, from the age of the building, it must have been for at least two hundred years.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., remarked that the device on this Hastings button represents a fermal, the frame bearing a motto, and the frame and mordaunt both adorned with roses. It is difficult to understand how a pin so encumbered could be used, but that this representation of the rosette on the mordaunt was no mere fancy of the artist, but an actual fashion of olden time, is shown in a little gold fermal of the fourteenth century, figured in the *Gent. Mag.*, August, 1793, p. 696, the mordaunt of which has on one side a crowned H, and on the other an A, precisely in the place occupied by the rose in this curious relic.

¹ See *British Archaeological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 333, and vol. xvii, p. 231.
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Whatever be the meaning of the French motto, which I cannot read satisfactorily to myself, I would venture to ask if the fermail on which it is inscribed may not be the buckle of the Pelhams. Had the motto *Vincit amor patriæ* been graven on it instead of its present formula, no doubt could of course be felt about it, but in spite of what we see it is still worthy of a thought if the buckle be not in truth the ancient badge of the Pelhams. The form of lettering and general outline of the device enables us to attribute the button to the commencement of the fifteenth century, and the character of the *champ-levé* enamel leaves no doubt in my mind that it is of English workmanship.

Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., read the motto *en bon espoir*, which it was suggested by Mr. Planché was a motto of the Cockayne family.

Dr. S. A. Pears, of Repton, made the following communication in reference to some recent discoveries at Repton,—a place concerning which much interesting matter is contained in our seventh volume:—

“In levelling some ground within the old wall of Repton Priory, I have come upon some brickwork, about two feet below the surface, which is, I think, of sufficient interest to be communicated to your Society. I have opened a small chamber, about six feet long, two feet wide, and two feet and a half deep. Two sides and one end are of brick, the floor of black tile. There have been six small separate arches over it, each one brick wide, with intervals about the same. The bricks are flat, and about six inches square. One alone remains entire. The side-walls are formed alternately of upright piers of single bricks, and of bricks prepared as springs for their arches; hexagonal, and inclined, of course, at a gentle angle. The two are not bonded together. All about the brickwork, and in the chamber itself, I found much red clay, looking as if it had been prepared for bricks; and mixed up with this, fragments of stone and of the encaustic tiles from the old Abbey Church, which are common here. There is also a good quantity of charcoal. Side by side with this chamber we have found another similar to it; but I fear not one of the arches will stand when the earth is removed. The brickwork looked to me like Roman work, but nothing Roman has been found here before. At first sight I thought the work was Roman. I find now that it is without doubt a part of a tile-factory, probably a drying chamber. We have abundant remains of tiles, of raw clay, charcoal, and pieces of a kiln-floor; and I think it likely we shall soon uncover the kiln itself. We have put together some of the tiles, and have two complete sixteen-tile patterns, very handsome.”

On this subject it may be interesting to refer to the encaustic tiles from Repton Priory, engraved in vol. vii, plate xli, p. 384, and to the alphabet-tile engraved at p. 196, vol. xii.



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